

Qualifying the Body of Christ: Latin Conceptions of Identity in Intra-Christian Relations in the Levant,

1095-1187

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Abstract

This thesis examines the interactions between Latin and Eastern Christians in the period between the calling of the First Crusade in 1095 and the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 through Latin chronicles and letters. The multi-cultural environment of the Levant presented multiple challenges for the Crusaders – they were faced with a society fractured along cultural and religious lines with more nuanced conceptions of identity than were present in Western Europe. At first, Crusaders used familiar cultural and religious markers of identity to differentiate among the new groups they encountered in the Levant; but the new environment eventually forced them to change their own conceptions of identity. Latin invaders underwent a change in their understanding of components of identity due to their exposure to Levantine society, and in their interactions with the Eastern Christians they demonstrated increasing flexibility in understanding religious and cultural identity while still asserting their status through religious means.

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Introduction

“We have subdued the Turks and the pagans; but the heretics, Greeks and Armenians, Syrians and Jacobites, we have not been able to overcome.” These are the words of the leaders of the First Crusade in a letter to Pope Urban II, the man who changed the course of European history by preaching the idea of crusade in 1095. The desire for salvation and worldly possessions prompted many to take the Cross as a result of his speech and march to the East. Urban II did not foresee the impact that this first expedition would have on the societies of Europe and the Middle East. The First Crusade marked a turning point for Western Europeans as they began to exert their power outside of their own sphere, a process which brought them into contact with numerous cultures in the East which coexisted but were split along religious and cultural lines. The princes’ letter to Urban II illustrates the Europeans’ position as they tried to understand their new subjects. The Crusaders required a change in their mental equipment in order to understand the complexities of Levantine society, a transformation which occurred gradually as they began to interact with the native of the East. One of the important features of Levantine society was the proliferation of different and sometimes contrary expressions of Christian faith. The First Crusade was envisioned as a religious undertaking, but the Christian diversity of the Holy Land proved problematic for the devout Western Christians. Their anxieties and confusions appeared in their letter to Urban II as they tried to differentiate among the Eastern Churches. The establishment of the four Crusader states – the County of Edessa, the Principality of Antioch, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the County of Tripoli – brought the Europeans, or Latins, as they were commonly referred to in the sources, into prolonged contact with Eastern Christians. This thesis examines how the different expressions of Christianity interacted in this diverse cultural and religious environment with the entrance of the Latins.

In this thesis I will argue that there were many different components of identity in operation during the Latin occupation of the Levant. These forms of identity revolved around cultural and religious

markers of difference such as language spoken or affiliation with a Church. Europe was culturally diverse but religiously uniform, which prompted Crusaders to rely heavily on the observable cultural features of Eastern Christians during the First Crusade and the initial years of their rule. Gradually Latin writers revealed an increasing awareness of the role of diverse religious identities in the Levant and demonstrated an ability to distinguish among them. Latins used these cultural and religious features to differentiate between themselves and Eastern Christians and to sort out the various Eastern Churches. These conceptual boundaries were either reinforced or transcended during times of crisis, indicating flexibility in Latin ideas of identity because of external pressures. Two broad trends also characterized this period. The Latins imposed themselves on the religious structure of the Levant by appropriating existing ecclesiastical structures and by redefining the very term 'Eastern Church' to reflect their presence. Despite these moves toward Latin hegemony, the second trend of the period was an increasing integration of Latins and Eastern Christians. Religious integration proved to be a difficult endeavor due to the importance of religious identity to Eastern Christians and the Latin desire to seek structural unity by incorporating whole Churches; but Latins and Eastern Christians frequently adopted cultural features of each other's societies and were sometimes successfully integrated into these different societies. The reciprocal exchange which characterized integration was weighted toward Latin standards in the religious sphere but was more evenly distributed in the cultural sphere. The Latin depiction of their relations with the Eastern Christians must also be balanced with how the Eastern Christians conceived relations with other Eastern Churches and how they viewed their treatment by the Latins. In short, the period from the First Crusade to the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 was marked by competing trends: first, the Latins gained a more nuanced understanding of components of identity which enabled them to gain a more accurate portrait of the society they encountered; second, as they interacted with a diverse society they created a Latin religious structure which became increasingly hegemonic; and third, they also participated in extensive cultural integration

both by bringing Eastern Christians into the Latin system and by becoming part of the greater Levantine society.

The thesis is divided into six main sections. The first section sets the stage for an analysis by laying out the ethnography of the Levant and by examining the chronicles and letters used and demonstrating the complexities of this particular source base. The second section focuses on how the authors depicted the Eastern Christians. This section illustrates the authors' uses of culture and religion as keys to identity in order to differentiate between the Latins and the Eastern Christians and among the various Eastern Christians. The authors' usage also demonstrates a gradual movement toward a nuanced understanding of the interaction of culture and religion in determining identity. The third section shows how the Latins rethought the conceptual barriers that they created, indicating that external pressures influenced their approaches to intra-Christian relations. The fourth section demonstrates the Latin drive for ecclesiastical hegemony in the Levant at the expense of the Greek Orthodox Church occurred in both a pragmatic and conceptual way. The Latins' initial cooperation with the Greek Orthodox Church quickly disintegrated as the Latins transformed the existing Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy into a Latin-dominated structure. The Latins also slowly transformed the very idea of what the Eastern Church meant, replacing the initial conception of the Eastern Church as the Greek Orthodox Church with the idea of the Eastern Church as a newly-formed Latin Church centered on Jerusalem. The fifth section shows that despite these structural and conceptual attempts to impose the Latin presence on Christianity in the Levant, integration occurred frequently between the Latins and various Eastern Christians groups in both the cultural and religious sphere. Latins demonstrated an ability to adopt cultural features of Levantine society but did not integrate with the Eastern Churches. Instead, they integrated Eastern Christians into a Latin religious framework by requiring Eastern Churches to accept the primacy of Rome. The final section examines a native perspective on intra-

Christian relations through the Armenian chronicle of Matthew of Edessa. His work reinforces trends observed earlier, but it also reveals more nuances in the relations between Latins and Eastern Christians.

Many scholars have dealt with the Crusader interactions with the native populations of the Levant. They incorporate Latin sources such as chronicles and laws as well as archaeology in their research to build up an image of the Latin kingdoms. This thesis limits itself to chronicles and letters in order to gain insight into how the Latins conceived of and portrayed their interactions with indigenous Christians. This more limited focus on chronicles and letters privileges religious interaction above the political structuring of the Latin kingdoms. Many scholarly works focus more on the political aspects of interaction like lawmaking, but they incorporate religion into their models of interaction as well. Joshua Prawer endorses the influential segregationist model of interaction between the Latins and the inhabitants on the Levant. In Prawer's model, the Crusades represent an early occurrence of European colonialism. He argues that allowing the indigenous Christians to retain their ecclesiastical structure and practices did not stem from tolerance but from pragmatism in the face of so many diverse communities. He concludes that "the first colonial enterprise started out with different notions, but ended by formulating the classical rule of colonialism: never mix with the natives."¹

This segregationist model does not adequately explain the cultural and religious integration evident throughout the Levant. Other authors have sought to interpret the divisions between Latins and indigenous Christians highlighted by the segregationists in a different fashion. Bernard Hamilton studied the role of the Latin Church in the Levant and concluded that the initial Latin policy of religious autonomy for indigenous Christians provided the atmosphere for later unification.² He argues that religious unity, rather than uniformity, served as the background for the Crusaders and promoted

¹ Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 232.

² Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London: Variorum Publications Ltd, 1980), 210.

integration.³ He carefully explores failures in integration and stresses the cultural features of groups which hampered unity. His idea of Christian unity appears in many of the extant sources, but the mixed attitudes of the chroniclers indicate ambivalence about the role of indigenous Christians, and the events described in the chronicles indicate that unity was pursued most frequently under duress. More recently, Christopher MacEvitt produced a third model of intra-Christian relations which he calls 'rough tolerance.' This model explicitly rejects the segregationalist model and argues that the Latins' lack of distinct categories for the various Eastern Christians emerges in the sources and points to tolerance. The concealed divisions allowed for coexistence but they also enabled Frankish violence to remain localized and not to threaten the greater community.⁴ This paper benefits from MacEvitt's attention to examples of integration in the Crusader states but focuses more on how the Latin authors portrayed themselves and their relations with the Eastern Christians.

³ Ibid, 165.

⁴ Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

Background

The Ethnography of the Levant

The Crusaders entered a variegated environment in the Levant which reflected the cultural, political, and religious tensions stemming from the development of Christianity and the co-existence of Muslims and Christians. In the first centuries of Christianity, orthodoxy was established by the verdict of ecumenical councils. The Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD was an important council which articulated the Christological doctrine that Christ had both a divine and a human nature but remained only one Person. Many Eastern Christians rejected this ruling and schisms quickly developed. At the time of the Crusades the Churches still viewed themselves in relation to the Council of Chalcedon and their theological positions provided one method of differentiating among them. New political realities also shaped the development of Christianity in the Levant. The Muslim conquest of the Levant at the expense of the Byzantines in the seventh century transformed Christianity into a minority status and Churches in lands under Muslim control underwent important cultural changes, such as adopting Arabic.⁵ Therefore at the time of the First Crusade, Churches in the Levant were separated by theology and practice as well as by political and cultural factors.

The Muslim presence in the Levant was the impetus for the First Crusade, although the Dar al-Islam (literally “house of Islam”) was rent by internal divisions that aided the Crusaders’ goals. The two main Islamic powers were the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt and the various Seljuk polities in Iran, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia. The Fatmids established permanent control over Egypt in 969 but were initially preoccupied with Egypt due to internal dissensions.⁶ At the time of the First Crusade the

⁵ Sidney H. Griffith, “The Church of Jerusalem and the ‘Melkites’: The Making of an ‘Arab Orthodox’ Christian Identity in the World of Islam (750-1050 CE)” in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms* ed. Ora Limour and Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers n.v, 2006), 188.

⁶ Hamilton A. R. Gibb, “The Caliphate and the Arab States” in *A History of the Crusades Vol. I The First Hundred Years* ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 85.

Fatmids had expanded into Palestine and captured Jerusalem from the Seljuk Turks in 1098.⁷ The Seljuk Turks were a more recent addition to the Levant, but they established a powerful presence in Iran, Mesopotamia, and Syria and successfully challenged the Byzantine Empire. After the Byzantine defeat at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, the Seljuks expanded into Anatolia and founded the Sultanate of Rum in 1077.⁸ In the 1090s, the Seljuk Empire in Syria fractured into competing city-states and peoples on the borders, like the Armenians, became independent.⁹

The largest Christian presence in Europe and the Levant was the combined Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches. This combined Church was the inheritor of the orthodoxy established by the ecumenical councils and was therefore Chalcedonian in origin. The Western Church was based at Rome and the Eastern Church was centered on Constantinople. The two distinct geographical centers also reflected the diversity in rite in the Church – the Western Church used Latin and followed the Latin rite and the Eastern Church used Greek and followed the Greek rite. Although the Church was still conceptually unified, the Schism of 1054 revealed tensions between the Western and Eastern Churches based on theology, practice, and ecclesiastical authority. Unity was important in the First Crusade because it formed the basis for many of the Crusaders' actions as they established a permanent presence – their creation of a Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy in place of a Greek one stemmed from the belief that because they were one Church only one bishop per city was appropriate.¹⁰ The Greek Church had a developed ecclesiastical hierarchy in areas under Muslim control, and although the numbers of Greeks diminished further south in the Levant the Greeks controlled the major sanctuaries like

⁷ Ibid, 95.

⁸ *A History of the Crusades* Vol. I *The First Hundred Years* ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 701.

⁹ Claude Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: The Selchükids" in *A History of the Crusades* Vol I *The First Hundred Years* ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 165.

¹⁰ Griffith, 206-207.

Nazareth, Bethlehem, and the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.¹¹ The Latins had a very small presence in the Levant prior to the First Crusade centered on holdings in Jerusalem.¹²

The Crusaders understood the Greek Church because of the conceptual unity and the frequent interactions between the Eastern and Western branches, but the multiplicity of the Churches present in the Levant and their complex interactions presented a more difficult conceptual problem for the Crusaders. The many autocephalous Churches in the Levant differed among themselves in theology, practice, and in their relationship to the powerful Greek Church. The Armenian Church was non-Chalcedonian and embraced the Monophysite position – Christ had only one nature. The Armenians established independent states in eastern Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Cilicia beginning in 884 A.D. In the eleventh century the Armenians came under increased pressure from the Byzantines to the west and the newly-formed empire of the Seljuk Turks to the north and east.¹³ The Crusaders encountered the Armenians in the foundation and governing of the County of Edessa, which covered large sections of the Armenian heartland.¹⁴

Three important autocephalous Churches existed under Muslim rule in the Levant: the Syrians, the Jacobites, and the Maronites. The Syrian Orthodox were known in native writings as ‘Melkites,’ which means ‘royal’ or ‘imperial’ in Syriac and referred to their acceptance of the Chalcedonian Creed like the Byzantines.¹⁵ The Syrians used Arabic for everyday speech but used Greek in their liturgy and

¹¹ Joshua Prawer, “Social Classes in the Crusader States: “Minorities””, in *A History of the Crusades Vol 5, The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East* ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: The University of Madison Press, 1985), 67.

¹² William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey (New York: Octagon Books, 1976), 1:80.

¹³ Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993), 2.

¹⁴ Matthew of Edessa recounts that some Armenians remained under Muslim rule, and others remained independent of Latin rule, 220.

¹⁵ Françoise Micheau, “Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites,” in *Eastern Christianity*, Vol. 5 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity* ed. Michael Angold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 376-377, Prawer, “Minorities,” 66

followed the Greek rite.¹⁶ The Syrians were prominent in both Syria and Palestine.¹⁷ The Jacobites were named after their founder Jacob Baradeus, a sixth-century bishop of Edessa. They co-existed with the Syrians in northern Syria, but like the Armenians they rejected the Chalcedonian creed and embraced Monophysitism. The Jacobites used Syriac as their liturgical language.¹⁸ The Maronites were a much more isolated group than either the Syrians or the Jacobites in both geography and theology. John Maron, a patriarch in the seventh century is credited with their founding.¹⁹ The Maronites embraced the Monothelite Christological position – this was a compromise which emerged in the seventh century and stated that Christ had two natures but only one will. It was quickly rejected by the Orthodox Church.²⁰ The Maronites originated in Syria but in the tenth century moved to the mountains of Lebanon.²¹

The Crusaders also encountered representatives from Christian Churches outside of their area of control in the East. The Chalcedonian Georgians ruled a powerful kingdom on the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains.²² Despite their distance the Georgians maintained a presence in Jerusalem and the Queen of Georgia even retired to a monastery there.²³ Further to the east the Nestorian Church predominated. The Nestorians had been declared heretical by both the Council of Ephesus in 431 and the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The base of their authority was in Mesopotamia and their missionary efforts spread their influence far to the east.²⁴ The last major Church in the Levant was the Coptic Church, a Monophysite Church centered in Egypt.²⁵

¹⁶ Praver, "Minorities," 66.

¹⁷ Micheau, 377.

¹⁸ Hamilton, 190.

¹⁹ Micheau, 377.

²⁰ Andrew Louth provides an overview of this doctrine in his book about a major opponent of Monothelitism, Maximus the Confessor. Andrew Louth, *Maximus the Confessor* (London: Routledge, 1996), 14-15.

²¹ Ibid, 377.

²² Griffith, 214.

²³ Praver, "Minorities," 88.

²⁴ Micheau, 377-378.

²⁵ Ibid, 375.

The differences among the numerous Churches in the Levant were accentuated by the centrality of Jerusalem to Christianity and exacerbated by Byzantine efforts to enforce their control over the autocephalous Churches. The city of Jerusalem and its shrines served as the focal point for the various Churches, and they maintained permanent presences there in the form of monasteries and other religious institutions. Constant interaction made their differences apparent as they followed their distinctive rites and customs in a shared environment. In addition, the centrality of Jerusalem and the important Christian shrines created an environment in which a numerically small group like the Greek Orthodox was able to achieve status and influence due to their control over the important religious sites.

Tensions between the Eastern Churches also appeared through Byzantine efforts to exert control. In 1095 or 1060, the Byzantine emperor Constantine X Doukas attempted to control the Armenian Church by attacking their doctrine.²⁶ After the arrival of the Crusaders the Byzantines continued their efforts. They persuaded the Syrians to follow the Greek dating of Easter but were unable to force the Armenians to make this change.²⁷ The Byzantine efforts to exert control over the autocephalous Churches demonstrate the complex interactions between political and religious authority in the Levant.

The Crusaders were familiar with the Levant and Eastern Christianity due to the importance of pilgrimages to Jerusalem and other holy sites in the region. Pilgrimage was a common occurrence in Europe from the end of the Roman Empire, and pilgrimages to the Holy Land started as early as the fourth century.²⁸ The number of pilgrims heading east to the Holy Land increased dramatically in the eleventh century, in part because of greater ease of travel due to the successful efforts of ecclesiastical authorities to encourage pilgrimages as well as important political changes that brought peace to the

²⁶ Matthew of Edessa, 97, 110-120.

²⁷ Ibid, 187-188.

²⁸ Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700 – c. 1500* (Gordonsville, USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), accessed April 20, 2013, <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/haverford/docDetail.action?docID=10076827>.

popular land route.²⁹ The collapse of Fatimid power in the Levant due to the invasions of the Seljuk Turks in the 1070s made pilgrimages much more difficult to accomplish.³⁰ These pilgrimages produced the literary genres of traveler accounts and guidebooks, which illustrated the religious practice in the Holy Land and the pilgrim's experience of the Holy Land.³¹ The prevalence of pilgrimages and written accounts of these journeys indicate that Latins had some knowledge of the complexities of the Levant before their arrival, but their conquest of the Holy Land dramatically changed the pattern and forced them to adjust to the complexities that they noted before.

The Levant before the arrival of the Crusaders in 1098 contained many diverse groups separated and unified by culture, politics, and religion, and they attempted to exert influence over each other. The Crusaders entered a charged situation and added a new religious, cultural, and political entity to the environment.

Presentation of the Sources

Before drawing conclusions about how intra-Christian relations in the Levant were conceived of and undertaken, it is important to understand the type, uses, and limitations of the sources employed for this paper. This project limits itself to examining chronicles and letters produced in Europe and the Levant from the First Crusade (1095-1099) to the fall of the First Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 with a primary focus on the literary production of the Latins themselves. These types of works provide a major source of evidence for intra-Christian relations in the Levant during this period. Chronicles and letters are important because they record the events of the period, but they are even more useful because they provide a valuable window into how authors viewed themselves and other Christians. This paper will

²⁹ Steven Runciman, "The Pilgrimage to Palestine before 1095" in *The First Hundred Years*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin, 68-78 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969) 74-77. See also Ralph Glaber's chronicle, *Historiarium Libri Quinque*, for a contemporary's perspective on the upsurge of pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

³⁰ Runciman, "The Pilgrimage to Palestine before 1095," 78.

³¹ *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), s.vv. "Guidebooks" by Margaret Connolly and "Early Pilgrim Itineraries (333-1099)" by Ora Limor.

use nine chronicles and numerous letters. The chronicles range in length from the fifty-two page *Gesta Francorum* to the multi-volume work of William of Tyre. In part, this large number of sources is necessary because references to intra-Christian relations in the sources are often of secondary importance to the author. A coherent picture may be constructed but it requires piecing together evidence from multiple sources. In general, the evidence chronicles and letters provide is influenced by the author's biases and themes, the purpose the document served, and the complicated interrelations among the many sources.

Chronicles provide the bulk of evidence for interpreting this period, and the varied nature of the chronicles chosen for this project allows the examination of conceptions of Christianity in the Levant in different geographical and religious environments throughout the history of the First Kingdom of Jerusalem. Chronicles are historical accounts of significant events of a period, often arranged in strict chronological order. Their chronological structure and detailed content make them prime resources for understanding the era. Using chronicles to examine a period is not straightforward because they contain many variables that affect how they preserve and present the events of the time. The chronicles used in this paper differ by their language, place, and time of composition. A chart showing details and connections between the chronicles may be found in the Appendix. The Latin chronicles written in Europe consist of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, the works of the French monks Guibert of Nogent and Robert the Monk, the account of the southern French Crusader Raymond d'Aguilers, and the chronicle of the clergyman Albert of Aachen. Both permanent Latin residents and Eastern Christian authors created chronicles in the Levant. Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre wrote their chronicles in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and Walter the Chancellor produced his work in Antioch. The Armenian Matthew of Edessa composed his work in Armenian in the Latin County of Edessa.³²

³² The list given is roughly in chronological order, although because many chronicles were written in stages authors were writing at the same time.

The editions of the chronicles used are:

The authors of the chronicles all claimed to portray events accurately, although they established their authority in different ways. Some, like Fulcher of Chartres, were participants in the events they described and relied on their authority as eyewitnesses.³³ Others like Guibert of Nogent who were not directly involved cited oral accounts from reliable witnesses as sources of information.³⁴ The chroniclers also relied on documents, and both Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre frequently included official letters. Guibert of Nogent also cited an increasingly important literary source used by both the Latin and Eastern Christian chroniclers: previous chronicles. He stated that he improved upon an unnamed but apparently popular account of the First Crusade, and he also heavily criticized the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres, which he knew.³⁵ The chroniclers often used multiple sources for their works and attempted to establish their veracity as authors by the different types of sources and their investigations into the sources' validity.

The authors' agendas and influences may be juxtaposed with their claims to authority. These biases color how the events are portrayed, nevertheless the chronicles provide valuable information for the period. William of Tyre provided clear examples of his loyalties by citing love of country and pressure from the king as reasons for writing.³⁶ William praised his patron Amaury I, noting his lively intellect and upright moral character. William did present Amaury I's character flaws as well, but the

Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem, trans. Rosalind Hill (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1962); Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997); Robert the Monk, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999); Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968); Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969); William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey (New York: Octagon Books, 1976); Walter the Chancellor, *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars*, trans. Thomas S. Asbridge and Susan B. Edgington (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999); Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993).

³³ Fulcher of Chartres, 57.

³⁴ Guibert of Nogent, 25.

³⁵ Ibid, 24-25, 155-157.

³⁶ William of Tyre, 1:55-56.

passage clearly favored his patron.³⁷ The patronage of the King of Jerusalem also meant that William's work represents the official history of the realm. Other chronicles privileged specific groups and leaders in their narratives. While Raymond d'Aguilers stated that he wanted to correct errors circulating about the First Crusade, he limited his focus to the Provençals and their leaders.³⁸ This limited focus was not neutral – Raymond functioned as an apologist for the important Crusader leader Raymond, Count of Toulouse, praising him repeatedly throughout his work. In addition to being influenced by loyalties or patrons, some chroniclers structured their work around an explicit theme that influenced how they portray events. Matthew of Edessa wanted to demonstrate the connection between sin and retribution, so his interpretation of events centered here.³⁹ Finally, a more subtle but much more influential viewpoint that ran throughout the Latin chronicles was the desire to positively portray the Crusaders themselves. Guibert represented a more extreme and therefore readily identifiable position, praising the Crusaders as greater than all previous armies because they marched for God.⁴⁰ Latin chroniclers consistently portrayed the Crusaders in a positive light, a viewpoint which was questioned in Matthew of Armenia's account. Recognizing the agendas and influences affecting the chroniclers allows the historian to use the chronicles to interpret the period. In addition, analyzing the viewpoints themselves and how they affect the depiction of events provides fruitful ground for study.

The chroniclers intended their works for particular immediate audiences as well as for posterity, but the widespread circulation of these chronicles shows the extensive appeal of the works throughout Latin Christendom as well as the physical and intellectual connectivity of the Latin world from Western Europe to the Holy Land. Broadly speaking, intended audiences are indicated by the language of composition. The Latin chronicles were intended for a Latin-reading Western audience, while Matthew's use of Armenian indicates an Armenian audience. There is also often evidence for more

³⁷ William of Tyre, 2:296-297.

³⁸ Raymond d'Aguilers, 15.

³⁹ Matthew of Edessa, 182.

⁴⁰ Guibert, 28-29.

specific intended audiences. Raymond d'Aguilers' focus on the Provençal army and their leaders indicates a southern French audience. Many chroniclers indicated that they intended their works to be read by future generations. Matthew of Edessa wanted his work to function as an admonition, while Robert the Monk intended his work for living and future Christians to strengthen hope in God and to inspire praise.⁴¹ The production of chronicles prompted wide circulation. A striking example of the geographical reach and efficiency of this circulation is the fact that William of Tyre's work was available in England eight years after its completion.⁴² William's chronicle was transported from the Levant to England quickly and accurately.⁴³

The diverse audiences reached by the Latin chronicles reveal not only the close physical connection between the now-occupied Levant and Europe but also the important intellectual and conceptual similarities of outlook between the populations. The earliest chronicle, the *Gesta Francorum*, influenced many later Crusader chronicles in both Europe and the Levant, and the propagation and use of chronicles provided an intellectual framework in which to conceive the Latin enterprise and the diverse population in the Levant. The use of Latin limited the audience to Europe and the Latin population of the Levant, but the choice of a commonly intelligible language promoted the circulation of the chronicles across culturally and vernacularly diverse areas. The Crusades were a multi-national venture, and the existence of these chronicles outside of their region of composition and sometimes long after their date of composition indicates a unified, accepted corpus of opinion that defined the experience.

The widespread circulation of the chronicles adds one further complication for the historian employing these sources. Because later authors were either familiar with earlier chronicles or used them for the basis of their works there are only three independently composed Latin chronicles. These

⁴¹ Robert the Monk, 77.

⁴² William of Tyre, 1:39.

⁴³ Although interestingly the English author does not appear to know William's name.

are the *Gesta Francorum*, the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen, and *The Antiochene Wars* by Walter the Chancellor.⁴⁴ The later uses of the earlier chronicles sometimes provides helpful information for understanding the later author's approach since he deviated from the earlier chronicle. Guibert of Nogent provides a good example of this because his added details reveal an active prejudice against Eastern Christians that the *Gesta* lacks.⁴⁵ The connections between the chronicles raise interpretive issues of how to explain similarities among the works. It is a challenging issue to determine whether similar views appear in chronicles because they reflect common attitudes among believers or because of a common literary descent. This paper assumes that the two are intertwined – later writers reflect their own society in its current form, but it is a society that remains heavily influenced by earlier generations. These documents were all written in a relatively short period of time (especially the earlier ones) and in relatively similar Latin social environments. In addition, they were all written before the shock of the fall of the First Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187. The limited time frame and social similarities indicate that the various authors wrote the chronicles in similar settings, a particular social continuity which remained true to the initial Crusading vision.

In addition to the numerous chronicles, letters provide valuable sources of information for examining intra-Christian relations in the First Crusade and the Crusader states. Letters provide the added benefit of depicting immediate attitudes and actions which have not been reinterpreted through later events as is the case with chronicles. In addition, letters complement the chronicles by revealing attitudes and actions not found in the chronicles. The very existence of letters like those of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem emphasize his positive role in the First Crusade in a way which is not found in the chronicles, and other letters provide glimpses of how Eastern Christians influenced Latins. While letters

⁴⁴ For *Gesta*, see discussion of sources ix-xi, or Albert of Aix, see discussion of sources on xxvi-xxviii, Walter the Chancellor, 9-10.

⁴⁵ The author of the *Gesta* includes passages about Eastern Christians actively aiding the Muslims against the Crusaders, but he also includes examples of Eastern Christians unwillingly attacking the Crusaders or aiding the Crusaders when it was in their best interest. See 29, 33, 37, 41, 43. Guibert consistently negatively portrays Eastern Christians.

and chronicles often represent two distinct sources of information, they are often inter-related because of the inclusion of letters in chronicles. The majority of letters used in this paper consist of communications from writers in the Levant to recipients in Europe.⁴⁶ These writers were often Latin Christians and not European, so the geographical bias of composition and reception means that the letters reveal how the Latins in the Levant conceived of the situation and also how they wanted others to think of it.

These letters provide multiple benefits for analysis including a diverse set of writers and recipients as well as varied content. The letters' authors include both secular and religious figures, and the number of different authors and their varied backgrounds provide evidence for attitudes of different sorts across society. This diversity is tempered by the fact that, like the chroniclers, all the letter writers come from the upper class, representing both clerical and lay authority. The written material from this period reflects elite views, so conclusions about attitudes and actions reflect this class. The recipients vary greatly in part due to content and purpose. Stephen of Blois wrote personal letters to his wife in France recounting the events of the First Crusade and portraying his role in them. Other letters have much broader audiences, including an early letter from religious leaders in the Levant addressed to "all you who live in the North, in northern countries."⁴⁷ This particular letter and others like it reflect a trend to use letters as calls for aid to the Crusaders in the Levant. Letters requesting similar help were directed to Western rulers as well. This observation indicates an important distinction between the extant chronicles and letters. While the two types of sources often recount the same events, the letters use the events to reiterate similar themes like requests for aid.

Chronicles and letters provide the primary evidence for how intra-Christian relations in the Levant were conceived of and conducted. In order to use them effectively their distinctive purposes,

⁴⁶ The primary collection used is *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12-13th Centuries*, trans. by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010).

⁴⁷ Letter 2, *Letters from the East*, 17-18.

features, and issues must be taken into account. These sources demonstrate important ways the Latins understood the complexities of Eastern Christianity and their relation to the Eastern Churches, beginning with Latin methods of separating Eastern Christians by distinctive cultural and religious markers as will be examined in the next section.

Culture and Religion as Markers of Difference

In 1095 when Urban II called the First Crusade, Western Europeans had difficulty separating their culture from their religious beliefs. They demonstrated an understanding of cultural difference among themselves, but the homogenous religious environment of Western Europe insulated them from religious differences. Levantine society was a completely different environment for the Crusaders, with two competing religions and many different expressions of each religion. In addition, the shared, syncretic cultures of the Levant often made it difficult to easily differentiate between friend and foe. The Latins required new understandings of identity to effectively operate in the Levant. The pilgrimages to the East and the Schism of 1054 had already begun to increase Latin awareness of different practices and beliefs within Christendom. Close acquaintance with Christians in the Levant changed the Crusaders' conceptions of culture and religion even more over the decades of their rule. By the 1180s William of Tyre differentiated among the various Christian groups in the East using a developed understanding of culture and religion. His writings illustrate a movement toward a greater understanding of the beliefs and practices of the Eastern Churches, but the interpretation of these differences often did not square with reality. A study of Crusader writings is important because it reveals the changes occurring in the Western European conception of the world as the Latins moved outside of Europe for the first time.

First, it is important to define the terms 'cultural markers' and 'religious markers' which will be used in this section. I define 'markers' as features which differentiate one group from another. These markers operate on multiple levels. An example of this is the identification of a Christian who is a member of a specific Church – he is differentiated by his affiliation with a particular religion and also identified with a specific expression of that religion. 'Religious' markers will be defined first. In this paper 'religious' refers to those markers which are specifically related to religious belief and practice. Examples of religious markers include theology, manner of worship, and acceptance of a Church's

authority structure. Within the manner of worship, the choice of which rite, the set of ceremonies to follow, and the use of a particular liturgical language distinguish groups. I define 'cultural' markers as those markers which define a group along with religion. These markers may be influenced by religion (e.g. a style of clothing dictated by a religious idea) but are often distinct from religion. In an important passage, William of Tyre writes that "some [Muslim spies] pretend to be Greeks, some Syrians, and others Armenians, and all could easily assume the characteristics of such nations in idioms, manner, and dress."⁴⁸ His categories prove helpful for analyzing cultural markers. By 'idiom' William means the vernacular. 'Manner' is more problematic, but William means the customs and actions of a group. 'Dress' involves the groups' appearance. This category includes clothing, but it also includes other distinctive features like beards. A final category which is not as readily apparent in William's passage quoted above is 'nation.' The idea of a nation in the medieval period was an affiliation "based on a combination of linguistic affinity, ethnicity, political allegiance, and geographical provenance."⁴⁹ The idea of groups which were defined without reference to religion also appears in the Latin terms translated variously as 'nations,' 'peoples' and 'races.' The broad division into 'nations,' 'peoples,' and 'races,' serves as another example of a cultural marker.

The Latin conception of Levantine society was divided between Christians and Muslims. While there were Jews in the Levant,⁵⁰ the majority of the native population under Crusader control was either Muslim or Christian, and the greatest threat to Latin existence were the Muslim polities. It is important to note that the prominence of religion meant that people in the Levant were defined by these two broad categories.⁵¹ This dichotomy in identity is important because it means that there were only two

⁴⁸ William of Tyre, 1:221.

⁴⁹ *Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 2010, s.v. "Nation and Nationhood," by Ivana Elbl, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662624.001.0001/acref-9780198662624-e-4161>.

⁵⁰ Joshua Prawer, "Minorities," in *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, Vol. 5 of *A History of the Crusades* ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 94-96.

⁵¹ Along the eastern frontiers of Europe Latin Christians encountered pagans, prompting missionary efforts and crusades.

possible identities – Christian or Muslim.⁵² These categories were broad and this thesis as a whole examines the differences among the groups under the category Christian. The broad dichotomy between Christian and Muslim made the narrower distinctions among the Christian Churches more intricate because the Latin writers often had to find ways to criticize those who claimed to follow the same Christian God. A writer like Guibert of Nogent, who was hostile toward many Christian groups, still recognized them as members of “our faith.”⁵³ Latin writers maintained a tension between a united Christian presence and divergent groups within it. An important theme is how the authors reasoned within this broad category and also when they focused on either unity or diversity.

Part of the reason that the role of cultural and religious markers of difference deserves attention is that the terms used by the writers to refer to groups did not offer a clear indication of how each differentiated among the groups. Despite ambiguities, some writers like William of Tyre clearly differentiated between culture and religion, which underscores the importance of understanding usages of these markers. Today we might say that someone was an American or a Protestant, clearly separating the two categories of cultural and religious affiliation.⁵⁴ This clear distinction based on separate categories did not apply to the variegated environment of the Levant, however. In the *Gesta Francorum*, the earliest chronicle of the First Crusade, the author referred to “the Franks,...the Arabs and Saracens, Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks.”⁵⁵ When a Latin writer mentioned ‘Armenians,’ did he mean a cultural group, a church, or some combination of the two? In other words, was there a difference between the Armenian people and the Armenian Church, a difference between culture and belief? Some restrictions on these terms are clear; these group designations did not refer to polities as

⁵² The conceptual division of the Levant into ‘Christian’ and ‘Muslim’ did not mean that the groups did not cooperate. Their cooperation occurred on formal levels. On multiple occasions Christian and Muslim polities fought alongside each other against a common enemy, although the Latin sources also raise the possibility of treachery in battle.

⁵³ Guibert of Nogent, 93.

⁵⁴ At certain times the cultural category has included an assumption of religious affiliation – 1950s America, for example.

⁵⁵ *Gesta Francorum*, 21.

such but to cultural groups. The ‘Syrians’ were not a kingdom or political entity like the Greeks (Byzantines), Armenians, or Georgians. In addition, the ‘Greeks’ present in Palestine were not under the political jurisdiction of the Byzantine Empire, even if they were culturally and religiously associated.

The term ‘Syrian’ illustrates the difficulties of determining the use of cultural and religious markers by the Crusaders in their attempts to understand Levantine society. First, there are multiple groups that may be counted as ‘Syrian’ depending on which criteria one uses. The possible contenders are the Maronites, the Jacobites, and the Melkites. Did the one name ‘Syrian’ refer to multiple groups at once or was it exclusive? The Crusader princes’ letter separates ‘Syrian’ and ‘Jacobite’, so it is clear that these two groups were not synonymous to some Latins.⁵⁶ Raymond and William of Tyre both refer to a group of Syrians in the Lebanese mountains, and William identifies them as Maronites. Raymond writes that their name came “since they are close to Tyre, now commonly called Sur.”⁵⁷ This etymology suggests that the term ‘Syrian’ reflected origin. William’s use of ‘Syrian’ extends beyond the Maronites, however. He uses ‘Syrian’ elsewhere to refer to citizens of Antioch, who were probably not Maronites due to the Maronites’ restricted geographical spread. This use suggests the possibility the name was being used for more than one group. This was one of many problems that the Crusaders’ faced when employing these terms.

The traditional identification of the Syrians with the Melkites still leaves important questions about what aspect of identity the title ‘Syrian’ refers to. A major marker of diversity is language, but the Melkites did not use Syriac as a liturgical or vernacular language. Sidney H. Griffith and Joshua Prawer both assert that the Melkites used Greek for liturgy and Arabic as the vernacular,⁵⁸ although MacEvitt

⁵⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, 111.

⁵⁷ Raymond d’Aguilers, 108.

⁵⁸ Sidney H. Griffith, “The Church of Jerusalem and the ‘Melkites’: The Making of an ‘Arab Orthodox’ Christian Identity in the World of Islam (750-1050 CE)” in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms* ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers n.v, 2006), 176, and Joshua Prawer, “Minorities”, 66.

argues that some used Syriac.⁵⁹ The Jacobites used Syriac for liturgical purposes, so they would seem to be the logical choice if the category were to be decided based on language.⁶⁰ The title 'Syrian' therefore does not match any of the contending groups based on their contemporary practices. The fact that the term 'Syrian' does not clearly match any one Levantine group and also that it does not clearly fit religious or cultural markers of identity suggests two problems: first, that the Crusaders encountered difficulties in differentiating among groups, and second, that the actual terms in use stemmed from other sources outside of current cultural and religious identity.

Cultural Markers of Identity

The Crusaders used cultural markers to differentiate among themselves, which shows that cultural markers played an important role in their conception of themselves even before they reached the Levant. The use of cultural markers among the Crusaders is not surprising because they shared one faith, Roman Catholicism, and therefore religious markers united them. It is more informative to see how cultural markers were deployed in a diverse religious environment like the Levant as the Crusaders tried to understand unfamiliar communities. The Latin authors used language as one characteristic of diversity among the Crusaders themselves. Europe was united by a religion and the liturgical language of Latin, but there were diverse vernaculars in use as well. Guibert of Nogent praised the number of different Europeans participating in the First Crusade and wrote, "as God is my witness, I swear that I heard that some barbarian people from I don't know what land were driven to our harbor, and their language was so incomprehensible that, when it failed them, they made the sign of the cross with their fingers; by these gestures they showed what they could not indicate with words, that because of their faith they set out on the journey."⁶¹ Guibert was not alone in identifying language as an important

⁵⁹ MacEvitt, 8.

⁶⁰ Hamilton, 190.

⁶¹ Guibert of Nogent, 29.

factor for differentiation. William of Tyre recorded the journey of Peter the Hermit and his army in advance of the main body of the First Crusade and referred to “some of the Teutons and others who spoke their language.”⁶²

Language was an important consideration for differentiating among the Crusaders, but the associated marker of the origin of the Crusaders was also important to the writers. Albert recorded the groundswell across Europe in response to the calling of the First Crusade in 1095 and wrote, “at the beginning of the summer [of 1096], after Peter and Gottschalk had led the way with the army they had assembled, presently another such host was flocking together in bands from different kingdoms and lands, including, of course, France, England, Flanders, and Lotharingia...”⁶³ The origin of the Crusaders, what land or kingdom they belonged to, created the means of telling them apart. Raymond d’Aguilers also defined the difference between Provençals and Franks in a similar origin-based way: “Among the auxiliary group were the Count of Flanders and some Provençals, a name applied to all those from Burgundy, Auvergne, Gascony, and Gothia. I call to your attention that all others in our army are called Franks, but the enemy makes no distinction and uses Franks for all.”⁶⁴ This division is particularly interesting because Christopher Tyerman suggests that the primary difference between these two particular groups was language.⁶⁵ The emphasis on cultural indicators present within the Crusader ranks before the First Crusade reveals the role of culture in differentiation once the Latins ruled the Levant.

The Latins’ use of cultural markers of identity extended to their interactions with native Christians. First, the Latins applied the terms ‘nation,’ ‘race,’ and ‘people’ to the groups they encountered as well as to themselves. At the same time, they also used more specific markers like the “idioms, manner, and dress” that were particularly highlighted by William of Tyre. The Latin terms used

⁶² William of Tyre, 1:107.

⁶³ Albert of Aachen, 49. He maintains these careful distinctions based on origin throughout his chronicle.

⁶⁴ Raymond d’Aguilers, 34.

⁶⁵ Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 94.

in the chronicles for identifying groups are *gens*, *populus*, *natio*, and *plebs*. I conducted research in translation because I do not read Latin but consulted the Latin texts of the chronicles and dictionaries of medieval Latin to understand the translator's choices.⁶⁶ I included the Latin words used in the passages in my discussion to ground my analysis in the original texts. My examination revealed general usage trends. *Gens* appears frequently and is almost always translated as 'race,' although it also appears as 'people.' It often is used to refer to smaller ethnic units (Franks, Lombards, Turks). *Populus* is another common term and is translated as 'people.' It is used most frequently to refer to a group of people (commoners, Christians) but also is occasionally used to describe people groups (Bulgars) and is even translated as 'race.'⁶⁷ *Natio* was used most extensively by William of Tyre and is translated as 'nation,' although the few occurrences elsewhere appear as 'people,' 'nation,' and 'race' and refer to distinct cultural groups.⁶⁸ *Plebs* appears infrequently and is translated as 'people,' usually with a reference to a unifying feature such as ethnicity or religion (people of God).⁶⁹ The following discussion will focus on the use of *gens* and *natio* because these terms frequently refer to distinct cultural units and not to large but ill-defined groups (such as commoners).

The meaning of 'nation' and 'race' in the medieval period did not necessarily correspond to current usage. *Gens*, 'race,' for instance, did not refer to physical differences but to ethnic groups – Western Europeans like Lombards, Franks, and Provençals were each regarded as individual *gentes*. A more significant example is the case of *natio*, 'nation.' The *Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages* provides this summary of nationalism: "Whether it served as a catalyst of political sentiment or as a means of contact management, nationality was routinely invoked where there was a need for at least

⁶⁶ I consulted R.E. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975) and J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), <http://archive.org/details/MedievalLatinLexicon>.

⁶⁷ Albert of Aachen refers to the Bulgars as "a wild and incorrigible people" (627). William of Tyre refers to the "Latin race" (2:461).

⁶⁸ William of Tyre identifies the Maronites as a *natio* although it is translated as 'race' (2:458).

⁶⁹ William of Tyre, 1:81.

two broadly similar but sufficiently contrasting and (to some degree) adversarial political, linguistic, or ethnic groups to be in physical or perceptual contact.”⁷⁰ This definition shows that the nationalism was used as a means of conceptual separation when two groups encountered each other. The idea of using the concepts of ‘nation’ and ‘race’ as a means to differentiate among similar but sometimes antagonistic cultural groups proves particularly helpful for understanding the extensive Latin use of these terms to describe their situation in the Levant.

Latin writers used the terms *gens* and *natio* to describe the groups of native Christians they encountered. Raymond d’Aguilers described a group the Crusaders encountered in the Lebanese mountains, probably the Maronites. He digressed to discuss their misfortunes, but ended it this way: “But why should I waste so much time on the Syrians? Surely this *race* [*gens*] plotted against the Holy of Holies and His inheritance. Had God not by His order and initiative armed brutish animals against similar evils as He did once in our presence [Battle of Ascalon], the Franks could have met misfortunes like those of the Surians” (emphasis mine).⁷¹ An independent author like Albert of Aachen also used *gens* to refer to the Syrians, indicating that the term was widespread among the Crusaders. Albert wrote that a Muslim prince “sent a messenger of the Christian faith, a Syrian by race.”⁷² William of Tyre’s use of ‘race’ was broader than just referring to Syrians, however, and included other Eastern Christians. He wrote that at the siege of Antioch “the townspeople had been suspicious of the Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, and all other citizens who professed the Christian faith, irrespective of the *race* to which they belonged” (emphasis mine).⁷³ Each of the particular groups he mentioned were identified as Christian, but more importantly they were differentiated as well by ‘race.’

William of Tyre was the Latin writer who used *natio* most extensively, but it appeared very sporadically in other authors as well. William’s use of this term corresponded to his use of ‘race.’ He

⁷⁰ “Nation and Nationhood,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*.

⁷¹ Raymond, d’Aguilers, 109, *gens*.

⁷² Albert of Aachen, 347, *gens*.

⁷³ William of Tyre, 1:252, *gen*.

wrote that after the capture of Antioch “the Christians who dwelt in the city, Syrians, Armenians, and the true believers of other *nations*, rejoiced exceedingly over what had happened” (emphasis mine).⁷⁴ In his earlier passage he described these same groups as ‘races.’ This interchangeability suggests that there was not a sharp distinction between the two concepts. The Latin authors frequently used ‘race’ and ‘nation’ to describe the Eastern Christians they encountered, and the use of these terms reveals that these Christian groups exhibited perceivable cultural differences.

Latins also used these terms to refer to themselves, indicating that the cultural conceptions they used in the Levant stemmed from Europe. Albert of Aachen uses *gens* to refer to ‘race,’ writing about “the whole race of Germans” and later identifying a translator as “a Lombard by race.”⁷⁵ A distinctive of Albert’s chronicle was his detailed divisions of the Europeans, and his use of *gens* to do so as in these examples illustrates that he understood the Europeans at home and the Crusaders abroad as consisting of distinct *gentes*. The use of *natio* also reinforces the importance of Latin cultural identifiers. According to William of Tyre, Bohemond warned Godfrey during the stay at Constantinople that Alexius planned to destroy “every Latin nation.”⁷⁶ This passage emphasized on the one hand the general cultural unity encompassed by the term ‘Latin’ while at the same time reinforcing the division of this unity into distinct units. The Latin use of *gens* and *natio* as common methods of referring both to themselves and to the new groups they encountered in the Levant reflected the conceptual tools of difference which the Latins brought with them from Western Europe.

The Latin writers also differentiated among groups in the Levant based on language, clothing, and customs. The division between the Latins and the native population was sometimes more pronounced than the divisions among diverse religious groups, and Latin writers suggest a level of cultural unity across the Muslim and Christian populations of the Levant. William of Tyre recorded that

⁷⁴ William of Tyre, 1:258, *natio*.

⁷⁵ Albert of Aachen, 139, 27.

⁷⁶ William of Tyre, 1:129.

the Latin prince of Edessa, Baldwin du Bourg, agreed to shave off his beard if he could not pay a debt. This suggestion surprised his Armenian father-in-law “for Orientals, both Greeks and other nationalities, cherish the beard with most earnest care, and if perchance even one hair be pulled from it, this insult is regarded as the highest dishonor and ignominy.”⁷⁷ This example shows the importance of a cultural marker of appearance which characterized native residents of the Levant and reveals their differences with the Latins.

Guibert of Nogent acknowledged that cultural markers were important for differentiating between native Christians and the Muslims, but his example demonstrates the difficulties encountered by the Crusaders due to general cultural similarities in the native population. Guibert wrote that in the sack of Antioch the Crusaders “would have spared many [of the Armenians and Syrians] had they known how to make a distinction between the native pagans and those of our own faith. In the confusion of the moment and of the action...perhaps nothing permitted distinguishing foreigners by their clothing or beards.”⁷⁸ Clothing and facial hair united these diverse groups in Guibert’s category of ‘foreigner,’ but his comments also reveal that there was a way to differentiate among these groups based on the cultural markers of clothing and facial hair which was obscured by the chaos, terror, and mayhem which accompanied the sacking of Antioch. This passage depicts broad cultural similarities between many diverse groups in the Levant which even extended across religious boundaries – these similarities complicated but did not negate the possibility of differentiating using cultural markers.

The clearest example of the cultural measures of differentiation was William of Tyre’s statement that “some [Muslim spies] pretend to be Greeks, some Syrians, and others Armenians, and all could easily assume the characteristics of such nations in idioms, manner, and dress.”⁷⁹ These identifiers appeared throughout Latin chronicles, although the majority of instances again appeared in William of

⁷⁷ Ibid, 1:480.

⁷⁸ Guibert of Nogent, 93.

⁷⁹ William of Tyre, 1:221, *natio*.

Tyre's chronicle. In a revealing passage, William wrote that Gabriel, an important Armenian figure and father-in-law of Baldwin II of Jerusalem, "was Armenian by birth, language, and habit, but Greek in faith."⁸⁰ First, this passage reinforces the idea that each group of Eastern Christians had extensive and identifiable cultural markers, then, in addition, the phrase "by birth" illustrates that the ethnic portion of identity was also important. William's repeated references to varied cultural markers illustrated an increasing ability to recognize the diversity of the Levant.

Finally, the Latin writers demonstrated an ability to separate out cultural and religious identities among the Eastern Christians they encountered. Albert of Aachen included numerous examples of this ability. In the aftermath of Peter the Hermit's defeat in Anatolia, a force of Christians was trapped in a fortress "until a messenger, who was a loyal Greek and a Christian," went to Peter in Constantinople.⁸¹ This usage is important because instead of identifying the man as a Greek Christian, and therefore a member of the Greek Orthodox Church, Albert separated his cultural (Greek) and religious (Christian) identity. William of Tyre was much more explicit in his division between culture and religion. In his description of the Maronites, he revealed knowledge of their theology, but also identified them by the cultural characteristic of being of the Syrian race.⁸² William's identification of Gabriel as "Armenian by birth, language, and habit, but Greek in faith" also clearly shows the distinction between religion and culture he was capable of making.⁸³ This passage illustrates the diversity of Levantine society because Gabriel was culturally Armenian but religiously Greek. The Latins' ability to separate religion from culture and the recognition that the Eastern Christians not only separated themselves according to these categories but also did not conceive of themselves as subscribing to fixed combinations of these categories reveals the complexities of identity in Levantine society

⁸⁰ Ibid, 2:450.

⁸¹ Albert of Aachen, 43.

⁸² William of Tyre, 1:458-459. William uses *natio* to describe the Maronites.

⁸³ Ibid, 2:450.

Religious Markers of Identity

In addition to the extensive use of cultural markers, the Latin authors also used religious markers to differentiate among Eastern Christians. These markers included awareness of ecclesiastical structure and belief, but in contrast to cultural markers, Latins and Eastern Christians shared a commonality of religion. Their shared Christianity allowed the Latins to use more narrow forms of differentiation like charges of heresy to differentiate among Christian groups, but these divisions did not necessarily reflect the reality of the established differences among the Christian Churches. The Latins' ability to separate culture and religion as demonstrated by William of Tyre reveals that the Latins operated with two distinct categories of identity. One way that the Latin authors used religion as a marker of difference was by highlighting the beliefs of various Eastern Churches. Guibert of Nogent, writing in the first decade of the twelfth century, demonstrated extensive knowledge of the practices and beliefs of the Greek Orthodox Church. He cited their practice of the Eucharist, their lack of acknowledgement of Western ecclesiastical authority, and most importantly, their deviant doctrine of the Trinity. Guibert recorded the Greek Church's practice of using leavened bread in the Eucharist which the West did not share, and also that the Greeks and Latins differed on the location of the Apostolic see. This latter observation is especially important because it underscores the conflict over ecclesiastical authority between the two Churches. Guibert repeatedly noted that the Greeks diverged from established Latin traditions, which demonstrates his belief that the Roman Catholic Church was the true Apostolic Church. The issue of ecclesiastical authority reveals efforts by Rome to establish itself and its views as the standard and to assert its authority over what Guibert saw as an increasingly 'deviant' Greek Orthodox Church. Guibert also wrote that some members of the Greek Orthodox Church argued that the Holy Spirit was less than the Father or the Son.⁸⁴ Some of Guibert's knowledge, especially about the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Orthodox theology, came from the discussions surrounding the

⁸⁴ Guibert of Nogent, 31.

Schism of 1054. He mentioned “debate with the Greeks” which led to works by Western Christian authors on the subject.⁸⁵ Guibert of Nogent’s comments served as a criticism of the Greek Orthodox Church, and because of the recent Schism of 1054, the differences between the Latin and Greek Churches were likely more widely known to Latins.

A later writer like William of Tyre demonstrated greater understanding both of the differences between the Latins and the Greeks as well as of the theology of the Eastern Christian Maronite Church than previous Latin writers. He revealed his knowledge of Greek Orthodox belief and practice through his analysis of the Greek massacre of the Latins living in Constantinople in 1182.⁸⁶

The Greek nobles...and the rest of the people as well, naturally conceived an insatiable hatred toward us, and this was increased by the difference between our sacraments and those of their church, which furnished an additional incentive to their jealousy. For they, having separated insolently from the church of Rome...looked upon everyone who did not follow their foolish traditions as a heretic. It was they themselves, on the contrary, who deserved the name of heretics, because they had either created or followed new and pernicious beliefs contrary to the Roman church and the faith of the apostles Peter and Paul...⁸⁷

The same themes in Guibert resurfaced here. The sacraments of the Latin and Greek Church differed, a clear break had occurred, and the authority of Rome as the ‘true’ Church was threatened. William was a member of the clergy in the Levant and spent time in Constantinople, so his knowledge, unlike Guibert’s, was probably first-hand.⁸⁸ William’s harsh comments here may reflect a new level of animosity between the Churches because of the massacre, but they demonstrate that Latins personally familiar with the Greek Church understood and condemned its practices.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 31.

⁸⁶ Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204* (London: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1997), 296.

⁸⁷ William of Tyre, 2:462.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 2:449. His comments in this earlier passage are very positive toward the Greeks and their Church, so his biting criticism in the later passage is even more remarkable. Possibly the massacre was the culmination of increasingly tense relations between the Churches.

William also demonstrated knowledge of the theology of one of the autocephalous Eastern Churches. When he described the union of the Maronites with the Latin Church in 1182⁸⁹ he wrote that “for almost fifty years these people had followed the heretical doctrines of a certain Maro, from whom they took the name of Maronites. They had separated from the church of the faithful and had adopted a special liturgy of their own. Now, however, by divine leading, they were restored to their right minds and abandoned their heresy.”⁹⁰ William demonstrated knowledge of the Maronites’ history, although his dates were problematic. He wrote that Maro’s doctrines were condemned at the Council of Chalcedon which occurred in 451, casting doubt on his assertion that the Maronites had only followed these doctrines for fifty years. Importantly, William also demonstrated familiarity with their doctrines, indicating an increased Latin understanding of Eastern Christians lacking in the early years of their rule. He outlined the basis of the Maronites’ faith – Maro believed in one will and one energy of Christ, although they had added further unspecified heresies after their separation.

Sometimes Latin writers demonstrated recognition of the ecclesiastical structures of the Eastern Churches. This is particularly important because it acknowledged these Churches as established units distinct from the Latin Church and from each other. One particularly important example appears in William’s treatment of the Maronites. He made the important point that they entered into communion with the Roman Catholic Church “under the leadership of their patriarch and several of their bishops.”⁹¹ Although the Maronites were considered heretical before their union with Rome, William acknowledged their existing ecclesiastical structure.

The mention of ‘heresy’ throughout the Latin chronicles demonstrated a further example of differentiation along religious lines, although in the medieval period it was often used as a convenient way of discrediting people regardless of their actual religious beliefs. The technical sense of ‘heresy’ is a

⁸⁹ Micheau, 385.

⁹⁰ William of Tyre, 2:458.

⁹¹ Ibid, 2:459.

specific religious term which implies a shared faith, but the expression of which one party has been deemed by the religious authorities to have corrupted. 'Heresy' also necessitates an ecclesiastical structure capable of enforcing the sentence. In the early Christian Church heresies were condemned at councils, which created a uniform belief system for the Church and exiled many smaller breakaway Churches. At the time of the First Crusade, the Latins and Greek Orthodox were beginning to deviate from each other, although the split had not become permanent.⁹² Guibert condemned the heresies of the Greek Orthodox Church and other groups like the Nestorians.⁹³ Nestorians were condemned at the First Council of Ephesus in 431, so they were counted as heretics in the broader Christian world.⁹⁴ William also uses the term 'heresy' to refer to the Greek Orthodox and the Maronites, although he is careful to demonstrate how the Maronites were actually heretics by citing the verdict of the Council of Chalcedon.

Other uses of 'heresy' by Latin authors are less precise and do not reflect the beliefs of the Eastern Christians themselves. These usages suggest that 'heresy' was a malleable term. Alexander Patchovsky argues that in the medieval period the term heresy became divorced from specific beliefs and was used as a tool of power by both religious and secular authorities.⁹⁵ Charges of heresy could be leveled in order to discredit one's opponents or to assert authority. Crusaders sometimes employed 'heresy' in similar ways in order to separate themselves from Eastern Christians. An important example of imprecise charges of heresy was the Crusading princes' letter to Pope Urban II. This letter was written outside Antioch in September, 1098, a few months after the city's fall. In it, the princes on the First Crusade informed Pope Urban II that "the heretics, Greeks and Armenians, Syrians and Jacobites,

⁹² Bernard Hamilton, 18.

⁹³ Guibert of Nogent, 30-32.

⁹⁴ Micheau, "Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites," 377-378.

⁹⁵ Alexander Patchovsky, "Heresy and Society," in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: York Medieval Press, 2003).

we have not been able to overcome.”⁹⁶ These diverse groups differed greatly in belief and practice but only the Armenians and Jacobites were technically heretics by the standard of the ecumenical councils. In addition, the Crusaders demonstrated a willingness to work closely with the Greek Orthodox Church in their early conquests and even placed themselves under Greek ecclesiastical authority.⁹⁷ These slippages between reported religious identification and practical interactions among Christian groups suggest that the Latin markers of identity were unstable. This theme of using these markers to create unity and diversity will be explored in the next section.

The Latin writers demonstrated an ability to differentiate among groups in the Levant based on both cultural and religious markers of identity. The cultural markers of language, dress, manners, and nationality operated within the religious identity of Christianity, but the Latins relied more frequently on cultural than religious markers of identity. This reliance reveals the Latins’ cultural limitations but also reflects the readily identifiable markers of identity available in the Levant. Increasing contact with Eastern Christians led to a more developed understanding of the role of religion and culture in the Levant illustrated by William of Tyre’s more nuanced conception of identity in the Levant.

⁹⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, 111.

⁹⁷ William of Tyre, 1:309.

Moveable Boundaries Delineating Unity and Diversity

As the previous section showed, Latin writers used cultural and religious markers to differentiate among Eastern Christians in the Levant. William of Tyre's text demonstrates that the Latins developed an increased understanding of religious and cultural differences among Eastern Christians and an increased capacity to distinguish between these categories. The Latins' use of markers was not unbiased, due the demands of their endeavor in the Levant, and at moments of tension they articulated ideas of either separation from or unity with Eastern Christians. That is to say, Latins relied on religion and culture to separate themselves from Eastern Christians at moments when the Latins themselves felt threatened, but at moments of crisis when the active Christian presence in the Levant was threatened, Latins emphasized Christian unity over internal fractures.

The first major instance of a conscious effort to emphasize the uniqueness of the Latins in the Levant appeared in the letter written by the Crusader princes to Pope Urban II after the siege of Antioch. Fulcher of Chartres included this letter after his description of the siege of Antioch. The letter was written by six of the most important Crusader princes on September 11, 1098 after the conclusion of the siege of Antioch on June 28th but before the army moved south to Jerusalem in 1099.⁹⁸ This letter first recounted the campaign of the Crusaders through Asia Minor and then detailed the siege of Antioch. The letter concluded with an appeal for Pope Urban II to personally lead the Crusaders against the Christian heretics and on to Jerusalem. The letter demonstrated an effort by the Latins both to emphasize their own religious identity and at the same time to separate themselves from Eastern Christians based on perceived differences.

The period between the end of the siege of Antioch and the campaign against Jerusalem was marked by dissension among the Crusaders and between the Crusaders and the emperor of Constantinople, Alexius I Comnenus, all centered on the fate of Antioch and the goal of the First

⁹⁸ Raymond of Toulouse was the first leader to leave for Jerusalem, departing on January 13th, 1099 (*Gesta*, 81).

Crusade. These tensions were exacerbated by the death of the papal legate, Adhémar on August 1st, mentioned in the letter.⁹⁹ While the Crusaders were at Constantinople, they swore oaths of fealty to Alexius I and promised to return former Byzantine territory in return for aid for their expedition. Initially, Alexius provided the Crusaders with the Byzantine general Tatikios, soldiers, and supplies. The first crack in the alliance occurred when Tatikios deserted the Crusaders at the siege of Antioch – the importance of his desertion to the Crusading army was demonstrated by its presence in three chronicles.¹⁰⁰ During the latter stages of the siege of Antioch, Alexius I honored his promise of aid by leading an army to help the Crusaders, but turned back when he encountered high-ranking deserters who convinced him of the destruction of the Crusader army. Unbeknownst to Alexius, the Crusaders had dramatically defeated the Muslim relief army on June 28th and retained control of Antioch. The Crusaders sent a messenger to Constantinople after their victory requesting, ironically, the promised aid.¹⁰¹ When Alexius' actions became known, the Crusader leaders began maneuvering among themselves for control of Antioch and a contest for leadership emerged between Bohemond and Raymond of Toulouse. These tensions among the Crusader leaders appear in the letter since Raymond of Toulouse is the only name missing whereas he appeared in Fulcher's earlier list of all the Crusader leaders. Initially, the leaders agreed to delay the departure for Jerusalem until the fall, but increasing conflict between Crusader leaders contributed to stalling the Latin forces around Antioch.¹⁰² The Crusader army also expressed impatience with the inertia of their leaders, even dismantling the walls of a city in protest.¹⁰³ The context of the act of writing, therefore, was a perceived abandonment by their powerful Byzantine allies, internal divisions among the leaders exacerbated by the death of their spiritual leader Adhémar, and questions about the direction of the expedition.

⁹⁹ Tyerman, 148-149.

¹⁰⁰ Tatikios' desertion was recorded by the *Gesta Francorum* (34-35), Raymond d'Aguilers (37), and Albert of Aachen (311-313).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 147.

¹⁰² *Gesta Francorum*, 72.

¹⁰³ Raymond d'Aguilers, 81.

The princes wrote to the Pope emphasizing their religious identity as members of the Western Church and recalling the Pope's role in calling the Crusade. First, they wrote that "our Lord Jesus Christ delivered all of Antioch to the *Roman* religion and faith" (emphasis mine).¹⁰⁴ This contrasted markedly with their initial summary of the siege where they wrote that "finally all the battles were won and the Christian faith was exalted."¹⁰⁵ This narrower religious recasting of the Crusaders by the Crusaders themselves may be linked to the leaders' stated aim to request the Pope to come and provide leadership in the Levant. This reassertion of the Crusaders' distinctive religious identity also contrasted with Fulcher's version of Urban II's speech at Clermont emphasizing Christian unity among Churches. According to Fulcher, Urban said "you must hasten to carry aid to your brethren dwelling in the East, who need your help from which they have often entreated."¹⁰⁶ Urban II clearly envisioned a unity with Christians in the East which was threatened by the Crusaders' emphasis on their distinctive religious identity at a moment of tension.

The princely letter also reveals that the Latin reassertion of their distinctive religious identity in a moment of tension was coupled with a movement to group other Christians together in a move which did not reflect theological or practical realities. This tendency was supported by the Crusaders' use of the term 'heresy' as a means of separating themselves from the Eastern Christians. The princes wrote, "the heretics, Greeks and Armenians, Syrians and Jacobites, we have not been able to overcome."¹⁰⁷ As has been seen above, the charge of 'heresy' did not reflect the actual theological or practical connections between the Latins and these Churches.

The Latin perspective on these Eastern Christians was revealed by their assertion that they "have not been able to overcome" these heretics.¹⁰⁸ This statement implies a desire for active

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 110.

¹⁰⁵ Fulcher of Chartres, 108-109.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 65-66.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 111.

¹⁰⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, 111.

suppression of 'deviant' groups by the Crusaders. Whether this actually occurred is unclear – the image that they wanted to portray to the Pope, however, was of those who upheld and purified the Church. This antagonism toward other Christians was emphasized by the fact that they drew a parallel between their actions against Christians and against Muslims. The princes wrote that they “have subdued the Turks and pagans; but the heretics...we have not yet been able to overcome.” In their minds both groups needed to be brought under Crusader control. In addition, they clearly viewed the Pope as the proper figure to aid them in this endeavor. They requested him to come so that he could “eradicate and destroy by [his] authority and our strength all heresies of whatever kind.”¹⁰⁹ These appeals acknowledged Papal authority in order to maintain the Church as well as a desire by the Crusaders for order. Both the Crusader's reassertion of their religious identity as members of the Roman Church and their acknowledgment of Papal authority shows an emphasis on their own expression of faith. The Crusader princes' letter to Pope Urban II reveals that when tensions threatened the Latins themselves, the Crusaders reasserted their religious position and separated themselves from other Christians by grouping Eastern Christians together using religious markers. This artificial grouping demonstrates a flexible use of markers of diversity by not reflecting the reality of the Latin experience in the Levant.

The Latins continued to separate themselves from other residents of the Levant even as they deepened their understanding of Eastern Christians. The murder of Raymond II, the Count of Tripoli, in 1150 or 1151 demonstrated a moment of tension when the Latins separated themselves from the native population by focusing on cultural differences.¹¹⁰ Raymond II, one of the leaders of the four Crusader states, was killed by Assassins in the gate of the city of Tripoli. The Assassins were a Muslim sect who carried out targeted killings from their bases in Iran and the Syrian mountains.¹¹¹ The Count's death prompted retaliation by the Latin population of the city of Tripoli. William reported “the people flew to

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 111.

¹¹⁰ The date is unclear in the text so it could be either 1150 or 1151 (note 35 on William of Tyre, 2:214).

¹¹¹ Tyerman, 199.

arms and without discrimination put to the sword all those who were found to differ *either in language or dress from the Latins*. In this way it was hoped that the perpetrators of the foul deed might be found” (emphasis mine).¹¹² The Latin response revolved around cultural differences – their victims were those who did not speak or dress like the Latins. William of Tyre did not record which groups the victims represented, and conceivably the victims included both Eastern Christians and Muslims. This response illustrates that cultural differences between Latins and the native population remained readily apparent.

Interestingly, William also made clear that the massacre represented a popular response. Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem, was present in Tripoli at the time of the murder, but William stressed that he was not involved. William’s efforts to distance the King from the reaction may fit into his desire to portray the King positively throughout his work, but even a neutral stance by the King illustrates that tension between the Latins and the native population of the Levant influenced him as well. The massacre also made the Latins the reference point of society – the other groups were targeted because they differed from the Latins and not because they actually aided the Assassins. The massacre at Tripoli demonstrates the Latin pattern of separating themselves from the native population at moments of tension using cultural differences and of indiscriminately grouping diverse populations together.

The Latin writers demonstrated that when the Latin’s self-interest in the Levant was threatened they attempted to separate themselves from the native population, but the writers also demonstrated that the Latins sought unity when Christianity in the Levant was threatened. The Latin sources do not contain many invocations of Christian unity, possibly because the authors belonged to the dominant Church in the Levant. Military conflict with Muslim forces promoted a sense of Christian unity in the Crusader states which was expressed by joint religious activities between Latins and Eastern Christians. Because of the precarious nature of the Christian political presence in the Levant, these battles were crucial for the continued survival of the Crusader states. Many Latin chroniclers recounted clergy from

¹¹² William of Tyre, 2:214.

multiple Churches processing around Jerusalem before major battles. The *Gesta Francorum* provided an account of the Battle of Ascalon on August 12, 1099, when Fatimid forces from Egypt attacked the newly-established Crusaders in Jerusalem. The author wrote:

Peter the Hermit stayed in Jerusalem to admonish and encourage all the Greek and Latin priests and the clerks to go in procession devoutly to the honour of God, and to pray and give alms, so that God might grant his people victory. The clerks and priests put on their holy vestments and led the procession to the Temple of our Lord, where they sang masses and orisons, praying that God would defend his people.¹¹³

In this instance, Greek and Latin clergy served together in an effort to secure God's favor for the impending battle. This cooperation occurred in the midst of increasing tensions between the Churches as the Latins established their control in Jerusalem at the expense of the Greek Orthodox. Despite these early fractures, the Latins incorporated other Churches into their ceremonies when the political presence of Christianity in the Levant was threatened.

Despite increased strains between the Churches, Latin, Greek, and Syrian clergy served together in the preparations for the Battle of Azotus in 1123. Fulcher of Chartres wrote that "we who remained at Jerusalem, Latins, Greeks, and Syrians alike, did not cease to pray for our brothers who were thus placed in tribulation, to bestow alms upon the needy, and at the same time to visit piously in barefoot procession all the churches of the Holy City."¹¹⁴ The Syrian presence alongside the Latins and Greeks indicates a greater sense of Christian unity. The absence of other Churches proves difficult to explain because of Jacobite and Armenian presence in Jerusalem;¹¹⁵ possibly Fulcher was following the traditional division of Churches into Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian Churches. More importantly, Fulcher described the clergy from the different Churches as praying for "our brothers" of the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The prayers of these diverse Churches were sought after for the success of the largely Latin army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The army's defeat threatened all Christians under

¹¹³ *Gesta Francorum*, 94.

¹¹⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, 242.

¹¹⁵ Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, 190 for Jacobites, 201 for Armenians.

Latin rule and therefore promoted basic unity in support of the army. The prospect of defeat also prompted the Latins to think inclusively about their fellow Christians and to temporarily incorporate them into religious ceremonies.

Threat of Muslim invasions prompted Christian unity in the Levant, but other instances of unity emerged as responses to the perceived clear workings of God. The most dramatic example of responses to God's disfavor was the absence of the Miracle of the Holy Fire in 1101. The traumatic experience of the failure of Miracle of the Holy Fire compelled Latins to seek unity with Eastern Christians. This event provides particularly rich material for analysis and will therefore be introduced in a new section.

The Failure of the Miracle of the Holy Fire

The high point of the Christian religious year was the celebration of Easter. The importance of this religious festival was heightened in Jerusalem, the site of the original events themselves. There were many traditions surrounding the celebration in Jerusalem including the dramatic Miracle of the Holy Fire. The fullest account of the history of the Miracle and the events of 1101 was recorded by Guibert of Nogent. The Miracle appeared in Western accounts as early as 870, and Guibert was impressed by its history.¹¹⁶ According to Guibert, the lamp in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was lighted every year by a miracle on Holy Saturday without fail, even when the Muslims removed the wick.¹¹⁷ Danger signs for the Latins appeared in 1100 when the Miracle was only obtained with difficulty and required a confession of sins by those present.¹¹⁸ In 1101, however, the Holy Fire failed to appear. Guibert wrote, "when the time came for the celestial flame to make the tomb glorious, all men lifted up their prayers from deep within. Greeks and Syrians, Armenians and Latins, each in his own

¹¹⁶ The mention appears in account of the pilgrim Bernard the Monk. F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginning of Modern Times*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 263. Guibert of Nogent, 160-161.

¹¹⁷ Guibert of Nogent, 160-161.

¹¹⁸ Guibert of Nogent, 161.

language, called upon God and his saints.”¹¹⁹ The Miracle failed and the next day people processed with mourning to the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem; as a result of their public display of penance the lamp was lit.¹²⁰

The failure of this Miracle was a disaster for the Latins because of the importance of the celebration of Easter and the centrality of Jerusalem to all Christians. This event undermined Latin legitimacy in the Levant and prompted soul-searching to uncover what sins had prompted God to withhold His favor. Guibert’s account proves particularly helpful for illustrating the movement toward Christian unity at moments of tension because of his often stated distaste for Eastern Christians expressed elsewhere in his work.

In his description of Easter, 1100 Guibert did not record which Christian groups were present at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Guibert’s account of 1101, however, specifically cited the role of Eastern Christians in the ceremony. Guibert’s account again did not specify who participated in the procession, but the presence of the Eastern Christians in the earlier ceremony indicates that they were likely involved in the procession as well. Guibert’s account created a practical equality among Christian groups which was lacking in his earlier accounts. Earlier, Guibert targeted two groups mentioned in this passage, the Syrians and the Armenians, calling them “titular Christians”, that is, Christians in name only.¹²¹ This charge questioned the genuineness of their faith, no small matter. The explanation of the change in Guibert’s writing hinges on the importance of Jerusalem and Easter to Christianity. The miracle of the Holy Fire affected all the Churches in the Levant because of the centrality of Jerusalem and the celebration of Easter. The presence of the Eastern Christians in the Holy Week ceremony indicates that their presence was accepted in certain religious ceremonies, but Guibert’s specific mention of them in a position of equality with the Latins also emphasizes the importance of all

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 161.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 161.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 75.

Christians in a moment of crisis which affected all Christians. In a moment of crisis like the failure of a miracle, the grudging acknowledgement of Christian unity earlier was transformed into an acknowledgement of equality.

The Latin writers depicted instances of Latins seeking to differentiate themselves from Eastern Christians and as well as examples of Latins emphasizing Christian unity with the Eastern Christians. When the Latins themselves felt threatened by internal conflicts or external agents they stressed their distinctive religious and cultural identity and indiscriminately grouped together the diverse groups of the native population. When the practice of Christianity in the Levant was threatened, for example in the absence of the Holy Fire or when the Christian political presence in the Levant was threatened by Muslim attacks, Latins tended to associate themselves with the greater Christian community in the Levant. The changing nature of the boundaries established by religious and cultural markers of identification indicates that these were not fixed but could be moved to serve the purposes of the Latin population.

The next two sections deal with Latin appropriation of religious authority in the Levant and the twin concepts of integration and assimilation. Appropriation and integration/assimilation emerged from cultural contact and exchange between Latins and the native population. These trends differed from Latin tendencies to move conceptual boundaries examined in the previous section because the shifting of boundaries represented short-term flexibility which did not elicit greater trends of change. Appropriation and integration/assimilation caused lasting changes in the Levant by the creation of new structures like the Latin Church in the East and changes in the existing Latin and Eastern Christian social structures. In the religious sphere, exchange was almost completely one-sided – Latins exerted their influence by replacing the Greek Orthodox Church in the Levant and slowly incorporating autocephalous Churches. Eastern Christians had greater influence in the cultural sphere, although the exchange still

avored the Latins. Important examples emerged of Latins adopting cultural features of Levantine society and assimilating into native society as well as of Eastern Christians integrating into Latin society.

Latin Appropriation

The Latin and Greek Orthodox Churches maintained a conceptual unity as one Church through the beginning of the First Crusade which stemmed from the shared tradition of the Ecumenical Councils of the Church and created a special relation between the Crusaders and the Greek Orthodox. This close relation provides revealing portraits of Latin ideas of Christians in the Levant because of the changes which occurred in it. The history of the relation demonstrates a shift from Latin cooperation with the Orthodox to Latin ecclesiastical hegemony over the course of ninety years. Matching this trend, Latins appropriated the term 'Eastern Church' to refer to a Latin Church present in the Crusaders states of the Levant. The early cooperation between the Latins and the Greeks, demonstrated by joint letters and placement of a Latin bishop within the Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy, was soon thwarted by Latin efforts to create Latin ecclesiastical hegemony. While Western Christians maintained the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical structure, they placed Latins in important positions at the expense of the Greek clergy. The Crusader sources indicate that there was tension between the desire to help Eastern Christians and to recover Jerusalem. The focus on Jerusalem as the goal of the First Crusade increased as revealed in the later chronicles of Albert of Aachen and William of Tyre, indicating a shift away from earlier cooperation. Latins also transformed the idea of the Eastern Church, changing it from referencing the Greek Orthodox tradition to referencing the Latin Church, recently established in the Levant. This transformation underscores the importance of the conceptual shift in Latin thinking which occurred as they established their authority. The Latins' appropriation of the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical structures and their transformation of the Church in the East demonstrate the drive toward Latin ecclesiastical hegemony.

Appropriation of the Greek Ecclesiastical Structure

In the early years of the First Crusade the Crusaders accepted Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical authority. Crusader leaders and Symeon II, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, sent letters to Christians in Europe urging participation in the Crusade. Their joint letter provides evidence for cooperation, but Symeon II's individual letter also illustrates that the Western Church accepted Eastern ecclesiastical authority. Symeon II, who was with the Crusaders near Antioch, was the sole author of a letter written in 1098 addressed to Christians in Europe.¹²² Symeon II wrote, "if those who have made the [Crusading] vow do not fulfill it by coming, I, the apostolic patriarch, and the bishops and all the Order of the orthodox, excommunicate them and expel them from the communion of the Church."¹²³ The patriarch's reference to only one Church implied unity between the Eastern and Western Churches and therefore a larger idea of Christendom. More importantly, the patriarch claimed the authority to excommunicate Western Christians. The promulgation of the patriarch's letter in the West suggested at least a tacit acceptance of his ecclesiastical authority and his power to make his threat of excommunication a reality.

The Crusaders also accepted Greek ecclesiastical authority during the initial establishment of churches around Antioch. In 1098 the Count of Toulouse captured Albara and installed the Latin Peter of Narbonne as bishop of the city. Guibert, Raymond d'Aguilers, and William of Tyre record the installation of this Western Christian. Importantly, their accounts revealed the Crusader's thankfulness for an ordained Latin bishop in the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the East and also indicated that Peter of Narbonne was under the authority of the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch. Raymond d'Aguilers wrote that the Crusaders were thankful because "they wanted a Roman bishop in the Eastern

¹²² The Muslims expelled Symeon II from Jerusalem in late 1097 or early 1098 as a result of the Crusader siege of Antioch. He traveled first to Cyprus, although Hamilton questions whether he actually joined the Crusaders around Antioch or simply sent representatives (Hamilton, 6). Johannes Pahlitzsch and Daniel Baraz, "Christian Communities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187 CE)," in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, ed. by Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers n.v., 2006), 224.

¹²³ Letter 4, *Letters from the East*, 22.

church.”¹²⁴ The use of the terms ‘Roman’ and ‘Eastern’ indicates that there was an acknowledged difference between those two religious structures, but nonetheless the fact that a ‘Roman’ bishop could be installed within the ‘Eastern Church’ implies unity between the two entities. William of Tyre was more explicit about this unity and the acceptance of Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical authority. He wrote that “by the direction of the [Count of Toulouse], Peter then went to Antioch to receive the gift of consecration and was there invested with pontifical power in all its fullness. Later, when the church at Antioch was set in order by Bernard, the first Latin patriarch of that city, Peter transferred the allegiance of his metropolis to that church.”¹²⁵ The acts of consecration and investiture required a higher ecclesiastical authority and the Latins’ restoration of the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch to his see meant that he was deemed the appropriate authority. In addition, the new bishop remained under the authority of the patriarch and therefore obeyed Antioch, not Rome. The creation of a Latin bishop consecrated by the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch and functioning within the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy demonstrated the Crusaders’ initial willingness to acknowledge Greek Orthodox authority. William’s reference to the installation of Bernard as the first Latin patriarch of Antioch and the ensuing shift in allegiances indicated that the system of co-existence was fragile.

The Latin acceptance of Greek ecclesiastical authority was soon replaced with a drive for Latin religious hegemony in the Levant, that is to say, the Latins continued to use the Greek ecclesiastical structure, but they placed Latin clergy in positions of authority. Although the Crusaders restored John, the Greek patriarch of Antioch, to his see in 1098 and placed Peter of Narbonne under his authority, this arrangement quickly disintegrated. William of Tyre wrote that, “Scarcely two years later, however, *John, realizing that he, as a Greek, could not effectively rule over Latins, voluntarily left Antioch and went to Constantinople.* After his departure, the clergy and people of the city met and chose as patriarch over

¹²⁴ Raymond d’Aguilers, 73.

¹²⁵ William of Tyre, 1:309. The phrase “set in order” could be construed as anti-Greek, but the turmoil of the Latin conquest and their increasing pressure on the Greek patriarch probably disrupted the structure of the Church.

them Bernard, bishop of Artasium, a native of Valence, who had attended the bishop of Puy on this expedition as his chaplain” (emphasis mine).¹²⁶ Obvious questions arise about the willingness of John to abandon his see for Constantinople. These suspicions are raised further because William attributed John’s decision to ineffective leadership based on perceived differences in identity – although in William’s account John recognizes this ‘problem,’ it seems like Latin justification based on a new order developing.¹²⁷ William succinctly covered what must have been a confusing and extremely divisive event. The Latins pressured the Greek clergyman they had reinstated out of office, angering the native population and the Byzantine Empire, and imposed a foreign religious leader on Antioch. The short time frame between John’s reinstatement and his departure indicates the swift rise in tensions between the Greeks and Latins in the wake of the Latin conquest of Syria. The Greeks continued to elect patriarchs for Antioch although their role was titular and they served their terms of office in Constantinople.¹²⁸ This meant that there were now two patriarchs serving one see, which went against accepted ecclesiastical practice. The continued election of Greek patriarchs for Antioch indicates that the Greeks, if not the Latins, now acknowledged the existence of two distinct Churches.

The movement toward Latin hegemony occurred through frequent conferences with Rome, that is to say, the Latin establishment of a Latin-dominated Church in the Levant had the advice and official support of the Pope. When the Crusaders seized Jerusalem in 1099, they installed a Latin patriarch to rule the church. Albert of Aachen records that the Crusaders held a council to elect a patriarch to succeed the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, Symeon II, who had died in Cyprus at the time of the siege of Jerusalem. The princes could not agree and instead appointed Arnulf of Chocques as “chancellor of the

¹²⁶ William of Tyre, 1:297.

¹²⁷ Bernard Hamilton cites the war between Bohemond, the Latin ruler of Antioch, and Alexius I as the impetus for the John’s departure (16-17).

¹²⁸ Hamilton, 172-173. They also continued to elect patriarchs of Jerusalem who served their terms in Constantinople (“Christian Communities,” 207).

holy church of Jerusalem, procurator of the holy relics, and keeper of the alms of the faithful,”¹²⁹ a lesser title. Arnulf’s position is unclear – Raymond d’Aguilers and William of Tyre recorded that he was elected as patriarch, although according to William he was quickly deposed.¹³⁰ What can be determined from this episode, however, is the Latin will to elect a patriarch.

Bernard Hamilton is properly skeptical about Latins’ knowledge of the death of Symeon II.¹³¹ If the Latins did not know about Symeon’s death, their actions indicate a desire to stamp a distinctly Latin character on the restored see at Jerusalem when there was no vacancy, which countered the earlier idea that there should not be two equal ecclesiastical authorities ruling over a region. Even if they did know that he had died, they did not consult with the Greek canons of the Holy Sepulcher living in Cyprus about the election.¹³² Fulcher of Chartres offered a slightly different account which stressed the installation of Latin clergy and the role of the Pope in the decision process. He wrote that after the siege of Jerusalem “they placed canons in the Church of the Lord’s Sepulcher and in His Temple to serve Him. Moreover they decided at that time that a patriarch should not be created as yet until they had inquired from the Roman pope whom he wished to place in authority.”¹³³ The Latins replaced the absent Greek Orthodox clergy with their own clergy even though, as Hamilton points out, the proper Greek clerics currently lived in Cyprus.¹³⁴ More importantly, this practical assertion of Latin authority was coupled with the authority of the Pope. Fulcher’s stated reason for the delay in the installation of a patriarch was that the princes wanted to consult the Pope. This was an acknowledgement of the importance of

¹²⁹ Albert of Aachen, 453-455.

¹³⁰ Raymond d’Aguilers, 131, William of Tyre, 1:384-385.

¹³¹ Hamilton, 12.

¹³² Ibid, 12.

¹³³ Fulcher of Chartres, 124.

¹³⁴ Absentee clergy were a major problem in Christendom in the medieval period, but the presence of the clergy in Cyprus with the patriarch indicates either that they were expelled along with him or that they represented a type of court which accompanied him. Christopher Schabel’s translation of documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus reveals the problems besetting Churches in the East after the Crusades including absentee clergy. Christopher Schabel, trans., *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196-1373* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2001).

papal authority for the Crusaders but it also indicated a shift away from the idea of unity with the Greek Orthodox to that of a church oriented exclusively toward Rome.

The Latins' official installation of a Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Daimbert, in December, 1099 marked a break with the Greek Orthodox.¹³⁵ William of Tyre writes, "revenues were assigned to the lord patriarch, from which his establishment might be honorably supported, as was due to his office. *Into his hands were given not only those possessions which had belonged to the Greek patriarch from the days of the Greeks in the time of the Gentiles, but new ones as well*" (emphasis mine).¹³⁶ First, this act acknowledged the previous Greek structure – the new Latin patriarch was given the possessions of the former Greek patriarch, indicating both a knowledge of what the former patriarch possessed and of what now was at stake. This very act shifted the authority firmly into Latin hands because the new clergy could establish themselves as inheritors of the Greek tradition while at the same time making it difficult for a Greek patriarch to establish himself in Jerusalem. The transfer of property was a clever way of undermining the existence of a Greek patriarch because he would not have readily accessible means to support himself in Jerusalem. The establishment of the new Latin patriarch contains two important features linked to Latin relations with the Greek Church. First, the Latins continued the policy of maintaining only one clergy member per position – the transfer of patriarchal lands into the hands of the new Latin patriarch demonstrates that he was deemed the successor to the Greek patriarch. Secondly, however, the transfer of lands had a more sinister side because the loss of possessions made it difficult for a rival Greek patriarch to be established in the city.

Despite the replacement of Greek ecclesiastical authorities, the Latin Church acknowledged the Greek ecclesiastical structure and referenced it in important disputes; nevertheless authority from Rome rewrote ecclesiastical boundaries. Fulcher of Chartres records the debate between the Church of Jerusalem and the Church of Antioch over Tyre which hinged on ecclesiastical structure. The Latins

¹³⁵ Barber, 56.

¹³⁶ William of Tyre, 1:403.

captured the important port city of Tyre in 1124.¹³⁷ According to Fulcher, Antioch “says that Tyre was subordinate to her in the time of the Greeks; [Jerusalem] says she was strengthened by grant of privileges from the Roman pontiff.”¹³⁸ Here the two conflicting sources of ecclesiastical authority are evident. The “time of the Greeks” referenced by the Antiochene Church refers to the time when the Byzantines controlled the Levant.¹³⁹ The ecclesiastical structure at that time was Greek Orthodox, therefore the Latin Church of Antioch based its claim on the previous ecclesiastical structure. The response from Jerusalem indicates that the authority of the Pope now superseded previous ecclesiastical arrangements because of the new position of Western Christians in the Levant. Fulcher cited the Council of Clermont¹⁴⁰ and a *privilegium* of Pope Paschal sent in 1111,¹⁴¹ which gave Jerusalem control over “those cities and provinces which have been acquired by the grace of God through the sagacity of King Baldwin and by the blood of the army following him” or those “which Divine Grace...shall deign to restore in the future.”¹⁴² Jerusalem’s position in the disagreement was strengthened by the direct intervention of the Pope, which established the precedent of controlling newly-captured territories such as Tyre. The disagreement between Antioch and Jerusalem illustrates the triumph of the new Papal authority in the Church in the Levant.

The Crusaders appropriated the existing Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical structures and transformed the Church in the Levant into a Latin-dominated institution. Contemporaneous with this shift Latins also transformed the very idea of the Eastern Church to a Latin Church based at Jerusalem.

¹³⁷ Fulcher of Chartres, 266. Christopher Tyerman examines the importance of the port cities to Latin survival in the Levant because of the Latins’ maritime connection to the West (179-180).

¹³⁸ Ibid, 268.

¹³⁹ The Byzantines had direct control of the Levant until the Muslim conquests of the 7th Century. They regained Syria and Armenia during the 10th Century but lost their holdings like Antioch in the aftermath of Manzikert in 1071.

¹⁴⁰ Fulcher cites the Council of Auvergne, but Guibert writes that Auvergne is the old name for the city of Clermont (41). The fact that Fulcher traces this important precedent to the time of the calling of the First Crusade reinforces the idea that Urban II envisioned a permanent Latin political presence in the Levant. Alternatively, Fulcher could be reinterpreting the events to justify the existence of the current polities, which is also likely because of his focus on the great success of the Latins in the Levant (271-272).

¹⁴¹ Note 3, 270.

¹⁴² 269-270.

Pope Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont calling the First Crusade provides the first evidence for the goals of the Crusade and the Latin's conception of their role in the Levant and their connections with the Eastern Church. His speech also served an important emotional role as the first public articulation of the Crusade and was surrounded by extensive pageantry heightening the experience of taking the Cross. Urban II's speech, therefore, was a touchstone for the Crusaders, providing the initial vision of the Crusade in dramatic and memorable fashion and motivating many to join the march to the East. The changes in the emphases of the chronicles indicate a shift away from accepting the importance of the Greek Orthodox Church and a movement toward replacing it with Latin Church in the Levant based in Jerusalem.

Five chroniclers recorded Urban II's speech, and the different versions indicate a division in the understanding of whom and what the Crusaders were aiding. This division is also illustrated by the other background information that the Crusaders include in their explanations for the First Crusade. The chroniclers revealed a tension between the twin goals of the Crusade: aiding Greek Christians and taking Jerusalem. By the 1180s the tension had been resolved and the First Crusade was firmly recast as an expedition to free Jerusalem by William of Tyre, historian of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The creation of an accepted history of the First Crusade which consciously excised the Byzantine role in the Crusade and promoted the role of Jerusalem reflected the increased importance of Latin Jerusalem as both a political and religious center in the East.

Robert the Monk's and Fulcher of Chartres' version of Urban II's speech stressed the importance of the expedition for aiding the Greek Christians. Robert the Monk recorded that "disturbing news has emerged from Jerusalem and the city of Constantinople...that the race of Persians...has invaded the lands of these Christians" and committed atrocities. Urban II continued: "by now the Greek empire has been dismembered by them and an area which could not be crossed in two months' journey subjected

to their ways.”¹⁴³ The news from Constantinople about the fate of the Byzantine Empire and the Christians living there provided a major motivation for Urban II. Fulcher of Chartres’ version also stressed the importance of aiding Eastern Christians, specifically the Greek Orthodox Church. Fulcher wrote that Urban said,

you must hasten to carry aid to your brethren dwelling in the East, who need your help for which they have often entreated. For the Turks...have attacked them...and have advanced as far into Roman territory as that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Arm of St. George. They have seized more and more of the lands of the Christians, have already defeated them in seven times as many battles, killed or captured many people, have destroyed churches, and have devastated the kingdom of God. If you allow them to continue much longer they will conquer God’s faithful people much more extensively.¹⁴⁴

The reference to requested help and to “Roman territory” indicates that Fulcher’s “brethren dwelling in the East” were Greek Christians. The Byzantine Empire had suffered a major defeat at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 AD and the Muslims had quickly established a permanent presence in central Anatolia.¹⁴⁵ The Byzantines sent increasingly frequent requests for aid to the West, with the latest coming in March 1095, just eight months before Urban II’s speech.¹⁴⁶

Although the importance of aiding Eastern Christians loomed large in the works of Robert the Monk and Fulcher of Chartres, these two writers acknowledged the importance of Jerusalem to the expedition. Robert the Monk included Urban II’s appeals to remember Jerusalem, and Fulcher of Chartres established Jerusalem as the eventual goal of the expedition, although his introductory material focused more on relations within the Church. According to Robert the Monk, Urban II concluded his speech with this appeal: “set out on the road to the Holy Sepulchre, deliver that land from

¹⁴³ Robert the Monk, 79-80.

¹⁴⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, 66.

¹⁴⁵ Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204: A Political History* (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1997), 46-48. The Byzantine historian Anna Comnena confirms Fulcher’s statements about the success of the Muslim armies. She wrote, “Turkish infiltration had scattered the eastern armies in all directions and the Turks were in almost complete control of all the districts between the Black Sea and the Hellespont, the Syrian and Aegean waters, the Saros and the other rivers, in particular those which flow along the borders of Pamphylia and Cilicia and empty themselves into the Egyptian Sea.” Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter (London: Penguin Books, 1969), 38.

¹⁴⁶ Tyerman, 61.

a wicked race and take it to yourselves – the land which was given by God to the sons of Israel, as Scripture says *a land flowing with milk and honey*” (emphasis editor’s).¹⁴⁷ This final appeal provides one example of the centrality of both of the ideas of aiding the Eastern Christians and of taking Jerusalem to Urban II’s thought.

Unlike Robert, Fulcher did not mention Jerusalem in his version of Urban II’s speech, but Jerusalem does appear in his introductory material. In his Prologue he stated his aim to write about the “pilgrimage in arms to Jerusalem” and later he repeated the desire to write about “the journey of those going to Jerusalem.”¹⁴⁸ A major theme in Fulcher’s introduction is the position of the Pope and the centrality of the Roman Church to Christendom, and this may have influenced his version of Urban II’s speech. Fulcher quoted Urban as identifying the Greek lands as “our lands,” indicating the perceived unity of Christendom.¹⁴⁹ According to Fulcher, the Church of Rome occupied an important role as “the source of correction for all of Christianity,” and the conflict between Urban II and the anti-pope Guibert had weakened Christendom.¹⁵⁰ The First Crusade was therefore an attempt to solidify Urban II’s position in the West while at the same time reestablishing important connections to the Eastern Church, both of which were accomplished by casting the expedition as an attempt to help other Christians. The importance of Robert the Monk’s and Fulcher of Chartres’ writings is that they both record aiding Eastern Christians, specifically the Greek Orthodox, as the stated goal of the First Crusade at the calling of the First Crusade.

By contrast, Guibert of Nogent and William of Tyre stressed the importance of Jerusalem even to the exclusion of the desire to aid the Greek Orthodox Church. Guibert acknowledged that his version of Urban II’s speech contained Urban’s meaning but “not his exact words,” emphasizing Guibert’s

¹⁴⁷ Robert the Monk, 81.

¹⁴⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, 57, 71.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 66.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 70.

authorial role in the work.¹⁵¹ According to Guibert, Urban stressed the importance of Jerusalem and the role of the Crusaders. He traced the centrality of Jerusalem to Christian history and the Christian faith and revealed how the Crusaders would even bring about End Times by reestablishing a Christian presence in Jerusalem.¹⁵² Guibert acknowledged the importance of the goal of aiding the Eastern Christians toward the beginning of his work by including a version of the letter from Alexius I to Robert, Count of Flanders “offering him reasons that might urge him to defend endangered Greece.”¹⁵³ Guibert recognized Constantinople’s importance, writing that it “is worthy of having the whole world come together to help it, if that was possible.”¹⁵⁴ Despite the praise in this passage, Guibert’s work contained frequent and barbed anti-Byzantine rhetoric such as this: “Out of [a refusal to accept authority of other Christians] came heresies and ominous kinds of different plagues. Such a baneful and inextricable labyrinth of these illnesses existed that the most desolate land anywhere could not offer worse vipers and nettles.”¹⁵⁵ Guibert’s anti-Byzantine slant may explain why did he not include aiding the Eastern Christians in Urban II’s appeal.

William of Tyre’s version of the impetus for the First Crusade and Urban II’s speech excised any mention of the Byzantine role in the calling of the First Crusade and focused solely on Jerusalem. This interpretation differed markedly from earlier chronicles and demonstrated a conscious effort to promote Jerusalem. In William’s version, Peter the Hermit visited Jerusalem on a pilgrimage and brought back a plea for help from the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem.¹⁵⁶ The story still included Greek Christians, but in the conversation with Peter the Hermit they emphasized their separation from the weakened Byzantine Empire and the story clearly associates them only with Jerusalem.¹⁵⁷ William

¹⁵¹ Guibert of Nogent, 42.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, 42-45.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, 36.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 37.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 30.

¹⁵⁶ William of Tyre, 1:83-84.

¹⁵⁷ William of Tyre, 1:83.

closely followed the story presented by the earlier chronicler Albert of Aachen, which indicates that there was an existing tendency to downplay the role of the Byzantines and the Greek Orthodox Church as a whole in the calling of the First Crusade. William utilized this tendency skillfully in his work to cast the goal of the First Crusade as aiding Christians in Jerusalem alone.

William's version of Urban II's speech also focused solely on Jerusalem. William's Urban followed a similar strategy to Guibert's, emphasizing the importance of Christ's presence in Jerusalem and comparing His works to present day Muslim actions.¹⁵⁸ William's focus on Jerusalem as the goal of the Crusade and his story of the important role of Peter the Hermit allowed him to ignore the repeated Byzantine requests for aid. What is particularly striking about William's account is that he had access to many earlier chronicles, so his choice of events indicated a conscious effort to promote ideas like the centrality of Jerusalem and to remove other ideas like the consequence of Byzantium and the Greek Orthodox Church to the First Crusade. In addition, William's role as a powerful figure in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and his patronage by King Amaury I indicates that he was presenting an official history of the Kingdom. This position emphasizes the purposeful silences in William's work and demonstrates a widespread change in Latin minds concerning their role in the Levant.

The four versions of Urban II's speech at Clermont and the explanations for the First Crusade examined here indicate that there was tension between the Crusaders' goal of aiding the Byzantine Empire and the Christians living within it and of recovering Jerusalem. The tensions remained present throughout the early years of the Crusader states. Guibert of Nogent and Robert the Monk wrote in the first decade of the 11th Century, Fulcher of Chartres completed his work in 1127, and William of Tyre finished his chronicle in 1184.¹⁵⁹ The complicated relationship between the emphases present in the earliest three chronicles indicates that the version of events changed to fit the individual authors' changing perspectives instead of following a more general trend, but the complete silence by the much

¹⁵⁸ William of Tyre, 1:88-92.

¹⁵⁹ Guibert, 1, Robert the Monk, 7, Fulcher, 24, William of Tyre, note 24 on page 25.

later William of Tyre indicates that Jerusalem had finally superseded concerns for the Eastern Church. Excising the importance of the Eastern Church from the memory and official history and replacing it with Jerusalem reflected the greater trend of the transformation of the idea of the Eastern Church discussed in the next section.

The Transformation of the 'Eastern Church'

The acknowledgement of Eastern Christians and an established Eastern Church formed an important part of arguments for launching the First Crusade, but the Latins slowly transformed the idea of an Eastern Church from a Greek Orthodox institution spread throughout the East to a Latin Church centered at Jerusalem. This shift in concept is important because it demonstrates how the Latins viewed their position in the Levant in relation to Greek Orthodoxy. The early usage of the term 'Eastern Church' indicates an established Church with ecclesiastical structure and authority. As seen above, Raymond d'Aguilers' account of the installation of Peter of Narbonne in Albara near Antioch demonstrates that there were two distinct Churches, the Church at Rome and the Eastern Church, and that there was a clear structure and authority associated with this Eastern Church. Although 'Eastern Church' was associated with the Greek Orthodox, what constituted a 'Church' was not commensurate. Bernard Hamilton argues that Urban II's conception of the "churches of the East" did not refer to denominations but to the traditional sees of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem (Rome was counted as the traditional fifth see).¹⁶⁰ In this view the churches mentioned were not different denominations but different ecclesiastical centers within one Church. This raises the possibility that the Crusader notion of a 'Church' could refer to the five traditional sees of Christianity. The localization of the idea of a Church proves helpful for analysis of the shift in the Crusaders' definition of the 'Eastern

¹⁶⁰ Hamilton, 1. He quotes Urban II's letter to the people of Flanders after the Council of Clermont.

Church' because the Crusaders could replace the old center of Constantinople with the newly-won Jerusalem.

The Crusader sources indicate that the use of the term 'Eastern Church' extended beyond Constantinople and its dependencies and covered sees like Antioch. Anselm of Ribemont's letter written during the siege of Antioch covered the early campaign through the early stages of the siege of Antioch and finished with this conclusion: "Let the Mother Church of the West rejoice that she has produced men capable of bringing such a glorious reputation to her and such marvelous aid to the Eastern Church."¹⁶¹ Although Anselm did delineate the 'Eastern Church,' his early focus on Anatolia indicated that he meant the Church at Constantinople. It is unlikely that he meant the see of Antioch because he only mentioned the siege in passing.

Although the term 'Eastern Church' did include the Church at Constantinople, the Crusaders' works overwhelmingly associated it with Jerusalem. The association appeared in the early chronicles, but analysis shows that 'Eastern Church' still applied to the Greek Orthodox Church. Guibert of Nogent established the connection between the 'Eastern Church' and Jerusalem, but his discussion indicated that he actually meant a larger entity. He wrote in one of his early sections that his argument was "concerned with the state of the church of Jerusalem, or the Eastern church, as it was then."¹⁶² Despite this geographical limitation of the term, Guibert proceeded to address distinctly Greek Orthodox theology and practice.¹⁶³ His equating of the terms 'Eastern Church' with 'Church of Jerusalem,' coupled with his focus on distinctly Greek Orthodox characteristics, indicates that he saw the Church of Jerusalem as part of the bigger Greek Orthodox Church in the Levant.

The letters from the Levant demonstrate the association of the 'Eastern Church' with the Crusaders' Latin Church. In 1149 or 1150, Andrew of Montbard, a Templar, wrote a letter to Everard des

¹⁶¹ Letter 3, *Letters from the East*, 21.

¹⁶² Guibert of Nogent, 30.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 31.

Barres, the Master of the Temple, asking for aid for the Crusader states in the Levant. According to Andrew, large sections of the Principality of Antioch had been overrun by Muslim forces. Andrew used this opportunity to call for reinforcements for the whole region, urging Everard “to return to us quickly with enough arms, money, knights and sergeants to enable us with God’s help to come to the aid of your Eastern Mother Church which is miserably downtrodden.” He concluded the letter writing “it is time for us to honour our vows to God, that is sacrifice our souls for our brothers and for the defence of the Eastern Church and the Holy Sepulchre.”¹⁶⁴ The link between the Eastern Church and Jerusalem was demonstrated in this last appeal through the connection of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem to the Eastern Church. The fact that the Templars were a Latin military order lends weight to the idea that they were defending a Latin Church in the East.

In the fall of 1163, Bertrand of Blancfort, Master of the Temple, sent a letter to Louis VII, King of France requesting aid for the Levant. He again stressed the weakness of the Latins. In his conclusion he wrote, “so, with this knowledge, please take into consideration the oppression of the Eastern Kingdom and the Church and be inspired to come...”¹⁶⁵ The ‘Eastern Kingdom’ could refer to the Crusader presence in general or the more specific Kingdom of Jerusalem. What is significant about the title ‘Eastern Kingdom’ is that it referred to the Latin political presence in the Levant in identical language that was used for the Church in the same region. The call for aid came from a Latin and was sent to a Latin – to defend the Latin kingdoms and the coextensive Latin Church in the Levant. Fulcher of Chartres wrote that Urban II called for the Crusaders to aid their “brethren in the East.” William of Tyre used this exact phrase when writing about the Second Crusade, which was launched in 1145 in response to the fall of the County of Edessa. The establishment of the Crusader states and the transformation of the Eastern Church into a Latin Church in these Crusader states meant that the new Crusaders went East not for Greek or other native Christians, but for Latins.

¹⁶⁴ Letter 18, *Letters from the East*, 48-49.

¹⁶⁵ Letter 25, *Letters from the East*, 56.

Integration and Assimilation

The Latin settlement in the Levant led to extensive contact between Latins and Eastern Christians; this contact took many different forms. Section Three (“Moveable Boundaries to Create Unity and Diversity”) examined the Latins’ demonstration of unity or separation from Eastern Christians at moments of tension, but this section examines movement toward more permanent unity in both the cultural and religious spheres. The integration and assimilation that occurred between the Latins and the Eastern Christians in the Levant flowed in both directions – that is to say, the Latins integrated themselves into Levantine society by adopting some of its cultural aspects and by marrying into native noble families, while simultaneously some Eastern Christians were integrated into Latin society by intermarriage. In the religious sphere, the Latins gradually accepted the religious tradition of Eastern Christians, but the official integration of autocephalous Churches still required submission to Rome. In religion, the reciprocal exchange remained weighted toward acceptance of Latin religious authority. Cultural integration and assimilation began with Latin rule, while religious integration and assimilation was a more gradual process. The varying rates of Eastern Christian cultural and religious integration into Latin society and the greater Latin willingness to adopt cultural aspects of Levantine society demonstrates the varying permeability of the barriers of culture and religion between Latin and Eastern Christian communities who now comingled.

Latins demonstrated a willingness to integrate themselves into Levantine society, especially when integration strengthened their political position. Guibert described Baldwin I of Edessa, the first count of Edessa (1098-1100), portraying himself as an Eastern monarch. He wrote, “he lived in splendor in his realm; whenever he went out he had a gold shield carried before him, which bore the image of an eagle, in the Greek manner. Like the pagans, he went about in a toga, let his beard grow, accepted bows from his worshippers, and ate on rugs laid on the ground.”¹⁶⁶ This was a description of Baldwin I

¹⁶⁶ Guibert, 159.

immediately before he took the throne of Jerusalem in 1100, just two years after he took power in Edessa.¹⁶⁷ This passage shows that Baldwin I quickly adopted markers of power associated with authority in the region and also other cultural features of the society. Baldwin I's visible signs of power were manifest "in the Greek manner:" he adopted symbols and rituals from the influential Byzantine Empire to solidify his rule in Edessa. In addition, this passage also demonstrates his willingness to adopt Eastern cultural practices, appearances, and customs.¹⁶⁸ His new beard was an important symbol in the cultures of the East as William of Tyre notes, and it marked an important step for assimilation into the society.¹⁶⁹ Baldwin I also adopted other cultural features of Levantine society like the eating on the ground. These features allowed Baldwin I to participate in Armenian society in highly visible ways. Baldwin I's willingness to quickly adopt cultural aspects of Levantine society enabled him to associate himself with a tradition of power thereby establishing himself as ruler, but his actions also positioned him as a member of the society.

Some Latins also demonstrated an ability to use cultural integration to achieve more specific purposes. This trend is illustrated by the plan of Baldwin II of Edessa, the second Count of Edessa (1100-1118), to extract money from his Armenian father-in-law by threatening to shave his beard. Baldwin II did not have sufficient funds to pay his knights, so he had his knights request funds in his father-in-law's presence. They mentioned a non-existent pledge which Baldwin II had given them, which was to shave his beard if he could not pay. His father-in-law "was astounded at this novel agreement" because of the importance of the beard to all cultures of the Levant. He agreed to pay the funds "on condition, however, that the count should promise on his faith that never again under any circumstances, not

¹⁶⁷ Tyerman, 185-186.

¹⁶⁸ Guibert's description is confusing because he states that Baldwin's new customs were "like the pagans." On p. 164, however, Guibert describes his Armenian wife as "descended from the finest pagans in the land," indicating that the definition of 'pagan' refers to at least Christian Armenians.

¹⁶⁹ William of Tyre, 1:480.

matter what the pressure of necessity might be, would he bind himself to anyone in that way.”¹⁷⁰ Here, Baldwin II demonstrated recognition of the cultural norms and correctly calculated his father-in-law’s response. The presence of his beard also indicates that he, like Baldwin I, may have adopted cultural aspects of Armenian society. Baldwin II’s acceptance of his father-in-law’s terms further established him in the society by requiring him to acknowledge the beard’s importance in a similar way to his father-in-law. The invented nature of the pledge of the beard, however, challenged whether he actually was adopting his father-in-law’s thinking. This passage indicates that Baldwin II’s commitment to the cultural norms was based on expediency. He understood the importance of the beard to the society and threatened to forego this important cultural marker in order to obtain what he needed.

The actions of the first two Counts of Edessa also demonstrate the importance of association with the native Christian ruling class. Baldwin I solidified his political position allying himself with the ruling family by adoption, and both he and Baldwin II also married into influential families. The adoption process provides a clear case of integration into the structure of society, while the marriages demonstrated strategic alliances used to enhance independent Latin power and served as examples of integration of important native individuals into Latin society. When Baldwin I left the main Crusader army and arrived in Armenia in the early spring of 1098, he was quickly adopted by Thoros, the ruler of Edessa.¹⁷¹ Thoros was an Armenian noble who had served under the Byzantine Empire. Significantly, he was a member of the Greek Orthodox Church, an association which caused tension with the local population.¹⁷² Baldwin I’s adoption by Thoros positioned him as the heir of Edessa. Baldwin I was willing to place himself under Thoros, to become a member of the native ruling family, in order to eventually gain control of the city. This integration into the ruling class only provided Baldwin I with

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 1:479-481.

¹⁷¹ Note 7 on page 191 questions the adoption and points out that Matthew of Edessa and Fulcher of Chartres do not mention it. Guibert and William of Tyre do, so it is difficult to determine who is correct.

¹⁷² *A History of the Crusades*, Vol I, *The First Hundred Years*, edited by Marshall W. Baldwin, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press), 303.

limited authority, however. Guibert wrote that the adoption gave Baldwin I power, but he held on to his power by bringing in Frankish knights.¹⁷³ This transition indicated the brief nature of Baldwin I's integration into the ruling elite as he began to transform the ruling elite into a Latin one supported by Latin force.

Baldwin I was also the first Latin leader to marry into the Armenian nobility, but he set a trend for later Latin rulers. Baldwin I's English wife died in October, 1097 while on the First Crusade with him.¹⁷⁴ This created the opportunity to use marriage to strengthen his position in Armenia. As William of Tyre wrote, "after [Thoros'] death, Baldwin succeeded to that county with all that pertained to it...He then married the daughter of a noble and distinguished Armenian prince, Tafroc...by name, who, with his brother Constantine, had impregnable fortresses in the vicinity of Mt. Taurus and large forces of brave men. Because of their wealth and immense power, these lords were regarded as kings of this people."¹⁷⁵ Baldwin I's marriage represented an important strategic alliance as he established himself in the region – his association with powerful Armenian figures added to his importance and secured important allies. But Baldwin I's establishment as a Latin ruler in Edessa meant that his Armenian wife symbolized integration into an increasingly Latin-dominated society for him. Baldwin II also married an Armenian and "received as dowry a large sum of money, of which he stood in great need."¹⁷⁶ This demonstrated a willingness to establish connections with the local nobility because of pressing necessity. These intermarriages are particularly important because Baldwin I and Baldwin II served as the second (1100-1118) and third (1118-1131) Kings of Jerusalem. These offices ensured that there were examples of integration visible at the highest level of the Latin Levant.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Guibert, 71.

¹⁷⁴ William of Tyre, note 1, 1:187.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 1:415-416.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 1:450.

¹⁷⁷ Although Baldwin I divorced his Armenian wife in 1105.

An important example that addresses cultural integration in the Levant is Fulcher of Chartres' justly famous passage in which he showed by the 1120s how "we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals." In this passage Fulcher positively portrayed Latin settlement in the Levant, focusing on the stability demonstrated by the existence of extended families and on the easy wealth available ("those who were poor in the Occident, God makes rich in this land"¹⁷⁸). In short, this passage focused on the well-being of the Latins present in the Levant. Among other aspects of this new Latin society in the Levant, Fulcher mentioned intermarriages with Eastern Christians, and his examples demonstrated a more wide-spread acceptance of intermarriage within a wide range of local groups. He wrote that "some have taken wives not only of their own people but Syrians or Armenians or even Saracens who have obtained the grace of baptism."¹⁷⁹ The mention of baptized Saracens indicates that what made these individuals marriageable was their acceptance of a form of Christianity. This basic requirement also promoted a general sense of Christian unity because even heretical Churches (like the Armenians) could still provide acceptable wives. The acceptance of Syrians and Saracens along with Armenians as wives also shows that the practice of intermarriage was no longer occurring due primarily to political necessity as in the cases of the Baldwins of Edessa. Unlike in Armenia, areas under former Muslim control like the Kingdom of Jerusalem had no pre-existing Christian elite for the Crusaders to marry into, so as conquerors, the Crusaders' social standing would not be improved by marrying local women. A possible explanation for the increased tendency to intermarry was the continuing gender imbalance among the Latins when most Crusaders were men. The sources do not address whether these intermarriages led to integration into the Latin Church. What these intermarriages do reveal, however, was increased cultural integration as the Latins married Eastern Christians and raised their children in mixed, but still heavily Latin, environments.

¹⁷⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, 271.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 271.

Fulcher also included other examples of integration in this same passage like the creation of a shared language and a sense of religious unity, but he did not make clear the persons he was referring to. It is tempting to interpret these portions of the passage as referring to integration between Latins and the natives of the Levant, but the passage's focus on the Latins in the Levant raises the possibility that he was referencing a greater unity among the Crusaders. Fulcher wrote, "people use the eloquence and idioms of diverse languages in conversing back and forth. Words of different languages have become common property known to each nationality, and mutual faith unites those who are ignorant of their descent."¹⁸⁰ There were some examples of this linguistic assimilation between the Latins and the native population.¹⁸¹ It appears probable that contact between the Latins and the native population would have been facilitated by commonality in phraseology, and the increasing rate of intermarriages probably aided this process. The shared religious unity outside of cultural or descent affiliation suggests that despite the differences between the Churches there was an increasing sense of Christian unity at work. Unfortunately these aspects of Levantine society are only discussed here in the Latin sources, and the nature of the passage – a combination of a positive portrayal of Latin life in the Levant with unclear references – limits firm conclusions.

The Latins and Eastern Christians in the Levant also achieved integration and assimilation in religion as well. While the Latin sources recorded cultural integration of individuals, the religious integration and assimilation occurred along more formal, group-centered lines. In religion as well as in culture, the processes flowed in both directions, but the Latin acceptance of Eastern Christians was much more limited. Latins recognized and accepted Eastern Christian religious traditions but not practices or theology. The Latin ecclesiastical hegemony meant that the Latins integrated Churches into their system. The letters of Ansell, Cantor of the Holy Sepulchre, to Gerbert, Bishop of Paris, and Stephen, Archdeacon of Paris, in 1120 demonstrate Latin assimilation of Eastern Christian religious

¹⁸⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, 271-272.

¹⁸¹ Christopher Tyerman records two examples of French words appearing in Arabic (215).

traditions into a Western religious framework. Ansell sent a portion of the True Cross back to Paris and accompanied it with a letter explaining its significance. He wrote that his information came from Greek and Syrians sources: "I will tell you what I have learnt from conversations with Syrian elders and read in books. We read in the Gospel, 'And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book', and you read many things, but not everything, as the Greek have many things the Latins do not have."¹⁸² This passage demonstrates an acceptance and propagation of Greek and Syrian religious tradition by Latins in both the Levant and in Europe. Importantly, it also demonstrates a reliance on these traditions – as Ansell noted, the Greeks possessed many resources which the Latins did not. While this acceptance of the religious tradition of certain Eastern Churches did not extend to their practices or theology, the assimilation into the Latin understanding of the Syrian and Greek tradition concerning the important relic of a piece of the True Cross indicates that the Latins were willing to borrow aspects of the Eastern Churches. The Latins' acquisitive behavior led them to integrate the traditions of Eastern Christians into their conception of Christianity.

The Latin assimilation of religious traditions of Eastern Churches did not extend to recognition of the validity of variant expressions of Christianity. Instead, the Latin policy involved integrating these Eastern Churches into the greater Latin Church dominated by Rome. The Churches achieved this by renouncing their former heresies and acknowledging the authority of Rome. The first instance of this pattern was the council held at Jerusalem in 1141. The papal legate arrived in the Levant to settle a dispute with the patriarch of Antioch, but afterward he proceeded to Jerusalem and called together Church leaders "to confer with them on matters which seemed especially pertinent at the moment."¹⁸³ One of the pertinent matters was the status of the Armenian Church. As William wrote, "Maximus, the bishop of Armenia, or rather, the head over all the bishops of Cappadocia, Media, Persia, and the two Armenias, a distinguished teacher who is called the *Catholicos*, was present at the synod. The articles of

¹⁸² Letter 12, *Letters from the East*, 41.

¹⁸³ William of Tyre, 2:122.

faith in which his people seemed to differ from us were discussed with him, and he promised reform in many respects.”¹⁸⁴ The *Catholicos* Maximus was the head of the Armenian Church, and his acceptance of the Latin demands to conform to the standards of Rome represented one of the first steps toward union of the two Churches which culminated in 1184.¹⁸⁵ From this passage it is clear that the Latins viewed themselves as setting the standards for faith, but were willing to integrate other Churches if they conformed to the Latin standards. This trend appears again when the Maronites acknowledged the primacy of Rome in 1182. William wrote that “they repented of all these heresies and returned to the catholic church, under the leadership of their patriarch and several of their bishops.”¹⁸⁶ The relatively late dates of these formal acknowledgements of the Churches’ place in the Latin religious world indicates the complications of integrating established ecclesiastical structures. In the cultural sphere, the Latins could incorporate individuals into their society but here they were not faced with cohesive cultural structures that required integration. The Latins’ late acceptance of these Eastern Churches also indicates the importance of religious identity and autonomy in the Levant and the time necessary for the perspectives of autocephalous Churches like those of the Armenians and Maronites to change so they could accept the primacy of Rome.

The integration and assimilation which occurred between the Latins and the Eastern Christians in both the cultural and religious spheres illustrates key aspects of their conception of each other and of their interaction. In situations where Latins were weak, like in their early conquests in Armenia, they adopted aspects of the local society to enable them to rule effectively. Their increasing control of areas of the Levant did not cut off all contact but it did change the nature of the relations as Latins increasingly

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 2:122.

¹⁸⁵ James D. Ryan, “Toleration Denied: Armenia between East and West in the Era of the Crusades” in *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades* ed. Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 57-58. The submission of the Armenian Church to Rome is complicated because some important documents like the letter of submission in 1184 are missing, and various parts of the Armenian Church continued to reject Roman primacy throughout the 13th Century.

¹⁸⁶ William of Tyre, 2:459.

integrated Eastern Christians into Latin society, through intermarriage among other means. The Latins and the Eastern Christians also influenced each other in religious matters, but in these cases the emphasis of the writers was on the interaction of Churches with strong religious identities. While the Latins accepted the religious tradition of Eastern Christians, their ecclesiastical hegemony required the autocephalous Church to acknowledge the authority of Rome in order to enter into Latin society. The picture presented by integration and assimilation is one of permeable barriers of both religion and culture, but also of a more difficult and formal acceptance of the Christianity of the Eastern Christians.

The Native Perspective

An analysis of the chronicle of the Armenian Matthew of Edessa offers an opportunity to revisit themes examined previously in this thesis and to observe the differences and similarities between how the Latins and the Eastern Christians conceived of and conducted intra-Christian relations. Matthew of Edessa provides valuable evidence for the structure of relations among Eastern Churches in the years before the First Crusade and their continuity under Crusader rule. His evidence reveals that the Eastern Churches distinguished among themselves by religious means – this trend contrasts markedly with the Latin tendency to use cultural markers to differentiate among groups in the Levant. Matthew of Edessa also provides a more detailed account of the absence of the Miracle of the Holy Fire in 1101 than Latin chroniclers. His account reveals important aspects of the Latin interaction with Eastern Christians not present in the Latin chronicles and it also reinforces trends previously observed like the Latin tendency to pursue Christian unity at times of tension. In addition, the chronicle provides valuable evidence for increasing integration between the Latins and the Eastern Christians and contains an important example of Latin religious integration into the Armenian Church in the figure of a later Baldwin and his father-confessor, Barsegh. This provides more evidence that integration flowed in both directions between the Latins and Eastern Christians, but, more importantly, this example provides evidence that undermines the picture of successful Latin ecclesiastical hegemony in the Levant.

Matthew of Edessa was an Armenian monk who lived in or around Edessa in the Latin County of Edessa.¹⁸⁷ His chronicle, written in Armenian, consists of three books by Matthew himself and a continuation by Gregory the Priest. Matthew's account spans 951 A.D. to 1136-1137 A.D., while

¹⁸⁷ The ecclesiastical position of Matthew is open to debate. The term he uses for his role could mean “monk”, “monk of a monastery,” or “superior of a monastery.” Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Century: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993), note on page 1.

Gregory's covers 1137-1138 A.D. to 1162 A.D.¹⁸⁸ The chronological scope of the work allows comparisons of the Levant before and after the First Crusade. Matthew's main focus was Armenia, so the work provides more information about the northern Levant than other regions. Due to the history of the Latin conquest of Armenia, the County of Edessa allowed for extensive contact between the Latins and the native population. The existence of strong Armenian political figures necessitated a larger degree of cooperation between Crusaders and the native elite than in other Crusader states.

First, the chronicle of Matthew of Edessa shows that the Eastern Christians focused on religious and not cultural differences among themselves, which contrasts with the Latins' focus on cultural markers. In large part, this focus on religion occurred because the Greek Orthodox Church used religion as leverage to exert control in the Levant, but Matthew criticized Greek Orthodox practice even when the Greek Orthodox were not actively targeting other Eastern Churches. One item of contention was the date of the celebration of Easter. The dating of a religious celebration may seem to be a minor issue, but Churches invested heavily in means of separating themselves from others and placed a major emphasis on the importance of tradition. According to Matthew, the Greek Orthodox celebrated the wrong date for Easter because they accepted an incorrect calendar.¹⁸⁹ In the first decade of the eleventh century this proved disastrous for the Greeks because when they celebrated Easter one week early the Miracle of the Holy Fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher did not occur as they had predicted. The absence of the Miracle led the Muslims to slaughter all the Christians celebrating Easter in the Church.¹⁹⁰ Matthew asserts that the Armenians were able to set the Greeks right about the correct date, but the dating of Easter reappeared as an issue after the arrival of the Latins. The Greeks

¹⁸⁸ The Armenian calendar dated the beginning of the Armenian period to 552 A.D. The beginning of the Armenian year is not fixed, so the Armenian and Western years do not match (hence 1136-1137, etc.). Note 3, page 283.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 42.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 42.

again tried to force their calendar on the Syrian and Armenian Churches – the Franks did not want to quarrel with the Greeks and did not intervene, the Syrians gave in, while the Armenians resisted.¹⁹¹

As demonstrated by the debate concerning the dating of Easter which occurred under Latin rule, the Greek Orthodox frequently targeted Eastern Churches and attempted to enforce their beliefs. In the 1050s the Syrians began to experience continual pressure from the Greek Orthodox, culminating in the burning of Syriac Gospels.¹⁹² According to Matthew, the Greeks had less success with the Armenians, but they repeatedly tried to exert control. Matthew portrayed the Greek efforts in the 1090s as a united effort of political and religious leaders of Byzantium to bring the Armenian Church under Greek authority.¹⁹³ The Byzantine emperor Constantine X Doukas criticized the doctrine of the Armenian Church and attempted to force the Armenia to draft a profession of faith in line with the Greek Orthodox Church.¹⁹⁴ Matthew recorded an extensive Armenian profession of faith prepared in response, which clearly established the theology and practice of the Armenian Church and was successfully defended at the Byzantine court.¹⁹⁵ The Armenian Church maintained its independence as a result of this well-reasoned theological response to the Greek Orthodox Church.

These examples demonstrate that conflicts among Christian groups in the Levant prior to the First Crusade often revolved around the religious differences. It is important to note that religion was central to the identity of these groups as they resisted the imposition of outside authority. The example of the Byzantines in the 1090s indicates that these conflicts also had political overtones because of the involvement of important lay leaders. Religious and political power functioned simultaneously, but as demonstrated by the Armenian response to Emperor Constantine, victory in the religious sphere preserved the group's autonomy. The Eastern Churches developed highly nuanced statements of faith

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, 187-188.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, 84-85.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, 109.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 110-111.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 111-112.

to define themselves in this charged religious environment. This reliance on religion identity as a way to differentiate among Eastern Churches contrasts with the Latin's pattern of primarily relying on cultural markers to differentiate among Eastern Christians. These differences reinforced the initial differences between the European and Levantine societies which underscored the emerging changes in the Latin mindset.

Matthew also provides a more complete account than the Latin chronicles of the events in Jerusalem surrounding Easter, 1101, which demonstrates Latin religious policy as well as important similarities between Latin and Eastern Christian cultural and religious mindsets. According to Matthew, the light which normally burned above the Holy Sepulcher, Christ's tomb, on the Saturday of Easter week failed to appear. The absence of the miracle, which had previously been reliable, alarmed all the Christians, both Western and Eastern.¹⁹⁶ After the Franks repented of their sins, all the gathered Christians prayed fervently and the light began to burn at the ninth hour of Easter Sunday. Matthew explicitly connected the absence of the miracle to Frankish sin and the resolution of the problem to Frankish repentance and union with other Christians. Matthew's narrative of Frankish sin and divine punishment fit his greater theme of sin and God's retribution, but this passage differed from others in the chronicle because Matthew mentioned specific sins. He first treated the Frankish sins in a formulaic way, indicting the Frankish nation as a whole and in particular the clergy, but he then proceeded to accuse the Franks of three specific sins: appointing women to serve at the holy sepulcher, placing women in the monasteries in Jerusalem, and the more unthinkable sin of expelling the Eastern Christians from all the monasteries in Jerusalem.¹⁹⁷

These narrated sins provide fertile ground for research, but this section will be limited to examining the expulsion of the Eastern Christians because it is a clear example of the Latin religious policy toward Eastern Christians. The Latins' religious policy of exclusion of Eastern Christian monks

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 179.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 178-179.

from Jerusalem did not reflect the current Christian religious diversity in the city. Matthew recorded the presence of “Armenians, Romans, Syrians, and Georgians” in the monasteries.¹⁹⁸ (By “Roman” Matthew means Byzantine, indicating that the second group consists of Greek Orthodox monks). Even though these Christians differed in practice and theology, the Latins treated them uniformly by expelling every one. In Jerusalem the Latins exerted their authority at the expense of all the Eastern Churches, including the Greeks, their erstwhile allies farther north in Antioch.

The target and timing of the new Latin policy illustrated a conscious effort to promote Latin Christianity. First, it is important that the Latins targeted specifically religious institutions. Although the Latins showed that they did not differentiate between the beliefs of the various Eastern Churches in their policy of expulsion, monasteries were common across the divide between Eastern and Western Churches and were religious centers for those who had dedicated their lives to God. The expulsion of specifically religious figures from the holy city of Jerusalem indicated a desire to establish Latin Christianity there. Matthew did not record what happened to the monasteries in the aftermath of the expulsion, so it is unclear whether the expulsion was coupled with a Latin appropriation of the sites. Property held by the former Greek patriarch was transferred to the new Latin patriarch, so other religious land like the monasteries may have changed hands as well.¹⁹⁹ Although the Latin policy after the expulsion is unclear, the Latins’ willingness to displace the ‘holy’ men indicated a disregard for the other Churches and an effort to promote Latin Christianity.

The timing of the expulsion was also important because of its proximity to the initial conquest. The absence of the Holy Fire occurred in 1101, just over one and a half years after the Crusaders had taken the city. The monks were expelled before Easter, which leaves even less time for the Latins to have planned and executed the expulsion. The successful completion of a program affecting all the Eastern

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 179.

¹⁹⁹ William of Tyre, 403.

Churches present in Jerusalem so early in the establishment of the Latin state indicated not only the strength of the Latins but also the purpose of their actions.

Matthew's depiction of the events of Easter 1101 and the language he used illustrate important commonalities between the diverse Christian Churches both in identification and practice. His account reinforced the idea that Latins sought Christian unity in times of crisis, and it also revealed that Eastern Christians employed cultural markers of identity similar to those of the Latins. Despite the religious discrimination evident in the expulsion of the Eastern monks, Matthew revealed that the Latin Christians demonstrated Christian unity in times of crisis. Matthew recorded that after the Franks had repented "the five nations of Christian faithful began to pray, and God heard their prayers."²⁰⁰ In this statement Matthew emphasized the equality of all the Christians before God and pointedly positioned the Latin Christians among the indigenous Christians. Although these words are Matthew's, other Latin chronicles recount similar Christian unity in times of crisis. Matthew and the Latin chroniclers revealed that in times of crisis Christian unity came to the fore in two important ways. First, unity visibly appeared by incorporating all the Churches in the religious hierarchy in joint religious activities. In addition, the explicit grouping together of diverse Christians as in Guibert's account shows that despite these divisions the Christian chroniclers could conceive of the possibility of religious unity.

Matthew's account also shows that the use of cultural markers to distinguish Christian groups occurred in both the Latin and indigenous Christian mindset. Matthew used the term 'nation' to refer to Christians on multiple occasions in this passage. I am relying on consistency by the translator in order to make a point about the Armenian use of this concept. Matthew first wrote about the sins of the "Frankish nation" and later mentions "the five nations of Christian faithful."²⁰¹ These 'nations' were not necessarily linked to political entities – the Syrians, for instance, did not have a kingdom. Matthew's use of the term 'nation' as opposed to 'Church' for the Christian groups indicated that the bonds he

²⁰⁰ Matthew of Edessa, 179.

²⁰¹ Ibid, 178-179.

envisioned between the members of a particular group were also located in culture. Armenians may all be members of the Armenian Orthodox Church, but they were Armenians as well. Matthew showed that the cultural divisions sometimes superseded established religious definitions. Matthew wrote that the Latins “restored all the *nations* to their respective monasteries” (emphasis mine).²⁰² Matthew’s use of ‘nation’ here was more specific than his previous uses in the passage. The people in question were clearly clergy (the expelled monks), yet even their religious function was subsumed under a secular identity. Matthew’s use of culture markers to differentiate religious groups was more complicated than the Latins’ use, but the similarities between their conceptions of difference indicated that the invaders did not differ as much as they portrayed themselves to be. The Eastern Christian use of cultural differentiation is important, but the reliance on well-articulated religious differences to define identity indicates an overall more complicated notion of identity than was initially present in Latins’ minds.

Matthew of Edessa provides another example of intra-Christian relations which illustrates changing secular and religious attitudes over time located in the Crusader state of the County of Edessa. Gregory the Priest, the continuer of Matthew, prominently featured the relationship between the Latin prince Baldwin and the Armenian monk Barsegh. Barsegh served as Baldwin’s spiritual advisor and father-confessor. This example demonstrated more features of integration between the Latins and their native subjects – the relationship of these two men demonstrated a new level of integration by the Latin elite but also revealed the impact of the Latins on their subjects. Baldwin was lord of an extensive territory in the western portion of the County of Edessa centered on the towns of Marash and Kesoun.²⁰³ His landholdings indicate that he was a prominent figure in the County, although not as powerful as his lord Joscelin, the count of Edessa.²⁰⁴ Baldwin died in an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Edessa in 1146. Gregory praised Baldwin after his death and included a lengthy eulogy by

²⁰² *Ibid*, 179.

²⁰³ *Ibid*, 243.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 243.

Barsegh. Gregory wrote that “his death caused a great deal of sorrow in the territories over which he ruled, for he had more of a liking for the Armenians than for the Franks.”²⁰⁵ Baldwin also earned Gregory’s praise for being fluent in Armenian.²⁰⁶ These statements demonstrated significant cultural integration – although Baldwin was still identified as Frankish, in the eyes of the native population he valued the Armenians more than his own people. Baldwin’s integration extended into religious matters as well. Gregory recounted that Baldwin had the monk Barsegh as his father-confessor.²⁰⁷ Penance played a large role in both Western and Eastern Christianity as a means to atone for sin, and in the Eastern Church monks dominated the penance process.²⁰⁸ Part of Barsegh’s role as a father-confessor was hearing sins and assigning actions to perform for forgiveness. In addition, Barsegh cast himself as a spiritual advisor in his eulogy of Baldwin. He recounted that he “devoted all [my] time to tell him nothing except that which would benefit his soul.”²⁰⁹ Baldwin’s appointment of Barsegh to the role of father-confessor made an important statement – he willingly entrusted his spiritual life to a member of another Church. The Armenian Church was moving toward union with the Roman Catholic Church during this period, so Baldwin’s action may illustrate a greater impetus toward integration between the churches.²¹⁰ Baldwin provided important evidence for increasing levels of integration among the Latin elite of the Crusader states. The religious integration marked a significant shift in thinking which began to separate some Latins like Baldwin from their European counterparts not by denying Rome but instead by finding a resolution in conjunction with the Armenians.

Both Gregory’s account of Baldwin and Barsegh’s eulogy for Baldwin reveal Baldwin’s integration with the native population, but they also illustrated the religious influence of the Latins on

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 245.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, 246.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 245.

²⁰⁸ Rob Meens, “Remedies for sins”, in *Early Medieval Christianities c. 600-c. 1100*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith, 399-415 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 408.

²⁰⁹ Matthew of Edessa, 246.

²¹⁰ James D. Ryan, “Toleration Denied: Armenia between East and West in the Era of the Crusades,” 57.

native Christians. In Barsegh's eulogy, he first listed Baldwin's numerous sins as a warning to other Latin leaders.²¹¹ Despite these sins, Barsegh argued that Baldwin had been forgiven by this confession and "through the shedding of his blood in the great battle".²¹² Christopher MacEvitt provides a valuable analysis of this eulogy: "Barsegh redeemed his prince in a uniquely Frankish way – although not having taken the oath of a crusader, Baldwin achieved salvation through death in battle. If Baldwin had become culturally Armenian in language and ecclesiastical allegiance, then his chaplain had become theologically Frankish".²¹³ Increasing contact both in frequency and duration between the Latins and the native population led to religious changes both in practice, illustrated by Baldwin, and thought, illustrated by Barsegh. This mutual change emphasizes the need to examine religious interaction from both sides.

The chronicle of the Armenian Matthew of Edessa provides a valuable picture of intra-Christian relations from the perspective of the Eastern Christians. His account illustrates the differences in the importance of religion as an identity marker between the Latins and the Eastern Christians. Matthew's account of the absence of the Miracle of the Holy Fire in 1101 adds to our understanding of the early Latin religious policy in Jerusalem. Latins appropriated the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical structure and imposed a Latin stamp on the patriarchy by 1099, but their treatment of all the diverse Eastern Churches present in Jerusalem in one fashion, and their expulsion of the Churches' representatives, indicated the possibility that they sought to preserve the holy city of Jerusalem for themselves. The Latins' swift return to unity with these Eastern Christians reinforces the idea that moments of crisis caused them to set aside their differences (even when these differences caused the physical expulsion) and focus on their unity before God. In addition, the way Matthew writes about the incident raised echoes of the way the Latins envisioned the cultural sphere and demonstrated connections between the Latin and

²¹¹ Matthew of Edessa, 245.

²¹² Ibid, 254.

²¹³ MacEvitt, 96.

Eastern Christian idea of culture. Finally, Matthew's account of the integration of Baldwin and Barsegh presented stronger evidence for continued integration flowing in both directions. Significantly, it even featured a Latin adopting the religious practices of the Eastern Christians which was not seen in the Latin chronicles. Matthew's chronicle reinforces many themes explored earlier and adds nuance to the understanding of intra-Christian relations in the Levant.

Conclusion

The analysis of Matthew of Edessa's account revisited themes observed earlier and therefore this conclusion will be more speculative in nature. The Latin endeavor in the Levant which began in the First Crusade and was solidified by the creation and governance of the four Crusader states illustrates competing trends as the Latins interacted with their Eastern Christian subjects. Latin writers demonstrate that the Latins' ability to comprehend new forms of identity increased over their time in the Levant – the Latins' development of new mental equipment to understand the diversity of the Levant indicates the unintended influences that conquered peoples exert on their new rulers. Latins managed contact with the native population by creating barriers, but threats to the Latins show the varying permeability of these barriers. At the same time as the implementation of this flexible approach to interaction, Latins maintained their distinctive identity by promoting a powerful Latin religious identity that sought to bring diverse Churches under their sway. Throughout the period of the Crusader states Latins and the Eastern Christians also frequently adopted cultural aspects of each other's society and were integrated into these other societies. The Levant was not a segregated colonial enterprise, but the differing acceptance of cultural as opposed to religious integration suggests that strong boundaries of belief continued to separate Christian groups in the Levant throughout this period. Matthew of Edessa's chronicle indicates that the separation between Latins and the native population was not as pronounced as some Latin efforts suggest, even in religion. Chronicles and letters about the Latin endeavor reveal nuanced and changing understanding of perception and identity in the Levant by both native Christians and the invading Latins.

This thesis raises important points for further consideration. The First Crusades not only marked a major turning point of European expansion but it also more specifically marked the first time that the Church of Rome actively incorporated other Churches into its structure. During the First Crusade and its aftermath, the Roman Catholic Church privileged the primacy of Rome which led to more permanent

schisms with the Greek Orthodox Church, but its focus on its unique position in Christendom encouraged it to expand beyond its traditional borders and to attempt to create a truly universal and Catholic Church. It would be informative to analyze how the Latin experience of the diverse Christian environment of the Levant spurred this later growth – did the depth of the catholicity they desired stem from a practical acceptance of the diverse practices and beliefs of the Eastern Churches or did it attempt to contravene established practices? Did their conception of catholicity correspond to the practical possibilities?

This thesis also focuses on the importance of shared connections between conquerors and the newly-conquered society. The case of the Crusades presents an interesting variation because shared religion strengthened Latin rule. The Latins often harnessed the spiritual and physical strength of the Eastern Christians to help defend the Latin realms by referencing Christian unity against a diametrically opposed identity in Islam. At the same time, the unity Latins were able to create, while fleeting, exceeded that which the Eastern Christians ever created among themselves. An important consideration that emerges from this observation is that the diversity of the Eastern Churches enabled the Crusaders to establish themselves and to maintain their position. Eastern Christians could never offer a powerful alternative to Latin religious hegemony because of their internal fractures, and the Latin establishment of a Latin Church provided Latins with a strong sense of unified identity.

Finally, this thesis examined the importance of preexisting ideas of society from conquerors' interactions with the native population. Latins demonstrated a reliance on cultural markers of identity because that was how they understood their society in Europe. The changes in the Latin understanding of identity are clear, but it would be interesting to examine how the invaders' focus on cultural identity influenced how the native populations came to envision themselves.

Appendix I: Chronology

November 18 to 28, 1095 – Council of Clermont

Fall 1096 to Spring 1097 – Crusaders gather at Constantinople

July 1, 1097 – Battle of Dorylaeum

Spring, 1098 – Baldwin leaves for Armenia, gains control of Edessa in March

October, 1097 to July, 1098 – Siege of Antioch

June 7 to July 15, 1099 – Siege of Jerusalem

July 22, 1099 – Godfrey of Bouillon elected King of Jerusalem

August 12, 1099 – Battle of Ascalon

December, 1099 – Daimbert elected as first Patriarch of Jerusalem

December 25, 1100 – Coronation of Baldwin of Boulogne as Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem

Easter, 1101 – Miracle of the Holy Fire fails

April 14, 1118 – Baldwin of Bourq becomes Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem

June 28, 1119 – Battle of the Field of Blood, Crusader army of Principality of Antioch destroyed

1123 – Battle of Azotus

July 7, 1124 – Fall of Tyre to Latins

December 24, 1144 – Fall of Edessa to Muslim forces signals the effective end of the County and therefore the first Crusader state to be taken

1145 to 1149 – The Second Crusade

1152 – Murder of Raymond of Tripoli by Assassins

July 4, 1187 – Battle of Hattin, army of Kingdom of Jerusalem destroyed, Kingdom of Jerusalem falls
except for Acre

Appendix II: Important Figures

Alexius I, Byzantine Emperor (1081-1118)

Amaury I, King of Jerusalem (1163-1174), patron of William of Tyre

Arnulf of Chocques, first Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1099)

Baldwin I, Count of Edessa (1098-1100), King of Jerusalem (1100-1118)

Baldwin II, Count of Edessa (1100-1118), King of Jerusalem (1118-1131)

Bohemond, Norman Crusader leader from Apulia, Italy and first ruler of Antioch (1098-1105)

Daimbert of Pisa, second Latin patriarch of Jerusalem and first permanent appointee (1099)

Godfrey I, first King of Jerusalem (1099-1100)

John, Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, reinstalled by Latins in 1098, left see for Constantinople in 1100

Maximus, *Catholicos* of Armenian Church in 1140s

Paschal II, Pope (1099-1118)

Raymond, Count of Toulouse – Crusader prince from Provençal

Symeon II, Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, expelled from Jerusalem in 1097 or 1098, died in 1099

Urban II, Pope who called the First Crusade (d. July 29, 1099)

Appendix III: Maps

The Levant before the First Crusade

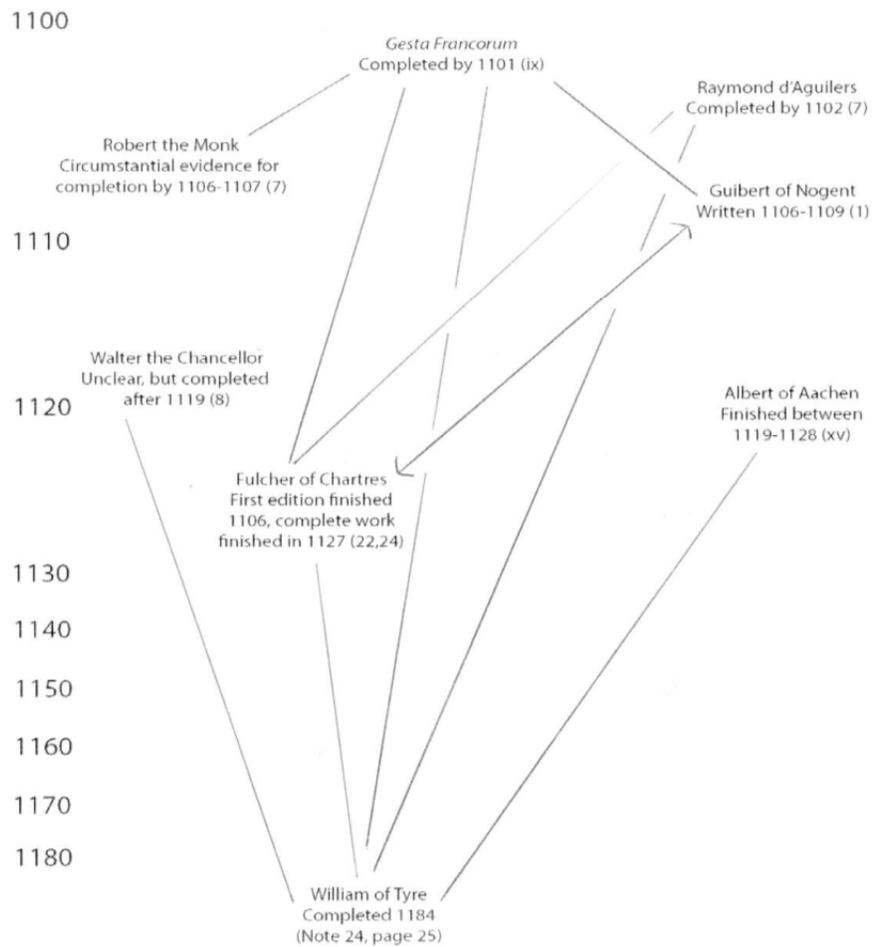


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Appendix IV: Sources

The Sources and their Connections



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