Settlement, Identity and Memory in the Latin East: An Examination of the Term 'Crusader States'*

In a recent article, Christopher MacEvitt proposed that historians should eschew the collective term 'crusader states' when discussing the four polities—also known as the Latin East or Outremer—which emerged in the Levant and Syria as a result of the First Crusade (1095–99): the kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch, and the counties of Edessa and Tripoli. These polities, it is suggested, 'are best understood within the history of the Middle East, not as an extension of medieval Europe'. This standpoint is underpinned by several key observations: that those Latin Christians who inhabited these states were not 'crusaders' *per se*, for, even if they came to the east as part of such a venture, the moment they reached the Holy Sepulchre, and thus discharged their vow, they became something else; the apparent lack of 'crusading ideology' in the warfare propagated in the Latin East; the intermingling of eastern and Latin cultures (and the heavy influence of the former over the latter); the use of terms such as 'Frank' or 'Latin', as opposed to 'crusader', by those who settled in the east; the political pragmatism employed by the rulers of the Latin states; and, finally, the lack of rhetoric or active memorialisation linked to the crusading past—except in letters sent to the west, which only did so because it was meaningful in Europe. Scholars who therefore continue to use 'crusader states' when examining the Latin settlements of Outremer might do so simply out of convenience, but in this they are said to continue the colonialist view of these polities as exercises in western imperialism that typified nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship.[1]

In arguing against the uncritical use of 'crusader state', MacEvitt makes an important intervention. Indeed, his work can be seen as a continuation of that carried out by Ronnie Ellenblum in

[1] C. MacEvitt, 'What was Crusader about the Crusader States?', *Al-Masāq*, xxx (2018), pp. 317–30. For a general narrative of the Latin East, see M. Barber, *The Crusader States* (New Haven, CT, 2012).

tracing how the crusades and the Latin states of the east came to underpin modern nationalist identities, as well as a contribution to current scholarly interest in 'crusader medievalism'.[2] Such investigations have come in response, at least in part, to the growing use of crusading imagery by white supremacist movements across the United States and beyond, the latter representing a disturbing trend which has made it controversial but also highly necessary to engage in constructive discussion of the history of the crusades themselves and of their interpretation in later periods.[3] The call to disregard the term 'crusader state', and consequently to disconnect the Latin East from the Latin West, is therefore deeply grounded in a contemporary scholarly desire to shake off the influence of imperialist historiography and ideology, and, by emphasising the eastern nature of these states, to look beyond Eurocentric interpretations of the past. Moreover, by laying such a strong emphasis on terminology (or the lack of it, in the case of the term 'crusade'), MacEvitt is seemingly also influenced by those who have differentiated between crusading and war in the east; by those who have questioned when, or even whether, the crusades existed; and—perhaps unconsciously—by those who consider the field of crusade studies as one prone to exceptionalist claims, and to viewing its own topic as entirely separate from the broader field of medieval history, rather than as an integral part of it.[4]

Yet it might be suggested that this model of the relationship between crusading and Latin settlement in the east does not take into account the growing body of recent scholarship which has explored how crusading was digested, transmitted and memorialised by western European societies in the first century of its history and beyond. Above all else, this has demonstrated the need to look beyond the mere practice of penitential warfare in tracing the influence of these expeditions, for instance by

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[2] R. Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 1–102. On crusader medievalism, see, for example, E. Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000); M. Horswell, *The Rise and Fall of British Crusader Medievalism, c.1825–1945* (Abingdon, 2018).

[3] M. Gabriele, 'Debating the Crusade in Contemporary America', *Mediaeval Journal*, vi (2016), pp. 73–92; K. Skottki, 'The Dead, the Revived and the Recreated Pasts: "Structural Amnesia" in Representations of Crusade History', in M. Horswell and J. Phillips, eds., *Perceptions of the Crusades from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century* (Abingdon, 2018), pp. 107–32.

[4] J.S.C. Riley-Smith, 'Peace Never Established: The Case of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., xxviii (1978), pp. 87–102; C.J. Tyerman, 'Were there any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?', *English Historical Review*, cx (1995), pp. 553–77; C. Maier, 'What if there were no Crusades in the Middle Ages?', paper delivered at the Institute of Historical Research Crusades and the Latin East Research Seminar, 16 Dec. 2013.

examining their impact on cultural memory and by exploring the literary, liturgical and material sources they inspired.[5] This scholarship has led to a deeper appreciation of the important ways in which, even without a properly defined institution or terminology, the emerging movement now known as crusading interacted with broader trends and developments in medieval western society. This included the shaping of aristocratic and familial group identities, particularly through the establishment of traditions of crusading participation which transcended generations, were transmitted across wide kinship networks, and clearly served as important markers of belonging and social status. In addition, the concept of crusading, even in its formative stages, merged with ideals of kingship and knighthood, helping to establish new standards of elite behaviour as well as mechanisms for political legitimation and self-fashioning. Memories of crusading thus interacted with several of the key ways in which identity was constructed and expressed in elite European culture during this period.[6] However, whereas our understanding of the relationship between crusading and cultural transmission in the medieval west has developed significantly, the same cannot be said for the Latin East. This article aims to address this particular lacuna by tracing the relationship between identity, memory and cultural interaction throughout the Latin East. It argues that, while 'crusader states' is a misnomer when we consider the practice of penitential warfare alone, to remove the term entirely, and thus divorce these societies from western Europe, misunderstands the important ways in which the still embryonic idea of crusading influenced the behaviours and group identities of the Latin Christians who settled and lived in the Levant and Syria. In short, the term 'crusader states' not only tells us something significant about the cultures and societies of these polities, but also adds greater texture to our current understanding of the crusading movement by exploring how the crusade was remembered and transmitted in contexts beyond the Latin West.[7]

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[5] On cultural memory, see G. Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 17–18; J. Assman, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 2011).
[6] N.L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2012); M.G. Bull and D. Kempf, eds., *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory* (Woodbridge, 2014); M. Cassidy-Welch, ed., *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading* (Abingdon, 2016); J. Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (Manchester, 2016); M.C. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY, 2017).
[7] Though the focus of this paper is on the states formed in Outremer as a result of the First Crusade, its conclusions could offer useful frameworks for examining the broader potential for the term 'crusader state' when exploring other theatres of medieval crusading and settlement.

One way of tracing the potential influence of crusading over the Latin settlers in the east is to examine its impact on the identities which emerged in these polities. As we have already noted, MacEvitt has questioned the use of the term 'crusader' because no one who lived in the Latin East ever called themselves this—not only because the term did not yet exist, at least in its modern form, but also because the crusade had yet to crystallise as an institution.[8] The same is of course true for the Latin West, with contemporary texts which refer to such expeditions deploying other terms for the journey (*iter*, *profectione*, *passagium*) and its participants (*peregrini*, *crucesignati*, *milites Christi*, *Hierosolymitani*).[9] Nevertheless, it would be misleading to suggest that those who lived during this era had no concept of the phenomena from which the institution of the crusade eventually emerged. The very fact that we lack a defined concept for the first century of the crusade's existence, and perhaps even beyond that, actually aids those who hope to understand the various ways in which crusading— and the First Crusade in particular—was internalised and memorialised not only in medieval Europe but also in the Latin East. The fluidity of terminology in that first century certainly suggests that to understand crusading we should be doing more than simply examining the rhetoric of penitential holy war.

If we widen our perspective to think about identity formation in the Latin East itself, it is noteworthy that several authors living in Outremer used *Franci* (often in conjunction with *Latini*) as a collective name for those who settled in the east—an approach which mirrors the works of several chroniclers of the First Crusade who deployed *Franci* in their narratives in order to present the venture as a primarily Frankish exercise.[10] In particular, Fulcher of Chartres, who participated in the First

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[8] MacEvitt, 'What was Crusader about the Crusader States?', pp. 328–9. See also Tyerman, 'Were there any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?'; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?* (4th edn, Basingstoke, 2009); A.E. Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c.1095–1216* (Leiden, 2015).

[9] L. Ní Chléirigh, '*Nova Peregrinatio*: The First Crusade as a Pilgrimage in Contemporary Latin Narratives', in Bull and Kempf, eds., *Writing the Early Crusades*, pp. 63–74; W.J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 12–29.

[10] A.V. Murray, 'Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States: The Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer', in S. Forde, L. Johnson and A.V. Murray, eds., *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds, 1995),

Crusade and remained in the east as chaplain to Baldwin of Boulogne, count of Edessa (1097–1100) and king of Jerusalem (1100–1118), frequently described the settlers in these terms. For example, when King Baldwin I died, Fulcher noted that 'the pious race of the Franks wept'.[11] In fact, although he also used *Latini*, as well as nomenclature linked to specific polities, *Franci* serves as Fulcher's most prominent collective term for the settlers in the East. This is best expressed in Fulcher's comment that, when a coalition led by Bohemond I of Antioch (d. 1111) and Baldwin I, then count of Edessa, met to combat Muslim forces near Melitene in 1100, 'there gathered Franks … namely Edessans and Antiochenes'.[12] This is similar in approach to the text of another Latin author who worked in the East, Ralph of Caen—who initially acted as chaplain to both Bohemond I and his successor, Tancred of Hauteville (d. 1112), but then moved to Jerusalem, forging a close bond with its patriarch, Arnulf of Chocques (d. 1118). In his *Tancredus*, a largely biographical text, written over the course of the 1110s, which detailed Tancred's time on the First Crusade and his role during the early years of Latin settlement, Ralph utilised *Franci* to describe settlers on three occasions, as well as *Christiani* and, albeit only rarely, *Antiocheni* or *Edessani*.[13] By comparison, Latins from France were called *Galli* (Gauls).[14] We can trace similar themes in the text known as the *Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena*, an account of

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pp. 59–73. See also M. Balard, '"*Gesta dei per Francos*": L'Usage de mot "*Francs*" dans le chroniques de la première croisade', in M. Rouche, ed., *Clovis: Histoire et mémoire* (2 vols, Paris, 1997), ii. 473–83; A. Leclerq, *Portraits croisés: L'Image des francs et des musulmans dans les textes sur la Première Croisade. Chroniques latines et arabes, chansons de geste françaises de XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 2010); M.G. Bull, 'The Historiographical Construction of a Northern French First Crusade', *Haskins Society Journal*, xxv (2013), pp. 35–56. Another term, *pullani* (in Old French, *poulain*), meaning 'colts' or 'young ones', is also commonly attributed to the Latin settlers of the East. Indeed, western authors of the late twelfth century, such as William of Newburgh (d. 1198), the author of the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre (mid-thirteenth century), as well as those, such as James of Vitry, bishop of Acre (1214–25), sent from Europe to support the Latin Church in the east, are known to have used this term, invariably as a form of criticism by associating it with effeminacy and weakness. Yet, although later writers from the Latin East also used *pullani*, it is significant that none of the authors who wrote in the east in the twelfth century did so, and it similarly fails to appear in the documentary materials for this period. The likelihood, therefore, is that *pullani* instead reflected western attitudes, even if settlers might eventually have used it ironically. See M.R. Morgan, 'The Meanings of the Old French "*Polain*", Latin "*Pullanus*"', *Medium Ævum*, xlviii (1979), pp. 40–54.

[11] 'Francorum gens pia flevit': Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913) [hereafter FC], p. 613. On Fulcher, see V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Düsseldorf, 1990).

[12] 'congregatis Francis … Edessanis scilicet et Antiochenis': FC, p. 347. The comparative nature of this can be traced through the index; see ibid., pp. 871, 886, 889, 892, 895, 910.

[13] Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, ed. E. D'Angelo (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 119, 121–4, 126, 129–31. See also E. D'Angelo, 'A Latin school in the Norman Principality of Antioch', in D. Bates, E. D'Angelo and E. van Houts, eds., *People, Texts and Artefacts: Cultural Transmission in the Medieval Norman Worlds* (London, 2017), pp. 77–88.

[14] Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, ed. D'Angelo, p. 127.

the First Crusade and the first two decades of Latin settlement that appears to have been commissioned by the Jerusalemite royal court in the 1140s. This was largely a composite of reworked elements of Fulcher's narrative for the Latin East and, for the crusade itself, a close copy of sections of the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Robert the Monk, a Benedictine from northern France who expanded upon the crusade's earliest narrative, the *Gesta Francorum*, in the early 1100s and offered a particularly Francocentric interpretation of the venture.[15] The prologue to the *Historia Nicaena*, which the anonymous author composed himself, thus begins by stating that it contained the history of the capture of the cities of Nicaea, Antioch and Jerusalem 'by the race of the Franks' and also used this term for the settlers.[16] For Alan Murray, such efforts to promote a common Frankish identity, in particular by Fulcher, represented the creation of a new *gens*, or people. Like the Israelites, they had wandered through the wilderness to reach the Promised Land: that this centred on Jerusalem for both peoples only accentuated the comparison. By coupling the traditional tropes of an *origo gentis* narrative with an ethnonym, this made clear the linguistic and devotional differences between the western European settlers and the non-Latin peoples who already populated the region.[17] For Fulcher, and perhaps also Ralph, this was undoubtedly a means to promote further crusading support for the settlers in the east, while each author demonstrates the importance attributed to the fashioning of a collective Frankish identity in narratives which were concerned with legitimising the foundation of these new polities.

In this regard, it is also significant that parallels with the Israelites were not limited to the first two decades of settlement, nor simply to chronicles. Rather, much like several western writers who promoted or detailed crusading and the defence of the Latin East by drawing on biblical parallels, especially that of the Maccabees (Old Testament warrior-martyrs who defended Judea from threats to their faith), letters sent west from Outremer referred to Ezekiel 13:15, the verse in which the people of Israel are chastised for not having 'formed a wall for the house of Israel [so] that you might stand in

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[15] 'Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux* (5 vols, Paris, 1844–95) [hereafter *RHC Occ.*], v. 139–85; Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. D. Kempf and M. Bull (Woodbridge, 2013). See also D. Gerish, 'The *Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena* and Royal Identity', in J. Roche and J. Møller Jensen, eds., *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 51–90; Bull, 'Historiographical Construction'.

[16] 'a Francorum gente': 'Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena', *RHC Occ.*, v. 139. See also pp. 176–9, 182–3.

[17] Murray, 'Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States', pp. 68–70.

battle on the day of the Lord'.[18] Thus, in a letter sent by Patriarch Warmund of Jerusalem and Geoffrey, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, to the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela in the early 1120s, in which a request for aid was made following the death of Prince Roger of Antioch at the Battle of the Field of Blood in 1119, it was emphasised that the Latin settlers of Outremer were defending the walls of Jerusalem.[19] Importantly, this reference parallels the preamble to the canons of a Church council held at Nablus in 1120, also in response to the Field of Blood, which noted that the council pursued a vigorous programme of moral reform so that God would punish them no further, but would save them from their enemies, 'as we read happened to the people of Israel'.[20] Likewise, in 1163, the Templar master, Bertrand of Blancfort, writing to King Louis VII of France to report the death of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem, described Baldwin as an 'unconquerable wall for the house of Israel'.[21] That descriptions of the Maccabees can also be found in Latin poetry produced in twelfth-century Jerusalem, and the first line of the inscription which appears to have adorned Baldwin I's tomb read *REX BALDEWINUS, IUDAS ALTER MACHABEUS* (King Baldwin, a second Judas Maccabeus), only further accentuates the parallels made between Latin settlers and the biblical past and the important role these played in the processes of identity formation and expressions of power in Outremer.[22]

Our apprehension of the processes of identity formation in these new polities is complicated, however, by the works of two other writers from the Latin East: the Antiochene Walter the Chancellor (d. *c.*1120s), who wrote an account of the wars which beset the principality of Antioch between 1115

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[18] N. Morton, 'Walls of Defence for the House of Israel: Ezekiel 13:15 and the Crusading Movement', in E. Lapina and N. Morton, eds., *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 403–20; N. Morton, 'The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees', *Journal of Medieval History*, xxxvi (2010), pp. 275–93; E. Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (Philadelphia, PA, 2015), pp. 97–121.

[19] *Historia Compostellana*, ed. E. Falque Rey (Turnhout, 1988), pp. 270–72. On the Field of Blood, see T.S. Asbridge, 'The Significance and Causes of the Battle of the Field of Blood', *Journal of Medieval History*, xxiii (1997), pp. 301–16.

[20] 'ut in populo Israelitico contigisse legimus': B.Z. Kedar, 'On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120', *Speculum*, lxxiv (1999), pp. 310–335, at 331.

[21] 'murus … inexpugnabilis pro domo Israel': Louis VII, 'Epistolae', in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet et al. (24 vols, Paris, 1738–1904) [henceforth *RHGF*], xvi. 38. See also Morton, 'Walls of Defence', pp. 414–15.

[22] E. Poleg, 'On the Books of Maccabees: An Unpublished Poem by Geoffrey, Prior of the "Templum Domini"', *Crusades*, ix (2010), pp. 13–56; J. Yolles, 'The Maccabees in the Lord's Temple: Biblical Imagery and Latin Poetry in Frankish Jerusalem', in Lapina and Morton, eds., *Uses of the Bible*, pp. 421–39; Elzear Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae, 1724–1744*, ed. E. Hoade and B. Bagatti (2nd edn, Jerusalem, 1962), p. 71; L. Mahoney, 'The Church of the Nativity and "Crusader Kingship"', in M.E. Parker, B. Halliburton and A. Romine, eds., *Crusading in Art, Thought and Will* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 9–36, at 10–14.

and 1119, and the famous Jerusalemite chronicler William of Tyre (d. *c.*1185), whose vast text detailed events in Outremer from its foundation to the early 1180s.[23] While both used *Franci* as a term of collective identity, they did so rarely. Walter deployed it only three times, and used *Latini* even less, whereas state-specific terms such as 'Antiochene' were far more prominent.[24] This is perhaps unsurprising given the author's own ties to the principality, but it may indicate either a desire not to attribute God's retribution for sin—a prominent theme of the narrative—to the other polities of Outremer, in particular the kingdom of Jerusalem, whose ruler, Baldwin II, was highly praised by Walter; or even an effort to stress as exceptional Antioch's need for military aid.[25] Conversely, while William of Tyre recognised the existence of state-focused identities (and also presented a misleadingly neat picture of the rather messy processes of the territorial expansion of these polities), in general he emphasised *Latini*, even describing the inhabitants of Outremer collectively as *Latini orientales* (eastern Latins). By comparison, he only twice utilised *Franci* for settlers, in contrast to his use of the term for those from the Latin West who followed King Louis VII of France on the Second Crusade in the 1140s.[26] It is possible that we could view this impulse in the context of William's unwillingness to use neologisms (including *feodum*), as he relied instead on a more classical lexicon, even in those charters we know he is responsible for drafting. However, the author's education as a young man in France, as well as his knowledge of Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*, suggests that his decision to avoid *Franci* was rather more politically motivated.[27] Indeed, given that one of William's main authorial purposes was to promote western military aid, this was probably an attempt to emphasise the significance of shared

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[23] Walter the Chancellor, *Galterii cancellarii Bella Antiochena: mit Erläuterungen und einem Anhange*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896) [henceforth WC]; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, lxiii/lxiii A (1986).
[24] For *Franci* and *Latini*, see WC, pp. 63, 90, 95, 109, 114. The use of terms such as Antiochene, Jerusalemite, Edessan and Tripolitan are too extensive to record here in full but can be traced through the index to the edition; see pp. 341, 343, 354, 359, 375, 381–2.
[25] On Walter's authorial motives, see T.S. Asbridge and S.B. Edgington, *Walter the Chancellor's* The Antiochene Wars (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 11–73.
[26] For his use of *Latini*, see William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, p. 552, and the index of its usage (p. 1133); for his use of *Antiocheni*, *Edessani*, *Ierosolymitani*, and *Tripolitani*, see pp. 1094, 1113, 1128–9, 1164; for *Franci*, see pp. 512–13, 580. On William and the geography of these states, see K.J. Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli and Lebanon in the Twelfth Century: Sons of Saint-Gilles* (Abingdon, 2017), pp. 41–9.
[27] Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 32–43; C. Kostick, 'William of Tyre, Livy, and the Vocabulary of Class', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, lxv (2004), pp. 353–68. For the charters, in particular the use of *Franci*, see *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, ed. H.E. Mayer and J. Richard (4 vols, Hanover, 2010), iv. 1633.

religious belief between these polities and the Latin west, and, perhaps, to prevent any promotion of a Frankish identity in the east having the paradoxical effect of limiting his appeal for aid in the Latin west to those who lived in France alone.[28] In moving away from *Franci*, it appears unlikely that William sought to diminish the presence of that term in the east or the influence of early crusading memories— in fact, he dedicated a large portion of his narrative to this foundational venture, and, as will be noted below, he also related how stories of the crusade's heroes were still told in his time; rather, his choice of collective noun was a means to appeal to common identities which both transcended geographical distance and avoided potential political fragmentation.

In response to complexities of this sort in the deployment of group terminology by contemporary medieval authors, Murray's work has been expanded upon by Timo Kirschberger in a recent monograph on the processes of ethnogenesis found in texts relating to the First Crusade and the settlement of the Latin East. In this, Kirschberger has agreed that authors deliberately sought to manufacture *origines gentium* narratives which established the creation of not only new states, but new peoples. Yet, while 'Frank', and indeed 'Latin', sat at the heart of this, to focus only on these overlooks deeper divisions, evident in the creation of the *Hierosolymitani* and the *Antiocheni*, who each had their own foundation narratives built around religious figures (Christ and St Peter) and external enemies (Islam and Byzantium).[29] Importantly, this complexity is reflected in the Latin East's numismatic evidence, for some of the coins of the kings of Jerusalem carried a representation of the Holy Sepulchre, while others of the princes of Antioch included an image of St Peter.[30] This demonstrates that there were several means by which collective identity was expressed by the Latin inhabitants of Outremer. Nevertheless, as demonstrated by Fulcher and others, the term 'Frank' clearly carried significance, even

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[28] The issue of *Franci* was especially pertinent given that the twelfth century saw growing conflicts between France and the Anglo-Norman and Angevin rulers of England—something William would have been aware of since he was educated in the west from the mid-1140s to the early 1160s. On William's authorial motives, see P.W. Edbury and J.G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 151–66. On the influence of Anglo-French rivalry over crusading efforts in the west, see H.E. Mayer, 'Henry II of England and the Holy Land', *English Historical Review*, xcvii (1982), pp. 721–39; J.P. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 140–266.

[29] T. Kirschberger, *Erster Kreuzzug und Ethnogenese: In novam formam commutatus—Ethnogenetische Prozesse im Fürstentum Antiochia und im Königreich Jerusalem* (Göttingen, 2015).

[30] D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 27, 57–9.

if it might be supplanted—or supplemented—by other political identities. Likewise, authors writing in Greek and Arabic considered the settlers to be *frangoi* or *al-Franj*.[31] It is also important to note that Frankishness was emphasised both culturally and linguistically: firstly, by an Outremer-specific dialect of Old French, which Laura Minervini has argued became an ethnolect (a symbolic identifier of a socio-cultural grouping) for the settler communities; secondly, through the importation of the French *denier* style of coin to each of the states; and, lastly, as will be explored below, in Latin and vernacular literature.[32]

However, Kirschberger's analysis raises an important point that requires addressing: that for all the construction of a specifically Frankish identity in contemporary narratives written by Latins in the east, and the clear influence of (primarily northern) French culture, we rarely ever find the term *Franci* used by someone living within these states outside the narrative evidence. This was because the means of expressing group identities on a local level and the reasons for doing so—be they political, social, religious or familial—could be more complex and variegated than those of the chroniclers who were so often seeking support in western Europe. This is even true for the charters issued within the Latin East. The rulers of Jerusalem styled themselves 'king of the Latins in the holy city of Jerusalem', although outside this context we also struggle to find *Latini* in the documentary sources for these polities.[33] Likewise, the princes of Antioch presented themselves as rulers of the Antiochenes, while the counts of Edessa and Tripoli governed the Edessans and Tripolitans respectively.[34] When we move away from the charters of the various princely families, the picture begins to blur even more, as, while a secular figure might allude to an overlord and evoke the group terminology deployed by that ruler, for the most

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[31] A.V. Murray, 'National Identity, Language and Conflict in the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1096–1192', in C. Kostick, ed., *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories* (Abingdon, 2011), pp. 107–30, at 116–17. See also A.-M. Eddé, 'La Vision des francs dans les sources musulmanes à l'époque des croisades (1099–1250)', in *Islam et monde Latin (milieu X^e–milieu XIIIe): Espaces et enjeux* (Paris, 2000), pp. 61–80; P. Thorau, 'Die fremden Franken—al faranğ al-garubā'—Kreuzfahrer und Kreuzzüge aus arabischer Sicht', in A. Wieczorek, M. Fansa and J. Meller, eds., *Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer* (Mannheim, 2005), pp. 115–25.
[32] L. Minervini, 'What We Know and Don't Yet Know about Outremer French', in L. Morreale and N.L. Paul, eds., *The French of Outremer: Communities and Communications in the Crusading Mediterranean* (New York, 2018), pp. 15–29; A. Stahl, 'The *Denier* Outremer', in L. Morreale and N.L. Paul, eds., *The French of Outremer: Communities and Communications in the Crusading Mediterranean* (New York, 2018), pp. 30–43.
[33] 'in sancta civitate Ierusalem Latinorum rex': *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, ed. Mayer and Richard, i. 774.
[34] *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1300)*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx (4 vols, Paris, 1894–1906), i. 89–90, 116–18, 143–4.

part we do not find nobles calling themselves Jerusalemites, Antiochenes, Edessans or Tripolitans, and certainly not Franks. Instead we often find settlers who evoked familial heritage in the Latin West through naming patterns. Toponymic surnames tied to their European origins endured, even if such settlers also referred to their new lands as well. For example, the heads of the Norman Sourdeval family from the principality of Antioch alternated between two first names, Robert and Walter (the former evoking the First Crusade veteran, Robert of Sourdeval), as well as between the use of their western toponym and, very occasionally, Laitor, the central possession of their eastern landholdings.[35] While more work is required on the prosopographical and onomastic evidence for the Latin East—which largely provides a window onto the upper elements of society and so only really scratches the surface of human experience in *Outremer*—that which we do have argues for the significant influence of western naming patterns, adhering to traditions well established in Europe, both for people and for new settlements.[36]

While this conclusion perhaps undermines any notion of a unique, commonly held and widespread 'crusading' identity—in that it does not allow us to assume that a common sense of Frankishness, drawn from the early narrativisation of the events and personalities of the First Crusade, automatically transposed itself to all elements of society—it is nevertheless evident that western markers of identity were ever-present. It is also significant that the four newly formed states all derived their names from a conquest made either during the crusade itself (Edessa, Antioch and Jerusalem) or achieved later under the auspices of a veteran of the original campaign (Tripoli). William of Tyre's history makes it clear that contemporaries knew the names of the broader geographical regions in which these polities sat; yet, rather than evoke these, and so found counties of Cilicia, Mesopotamia or

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[35] A.D. Buck, 'Dynasty and Diaspora in the Latin East: The Case of the Sourdevals', *Journal of Medieval History*, xliv (2018), pp. 151–69.

[36] Minervini, 'What We Know', p. 17; I. Shagrir, *Naming Patterns in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2003); I. Shagrir, 'The Medieval Evolution of By-Naming: Notions from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum and J.S.C. Riley-Smith, eds., *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 49–59; M.-A. Nielen, 'Families of Outremer: A Source of Traditional Naming Customs', in G. Beech, M. Bourin and P. Chareille, eds., *Personal Names Studies of Medieval Europe: Social Identity and Familial Structures* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2002), pp. 131–9; R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 74–82; A.V. Murray, 'The Nobility of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1187: Names, Origins and Identity', in K.J. Stringer and A. Jotischky, eds., *The Normans and the 'Norman Edge': Peoples, Polities, and Identities on the Frontiers of Medieval Europe* (Abingdon, 2019), pp. 162–90.

Lebanon, a principality of Coele Syria, or a kingdom of Palestine, the progenitors of the Latin East instead chose to rely upon the crusading heritage of their conquests as a means of creating political legitimacy and identity.[37] It is clear, therefore, that although it would be misleading to see a single, overarching identity among the settlers of the Latin East (for it is evident that group identities could be multifaceted and overlapping—influenced by linguistic, social, political and geographical markers, among others—and could be shaped by the context in which they were expressed), there remains a strong sense that memories of the crusade and the western European homelands of settlers continued to exert a powerful influence. Be it through group myths created in literary productions, or through language, coins and naming patterns, the European—and indeed crusading—heritage of the settler communities was central to the identities of these states and their inhabitants. Consequently, the ways in which the memory and cultural influence of that initial venture were transmitted in Outremer deserves attention in any assessment of the appropriateness of the term 'crusader state'.

II

A core premise of MacEvitt's approach is the contention that, once the First Crusade was over, settlers swiftly integrated themselves into the social and political world of the Near East and thus that the influence of crusading ideology (that is, penitential warfare) dissipated. This, he argues, is demonstrated by the apparent lack of sermons, songs, or any other evocations of the crusading past, beyond letters sent to the Latin West to drum up military aid.[38] In light of the above discussion on the influence of western and crusading heritage over the processes of identity-formation found in the Latin East, however, these assumptions require more investigation.

We begin with the issue of crusade songs. As scholars are increasingly starting to recognise, crusading *chansons* and lyrics were a crucial means by which the message of the crusade was disseminated to, and interpreted by, secular audiences in the Latin West. The creation of the Old French

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[37] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, pp. 587–8.
[38] MacEvitt, 'What was Crusader about the Crusader States?', pp. 328–30.

Crusade Cycle—the *Chanson d'Antioche*, *Chanson des Chétifs* and *Chanson de Jérusalem*—thus played a vital part in how the First Crusade was memorialised, as did the lyrics written and performed by troubadours, trouvères and other vernacular performers.[39] Indeed, though the Old French Crusade Cycle was probably written down *c*.1200, it is evident that its traditions began in the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade, demonstrating the significance of *chansons* as transmitters of cultural memory and identity.[40] If MacEvitt is correct, then, the lack of interest in such songs in the Latin East would certainly imply a lack of engagement with any sort of identity predicated on crusading. Yet, the suggestion that there was no such interest is, in fact, wrong, even if most vernacular responses to the crusade were created in the west. Most significantly, a key section in what later became the second instalment of the Old French Crusade Cycle, the *Chanson des Chétifs*, was created in Antioch at the behest of its prince, Raymond of Poitiers (r. 1136–49), in the 1140s. In this part of the *Chétifs*, a group of crusaders become lost after departing from Antioch following its capture and find themselves battling a dragon, Sathanas, near to Mount Tigris, with the hero, Baldwin of Beauvais, fighting and defeating the dragon.[41] For Carol Sweetenham, this was a near-allegorical Christian picture of victory over the Devil, with the crusader embodying Christianity, and may even have drawn some inspiration from eastern Christian vernacular traditions.[42] It thus served to demonstrate the intrinsic devotional value of crusading in fighting and combatting sin.

Notwithstanding this potential eastern influence, however, it could be argued that the commissioning of this song reveals more about Raymond's western background than processes of identity formation in Outremer—Raymond was the son of the famous crusader and troubadour, William

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[39] The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade, tr. S.B. Edgington and C. Sweetenham (Farnham, 2011); The Chanson des Chétifs and Chanson de Jérusalem: Completing the Central Trilogy of the Old French Crusade Cycle, tr. C. Sweetenham (Abingdon, 2016); L.M. Paterson, Singing the Crusades: French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137–1336 (Woodbridge, 2018); L. Mulholland, 'Remembering Jerusalem: Lamenting the Holy City in Occitan Lyric, *c*.1187–*c*.1300', in A.D. Buck and T.W. Smith, eds., *Remembering the Crusades in Medieval Texts and Songs: A Special Edition of The Journal of Religious History, Literature and Culture* (Cardiff, 2019), pp. 67–82; W. Jackson, Ardent Complaints and Equivocal Piety: The Portrayal of the Crusader in Medieval German Poetry (Lanham, MD, 2003).
[40] C. Sweetenham, 'What Really Happened to Eurvin de Créel's Donkey? Anecdotes in Sources for the First Crusade', in Bull and Kempf, eds., *Writing the Early Crusades*, pp. 75–88.
[41] *Chanson des Chétifs*, tr. Sweetenham, pp. 98–122.
[42] Ibid., pp. 12–16.

IX of Aquitaine, and only came to Antioch in 1136 to marry the Antiochene heiress, Princess Constance (d. *c.*1164). Nonetheless, the person he charged with creating this piece was not a western composer, but rather a canon of St Peter's Church in Antioch.[43] Linda Paterson has argued that this canon may have received this position as a reward for his song, but this is unclear; indeed, David Jacoby suggested that the author's intimate knowledge of Antiochene affairs implies someone who had lived there for quite some time.[44] Furthermore, though we have no other materials created by this figure, the fact that he was willing and able to fulfil this commission suggests that it was not a unique occurrence, in spite of Jacoby's suggestion that the notion of martial *chansons* as entertainment was less important to a society for which warfare against Muslims was a frequent reality.[45] Paterson, among others, has even asked whether the portion of the *Chétifs* composed at Antioch was in fact 'the tip of an epic iceberg', with many more songs commemorating the crusade being produced in the east, perhaps including elements of the tradition which eventually formed the *Chanson d'Antioche*, even if they do not survive.[46] In this regard, it is of interest that, although the *Historia Nicaena* (commissioned at around the same time as the aforementioned section of the *Chétifs*) closely follows Robert the Monk for the First Crusade, albeit with some omissions or insertions drawn from the history of Fulcher of Chartres, there is a single chapter which appears to be entirely original. This section relates to events at Antioch in June 1098, when a crusader embassy, led by Peter the Hermit and a knight called Herluin, was sent to *Corbaran* (Kerbogha of Mosul) to offer him the chance to face single combat or withdraw. Driven into an angry rage, so the *Historia* says, Kerbogha showed the legates the chains and fetters he had prepared for the crusade leaders and then expelled them from his camp—a move made because his princes were well aware of the famine within the crusader army and their own superior numbers (their

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[43] On Raymond's background and arrival at Antioch, see A.D. Buck, *The Principality of Antioch and its Frontiers in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 69–77; G. Beech, 'The Ventures of the Dukes of Aquitaine into Spain and the Crusader East in the Early Twelfth Century', *Haskins Society Journal*, v (1993), pp. 61–75. On the authorship of this element of the *Chétifs*, see *Chanson des Chétifs*, tr. Sweetenham, pp. 7–21.

[44] L.M. Paterson, 'Occitan Literature in the Holy Land', in M.G. Bull and C. Léglu, eds., *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 83–99, at 87; D. Jacoby, 'La Littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et création', in *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin. Actes du IXᵉ Congrès international de la Société Rencesvals pour l'étude des épopées romanes (Padoue–Venise, 1982)* (Modena, 1984), pp. 617–46, at 640.

[45] Jacoby, 'La Littérature française', pp. 636–7.

[46] Paterson, 'Occitan Literature', p. 89.

army is said to have numbered twenty-nine kings and 300,000 knights and foot soldiers).[47] While this small set-piece story does not directly mirror the *Chanson d'Antioche*, it is noteworthy that the *Historia*'s rendering of Kerbogha as *Corbaran* departs from Robert the Monk's narration (and indeed from Fulcher) and instead follows the vernacular tradition.[48] Similarly, the identification of Kerbogha's leading generals as kings and the description of the immense size of his force, as well as the mention of his knowledge of the famine within the crusader army, points to distinct parallels with both the *Antioche* and the *Canso d'Antioca*, an earlier Occitan epic song of the crusade, of which only the events of the Battle of Antioch survive to us.[49] This seems to indicate that, even if the author of the *Historia* knew neither of these exact versions of the early vernacular responses to the events at Antioch, he was at least familiar with their oral traditions.

Other evidence likewise contradicts the idea that there was no eastern Latin interest in epic vernacular or crusade songs. For example, the discovery of several Old French fragments in Damascus, including the epic poem *Fierabras*, the original of which was composed in the Latin West *c.*1190, is suggestive of a much richer cultural interest in *chanson* literature, for these fragments were either produced within the Latin East, or transmitted to the Muslim world by Latin Christians resident in the

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[47] 'Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena', *RHC Occ.*, v. 169: 'Ad haec inimici Dei, graviter efferati mente contra legatos Francorum, vincula et laqueos, quos principibus nostris iam paraverant, eis ostenderunt, et conviciorum verbis lacessitos a conspectu principis sui eiecerunt. Confidebant enim in multitudine gentis sue, scientes nostros fame debilitatos; habebant enim in exercitu suo xxix reges et trecentos mille equites et pedites, quibus omnibus praefuit Corbaran' ('At this, the enemies of God, their minds greatly enraged against the legates of the Franks, showed them the chains and fetters they had already prepared for our princes. And, provoked by their words of abuse, they [the legates] were cast out of the prince's presence. For, they relied upon the multitude of their men, and knowing that our men were debilitated by hunger; for, they had in their army twenty-nine kings and 300,000 knights and footsoldiers, who were all commanded by Corboran').
[48] *Chanson d'Antioche*, tr. Edgington and Sweetenham, p. 257; *The Canso d'Antioca: An Occitan Epic Chronicle of the First Crusade*, ed. and tr. C. Sweetenham and L.M. Paterson (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 192–3.
[49] *Chanson d'Antioche*, tr. Edgington and Sweetenham, pp. 300–330; *Canso d'Antioca*, ed. Sweetenham and Paterson, pp. 210–237. As regards the hunger of Latin forces, this could be an allusion to an element of Robert the Monk's account which details a conversation between Kerbogha and a Provençal traitor, who had informed the Muslim leader of the famine that had ravaged the crusaders. As Carol Sweetenham has suggested, though, this could itself be a corrupted version of Herluin's role in the *Canso*, as he is seen acting as advisor to Kerbogha. See Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. Kempf, p. 73; *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, tr. C. Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2005), p. 168 n. 22; *Canso d'Antioca*, ed. Sweetenham and Paterson, pp. 192–207. Meanwhile the reference to chains and fetters raises an interesting, if minor, parallel with the account of the embassy found in Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, which is also said to have drawn on early oral responses to the crusade, particularly those found in the *Chanson d'Antioche* tradition. See Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and tr. S.B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), pp. xxvii–xxviiii, 318.

east, in the early thirteenth century.[50] More importantly, another of these fragments relates to *Les Enfances Godefroi*, an epic detailing the family background of the First Crusade veteran, and first ruler of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon (d. 1100).[51] This appears to corroborate William of Tyre's comment that stories of Godfrey's exploits on crusade, which were also memorialised in several other epic poems and songs, were still told within Jerusalem in his own time.[52] Even Jacoby, who argued that the crusading *chansons* gained less traction in the east, nevertheless accepted that there was a keen interest in Arthurian literature among the settler communities of Outremer and also that there are textual hints, visible in the Lyons *Eracles* continuation of William of Tyre, about the creation of a political *chanson* composed in Jerusalem following Guy of Lusignan's accession as king in 1186.[53] Importantly, this also mirrors recent findings regarding the text known as the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, an Old French account of the history of the Latin East from its inception to the mid-thirteenth century.[54] Indeed, Peter Edbury has argued that although this text, as it survives, went through several incarnations, including being attached to the Old French translation of William of Tyre's chronicle made near Paris in the 1230s and then re-edited in Acre in the 1250s, underlying this is a narrative (produced by Ernoul, the squire of the Jerusalemite nobleman, Balian of Ibelin) which would have been completed in Outremer in the early 1190s. As Edbury notes, this makes the Ernoul text 'one of the earliest instances of French vernacular prose history'. Additionally, the later Acre version of the text, known as the Colbert-Fontainebleau manuscript, probably drew upon other such internal narratives composed by

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[50] L. Minervini, 'Sui frammenti epici della moschea di Damasco (*Fierabras*, lasse 106–108, 117–118)', in P. Di Luca and D. Piacentino, eds., *Codici, testi, interpretazioni: Studi sull'epica romanza medievale* (Naples, 2015), pp. 93–104. See also K. Hirschler, 'Document Reuse in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts', *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*, iii (2017), pp. 33–44.

[51] K. Hirschler, '*Fierabras* and *Les Enfances Godefroi*: Who Read *Chanson de Geste* in Thirteenth-Century Damascus?', paper delivered at the British Association for Islamic Studies, 12 Apr. 2016.

[52] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, p. 430. On the retellings of Godfrey's career and crusading exploits more generally, see S.A. John, *Godfrey of Bouillon: Duke of Lower Lotharingia, Ruler of Latin Jerusalem, c.1060–1100* (Abingdon, 2018), pp. 227–53.

[53] Jacoby, 'La Littérature française', p. 641 and *passim*. See also K. Ciggaar, 'Manuscripts as Intermediaries: The Crusader States and Literary Cross-Fertilization', in K. Ciggaar, A. Davids and H. Teule, eds., *East and West in the Crusader States: Context—Contacts—Confrontations. Acta of the Congress held at Hernen Castle in May 1993* (Leuven, 1996), pp. 131–51.

[54] *Chronique d'Ernoul et de la Bernard Le Trésorier*, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871).

authors close to the noble families of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, especially for materials relating to the Third Crusade.[55]

There is also evidence that western troubadours could find work in the Latin East. Thus, the Occitan troubadour, Peire Vidal, is known to have spent time at the court of Count Raymond III of Tripoli (d. 1187), probably during his time as regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the 1180s.[56] There, he composed a song, *Ajotar e lassar*, in which he lamented how his beloved had banished him to the east on a pious journey, but that, although he missed Toulouse, he had found welcome at Raymond's court.[57] Though this song is by no means a specifically 'crusade lyric', in the sense that it does not talk of a military venture, it does attest to an interest in lyrics and songs in the Latin East, rather as was the case in the west, and thus an enduring affinity with the same elite secular cultures that spawned the crusading *chansons*. Moreover, that Vidal came to Raymond, and so called upon surviving cultural links between Tripoli and southern France, the ancestral homeland of the very first count, Raymond of St-Gilles (d. 1105), a veteran of the First Crusade, would also seem to point to the enduring legacy of that venture in the courtly cultures of these states. All this serves to demonstrate that there was a distinct interest in vernacular literature and epic songs within the Latin East, one in which the crusading past was actively transmitted and remembered.

Though this has been discussed above, and will be explored in greater depth below, it should also be remembered that Outremer was the birthplace of important works of Latin historiography, such as the aforementioned texts by Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre, which created foundation narratives for these new eastern polities through their accounts of the First Crusade. A similar approach was adopted in Ralph of Caen's *Tancredus*.[58] Moreover, as Deborah Gerish has argued, the *Historia*

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[55] P.W. Edbury, 'Ernoul, *Eracles*, and the Collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', in L. Morreale and N.L. Paul, eds., *The French of Outremer: Communities and Communications in the Crusading Mediterranean* (New York, 2018), pp. 44–67.

[56] Paterson, *Singing the Crusades*, pp. 43–6, 62, 69; Lewis, *Counts of Tripoli and Lebanon*, pp. 159, 260–264, 301.

[57] For an edition and translation of this text, see *Rialto: Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica letteratura trobadorica e occitana* (Università di Napoli Federico II, 2003–), at http://www.rialto.unina.it/PVid/364.2(Avalle).transl.htm (accessed 23 Oct. 2018), presenting the text from Peire Vidal, *Poesie*, ed. A.S. Avalle (2 vols, Milan, 1960), i. 33, with translation by L.M. Paterson for *Rialto*, 11 Oct. 2013.

[58] Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, ed. D'Angelo, pp. 3–117.

Nicaena called upon the story of the First Crusade to evoke an imagined golden age of Christian unity, God's favour, and, above all, victory. Going further, Gerish argues that the Franks were presented as having 'sworn perpetual crusading oaths', while the period of the text (1097–1123) became 'a seamless whole, with no apparent differentiation between the end of the crusade and the early years of Outremer. Similarly, there existed no distinction between European and Frankish interests'.[59] This was a pertinent message, for at this time the kingdom of Jerusalem was divided over the accession of King Baldwin III in the face of the efforts of his mother, Queen Melisende (d. 1161), to retain influence following the death of her husband, King Fulk (d. 1143). Similarly, the fall of Edessa in 1144 to Zengi, the Muslim *atabeg* of Mosul, brought the renewed prospect of western forces arriving *en masse*, as eventually materialised in the shape of the Second Crusade.[60] That the memory of Latin unity and divine support witnessed during the First Crusade was used in this mid-twelfth-century period as the standard against which all rulers in Jerusalem should be measured, and which European powers should also emulate, only further demonstrates the enduring mutual legacy of the venture in Outremer and the Latin West. Finally, while Walter the Chancellor did not incorporate a narrative of the crusade into his text, he did carry forward the ideas of holy war and crusading terminology into his description of the conflicts which beset the principality of Antioch between 1115 and 1119, with the result that the Latin settlements are presented as continuators of that initial expedition.[61]

Significantly, the notion of the physical remembrance of western, or more specifically crusading heritage, was not limited to vernacular or Latin literary culture. In recent years, many publications have alerted us to the role played by liturgy in spreading the crusading message and in facilitating the remembrance of the First Crusade.[62] Most notably, this was manifested in Jerusalem by a special celebration, founded within a few years of the First Crusade, which commemorated the capture

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[59] Gerish, '*Historia Nicaena*', pp. 65, 71.
[60] H.E. Mayer, 'Studies in Honour of Queen Melisende', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxvi (1972), pp. 111–69; J.P. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, CT, 2007), *passim*.
[61] T.S. Asbridge, 'The "Crusader" Community at Antioch: The Impact of Interaction with Byzantium and Islam', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., x (1999), pp. 305–25, at 308–10. See also Asbridge and Edgington, *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars*, pp. 69–72.
[62] The most extensive of these is Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*. See also A. Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003); I. Shagrir, '*Adventus* in Jerusalem: The Palm Sunday celebration in Latin Jerusalem', *Journal of Medieval History*, xli (2015), pp. 1–20; S.A. John, '"The Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem": Remembering and Reconstructing the First Crusade in the Holy City, 1099–1187', *Journal of Medieval History*, xli (2015), pp. 409–31.

of the Holy City on 15 July 1099. This took the form of a liturgical procession which evoked the city's recovery by visiting three key sites related to the crusade: the Holy Sepulchre, the *Templum Domini*, and the spot where the walls were first breached (which was adorned with a large cross). Linked to this, also, were commemorations of those crusaders who died during the siege through a visit to the city's Golden Gate (outside which they were buried) and the death of the city's first Latin ruler, Godfrey of Bouillon.[63] In one surviving manuscript detailing this liturgy, produced in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre during the 1130s, it was described as 'the feast of when Jerusalem was captured by the Franks', which further reinforces how both the crusade and the term *Franci* sat as core elements of Latin identity in Outremer.[64] It also appears that the procession was accompanied by a dedicatory sermon. Indeed, elements of one such sermon, attributed to Fulcher of Chartres, have survived. In this, the biblical significance and miraculous nature of the city's recovery are outlined, as are the suffering and hardships endured by the crusaders on their journey. Those present were thus called upon to imitate those who entered the city on 15 July 1099, and to 'hurry, faithful, to the Lord's Temple and hurry to the precious Sepulchre of Christ'.[65] As Simon John has argued, these liturgical activities 'symbolically replicated' the events of the crusade, and 'there can be little doubt that, in providing an annual reminder of the kingdom's foundation on the day of Jerusalem's capture, the feast galvanised the Latins' collective identity and group solidarity'.[66] This would not only have been of central importance to the self-fashioning of Jerusalemite identity and legitimacy, it would also have served as an important means by which western visitors, or even new settlers, would have been reminded of the shared heritage and experience of the crusade. Thus, although the feast was a tangible means by which the broader span of settler society in Jerusalem commemorated their polity's foundation, it is likely that pilgrims and other visitors also partook in these celebrations. With settlers and visitors performing the route side by side, the enduring links between Latin East and West would have been emphasised through the prism of

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[63] John, '"Feast of the Liberation"', pp. 409–31.

[64] 'Festivatis Ierusalem quando fuit capta a Francis': Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 12056, quoted in John, '"Feast of the Liberation"', p. 417.

[65] 'currunt fideles ad Dominicum Templum curruntque ad preciosum Christi sepulchrum': C. Kohler, 'Un Sermon commémoratif de la prise de Jérusalem, attribué à Foucher de Chartres', *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, xviii (1900–1901), pp. 158–64, at 164. See also John, '"Feast of the Liberation"', p. 428.

[66] John, '"Feast of the Liberation"', p. 430.

crusading memory and religious practice. That one of the most important instances of this occurred on 15 July 1149, when the fiftieth anniversary of the crusader capture of Jerusalem was commemorated by the re-dedication of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as a major programme of redecoration, only helps to demonstrate the centrality of the First Crusade to the legitimacy of Latin rule in Jerusalem—especially if seen alongside the commissioning of the *Historia Nicaena*—but also to the performative piety of both the Holy City's Latin populace and western pilgrims.[67] Rather than viewing the Latin East as wholly separate from the Latin West, therefore, it is important to be mindful of the shared heritage and cultural and spiritual markers which united the two areas.

This is also borne out by letters sent west by significant figures from the Latin East. As MacEvitt himself recognises, such missives often drew upon the crusading past, especially that of the First Crusade, in order to promote further military activity from Europe.[68] An early example of this is the aforementioned letter sent by Patriarch Warmund of Jerusalem and Geoffrey, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, to the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela in the early 1120s. In this, Warmund evoked the sermon of Pope Urban II at Clermont—at least as it was recorded by Benedictine authors such as Robert the Monk—through reference to the slaughter and beheading of Christians at the hands of the Saracens, while it was noted of those who had settled in, and now actively defended, Outremer, that 'all their time is spent in the Lord'.[69] In a further echo of accounts of the initial expedition, moreover, Warmund wrote that 'we are ready to die in the name of Jesus rather than desert the holy city of Jerusalem, the Lord's Cross, and the most Holy Sepulchre of Christ'.[70] The imprint of the First Crusade was thus still alive. This can also be seen in a letter sent by Bohemond III of Antioch (d. 1201) to King Louis VII of France *c*.1162, in which he detailed the capture of his stepfather and prince-regent, Renaud of Châtillon (1153–61). In this, Bohemond called on the French king to aid the principality, noting that:

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[67] J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1197* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 175–245; A. Linder, '"Like Purest Gold Resplendent": The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Liberation of Jerusalem', *Crusades*, xviii (2009), pp. 31–52; John, '"Feast of the Liberation"', pp. 417–22; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 59–67.
[68] MacEvitt, 'What was Crusader about the Crusader States?', p. 329.
[69] 'soli Domino vacantes': *Historia Compostellana*, ed. Falque Rey, p. 272. Cf. Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. Kempf, pp. 5–8. See also J.S.C. Riley-Smith and L. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London, 1981), pp. 40–53
[70] 'Pro nomine Iesu antequam civitatem sanctam Iherusalem et Crucem Dominicam et sanctissimum Christi Sepulcrum deseramus, mori parati sumus': *Historia Compostellana*, ed. Falque Rey, p. 271.

Even now our land is placed in crisis, and we snatched in the jaws of the enemies of the Cross

of Christ … Alas! How great a disgrace it will be to all people and to you if this land, namely

the land acquired by the spilling of so much of your forebears' blood, by so much thirst and

hunger, will be permitted to be violated and destroyed by a wicked people.[71]

Importantly, this not only drew on rhetoric similar to that used in papal calls for crusade by emphasising that those who threatened the principality were the enemies of the Cross, but it also made explicit reference to the eight-month siege of Antioch (October 1097–July 1098) during the First Crusade.[72] Characterised by extensive suffering, this episode served as a cornerstone in accounts of the venture's success, proving the crusaders' dedication and leaving a powerful imprint on elite culture in northern France and beyond.[73] Like the aforementioned sermon of Fulcher of Chartres, therefore, the western audiences of these encyclicals were asked to remember the collective suffering and experience of the crusade—to recall what united them as a people.

Such evocations of the First Crusade should not be read as mere rhetorical flourishes, used only because they might gain traction with western audiences. Much like the interest in the crusades shown in vernacular literature and historical writing, and in the liturgical commemoration of the capture of Jerusalem, they instead point to a shared experience of the crusading past—of traumas and successes that underpinned the foundation and legitimacy of the Latin states themselves, but which were also venerated and remembered in the Latin West as crucial moments for dynastic prestige and identity. In short, alongside being perhaps one of our best insights into the influence of the First Crusade among the settler polities of Outremer, these letters also served to create a bridge between east and west that called for a return to the Frankish, Latin, even crusader unity that had led to the success of the First Crusade.

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[71] 'terra nostra iam in arcto posita, et nos ab inimicorum crucis Christi faucibus erepti … Proh dolor! quantum dedecus erit omni populo et vobis, si terram istam, terram quidem tanta effusione Sanguinis parentum vestrorum, tanta siti et fame acquisitam, a nefanda gente violari permittat ac destrui!': Louis VII, 'Epistolae', in *RHGF*, xvi. 27–8.

[72] Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, pp. 40–53, 57–9, 63–7. See also S.A. Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095–1216* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 43–116,

[73] Paul, *Follow in their Footsteps*, pp. 80–83. See also A.D. Buck, '"Weighed by Such a Great Calamity, they were Cleansed for their Sins": Remembering the Siege and Capture of Antioch', in Buck and Smith, eds., *Remembering the Crusades in Medieval Texts and Songs*, pp. 1–16.

III

Another of the central tenets of MacEvitt's argument is the belief that the Latin states of the East did not exist in a vacuum defined by endemic holy war and intolerance towards non-Latin (especially Muslim) communities. This, it is contended, helps to demonstrate that not only is the term 'crusader state' a misnomer, but also that we should disconnect the Latin East from the Latin West, seeing the eastern polities not as extensions of Europe, but rather as part of the Near East's complex social and political make up.[74] Here, MacEvitt is building upon his monograph, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (2008), in which he proposed a model for intercultural contact in Outremer which revolves around an underlying tolerance between Latin and non-Latin communities maintained through the threat of violence against those who undermined Frankish rule.[75] This follows other historians who have argued for the complex cultural dynamic and intricate political climate of the Latin East, as opposed to earlier models which focused on intolerance and persecution.[76] Moreover, even though recent studies have questioned the application of general models of contact, like MacEvitt's, to a region of diverse and fragmented populations, and have cautioned against 'positivist' readings of difficult source materials, there is no doubting that Latin settlers in the East did not live within an isolated bubble and came into frequent and extensive contact with indigenous communities.[77] Less clear is whether contact necessarily excluded the influence of crusader ideology or identity.

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[74] MacEvitt, 'What was Crusader about the Crusader States?', pp. 325–30.

[75] C. MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia, PA, 2008), pp. 21–6 and *passim*.

[76] B.Z. Kedar, 'The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant', in J. Powell, ed., *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300* (Princeton, NJ, 1990), pp. 135–74; A. Jotischky, 'Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People', in K. Ciggaar and H. Teule, eds., *East and West in the Crusader States: Context—Contacts—Confrontations, III* (Leuven, 2003), pp. 1–19; M. Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East*, tr. P.M. Holt and K. Hirschler (Leiden, 2013), pp. 1–6 and *passim*; A.V. Murray, 'Franks and Indigenous Communities in Palestine and Syria (1099–1187): A Hierarchical Model of Social Interaction in the Principalities of Outremer', in A. Classen, ed., *East and West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World* (Berlin, 2013), pp. 289–307. On the comparison with earlier models, see Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 1–102. More generally, see B. Catlos, *The Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c.1050–1614* (Cambridge, 2014).

[77] Buck, *Principality of Antioch*, pp. 164–88; K. Skottki, 'Of "Pious Traitors" and Dangerous Encounters: Historiographical Notions of Interculturality in the Principality of Antioch', *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies*, i (2014), pp. 75–115.

In this regard, it is sensible to begin with warfare, diplomacy and broader political interaction. This is not only because the settlement of Latins in the east and the establishment of polities ruled by Latins came about through an act of war, but also because this topic has been the subject of recent scholarship. Indeed, since Jonathan Riley-Smith famously noted that 'permanent peace could never be achieved' between the Muslims and Latins of the east, the work of Michael Köhler, among others, has demonstrated that Western settlers swiftly became embroiled in the broader political entanglements of the Near East. Consequently, while warfare against nearby Muslim city states, such as Damascus and Aleppo, and larger powers, such as the Fatimids of Egypt—not to forget conflict with Byzantium and Armenian Cilicia—was prominent, so were acts of diplomacy and alliance. In short, the Latin states became a recognisable and active part of the region's political patchwork, not an alien agent waging perpetual and expansionist holy war.[78] To cite a famous example: when the Muslim warlord, Bursuq of Hamadan, sought to invade northern Syria in 1115, a coalition of Antiochene and Jerusalemite forces combined with Muslims from Damascus and Aleppo to meet him and prevent the imposition of external hegemony.[79] Similarly, efforts by the kingdom of Jerusalem to extend its influence into Egypt in the second half of the twelfth century, in direct competition with the Zengid ruler of Aleppo and Damascus, Nur al-Din (d. 1174), were underpinned by diplomatic and military agreements made with the Fatimid vizier, Shawar.[80]

On a more local level, there is also reason to believe that settler interaction with non-Latin communities was not characterised by endemic violence or persecution. Thus, although massacres of indigenous populations occurred during the First Crusade and some early conquests, including at Antioch (1098), Jerusalem (1099), Caesarea (1101), and Beirut (1110), excessive violence quickly dissipated in favour of more peaceful agreements (which were occasionally flouted by Italian forces) that allowed local communities to leave with their lives or stay *in situ*, such as at Arsuf (1101), Acre

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[78] Riley-Smith, 'Peace Never Established', p. 101; Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*; Asbridge, '"Crusader" Community', pp. 305–25; Buck, *Principality of Antioch*, pp. 21–61, 189–217; I. Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens et Francs au temps de la croisade: Politique religieuse et reconquête en Orient sous la dynastie des Comnènes (1081–1185)* (Paris, 2007); MacEvitt, *Rough Tolerance*, pp. 74–99.
[79] FC, pp. 582–3; WC, pp. 66–70; Usamah ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, tr. P.M. Cobb (London, 2008), pp. 85–9, 131–2. See also Asbridge, '"Crusader" Community', pp. 320–21.
[80] Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 231–61.

(1104), Arqa (1109), Tripoli (1109), Sidon (1110), and Tyre (1124).[81] This resulted in cohabitation in rural and urban settlements, as well as administrative structures which facilitated economic and social contact, including governmental positions such as the *ru'asa* (headman), *dragoman* (interpreter), and the *secrete* (a Byzantine financial institution).[82] In the principality of Antioch, in particular, there survived several former Byzantine positions, including the *magister secrete* (master of the secrete), *dux* (duke), *praetor* (chief judge), *praecones* (messenger), and *iudex* (another type of judge), as well as the Islamic office of *qadi* (judge).[83] We also find, at least in the kingdom of Jerusalem, a *cour des Syriens*, in which non-Latin communities could seek justice and, in the case of Muslims, swear their testimony on the Qur'an.[84] There is even evidence pointing towards shared religious spaces, and not just between Christian communities, as can be seen in shrines such as the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem as well as in monastic activities, but also between Christians and Muslims, such as at the Marian shrine of Saydnaya near Damascus, and the small church outside Acre which the Iberian Muslim traveller Ibn Jubayr described as housing both a Christian altar and a Muslim *minbar* in the early 1180s.[85]

As was noted earlier, what historians can read into the evidence for military, political and social contact across religious and denominational divides in Outremer remains a matter for debate. In the case of the principality of Antioch, for example, it has recently been argued that the position of the

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[81] Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 59–126; Barber, *Crusader States*, pp. 50–148.

[82] J.S.C Riley-Smith, 'Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria', *English Historical Review*, lxxxvii (1972), pp. 1–26; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, 'Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in D. Abulafia and N. Berend, eds., *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 121–31; MacEvitt, *Rough Tolerance*, pp. 136–56; H.E. Mayer, 'Die Register der Secrète des Königreichs Jerusalem', *Deutsches Archiv*, lvii (2001), pp. 165–70; R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998); K.J. Lewis, 'Medieval Diglossia: The Diversity of the Latin Christian Encounter with Written and Spoken Arabic in the "Crusader" County of Tripoli, with a Hitherto Unpublished Arabic Note from the Principality of Antioch (MS, AOM 3, Valletta: National Library of Malta, no. 51v)', *Al-Masāq*, xxvii (2015), pp. 119–52.

[83] T.S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 181–94; Buck, *Principality of Antioch*, pp. 88–9, 175–80.

[84] John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, ed. P.W. Edbury (Leiden, 2003), p. 55. See also MacEvitt, *Rough Tolerance*, pp. 151–2; Riley-Smith, 'Government and the Indigenous', p. 128.

[85] Kedar, 'Subjected Muslims', pp. 135–74; MacEvitt, *Rough Tolerance*, pp. 100–135, 157–76; A. Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (Philadelphia, PA, 1995); B.Z. Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya', in Y. Hen, ed., *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder* (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 59–69; Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), pp. 318–19.

ru'asa was limited to a small and select number of Eastern Christian families, to the exclusion of Muslims; that former Byzantine institutions quickly fell out of use by the middle of the twelfth century; and that the existence of a *qadi* was predicated on specific political circumstances rather than being a widespread phenomenon.[86] MacEvitt, influenced by evidence for the incorporation of eastern administrative positions into Latin governance, has asked whether we might trace similar continuities in landholding patterns, stating that 'nobody has examined the construction of lordship across political, religious and ethnic lines in this period' and that this has led to an 'artificial separation of Frankish Syria from its neighbours'. This suggestion, however, overlooks significant existing studies on lordship in both the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch.[87] These have demonstrated that the institutions employed by the Latin settlers were western in origin, even if fluidity between different aristocratic holdings (by no means unheard of Europe, either) meant that lordship was far from static.[88] In practice, parallels with other frontier societies in the Latin West seem more striking here than commonalities with the practices of landholding under Islamic or eastern Christian rule.

Nevertheless, what cannot be questioned is the reality of the frequency and depth of intercultural contact in the Latin East. For MacEvitt, this underpins the need to divorce the settlements of Outremer from a western crusading context, so that anything besides penitential holy war sits outside the bounds of the crusading movement, even as it first evolved. It is easy to understand why: all accounts of Pope Urban II's sermon which launched the First Crusade demonised—and at times dehumanised— the Latins' Muslim opponents in order to legitimise acts of violence, while accounts of massacres at Antioch and Jerusalem gloried in the blood shed as a purgative exercise.[89] Despite some extreme examples, however, such rhetoric and actions are rarely found outside the context of the First Crusade in relation to the activities of Latin settlers, particularly because, as noted above, massacres became less

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[86] Buck, *Principality of Antioch*, pp. 88–9, 164–88.
[87] MacEvitt, 'What was Crusader about the Crusader States?', p. 325.
[88] S. Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291* (Oxford, 1989); Asbridge, *Creation of the Principality*, pp. 155–80; J.-M. Martin, 'Les Structures féodales normanno-souabes et la Terre Sainte', in G. Musca, ed., *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le Crociate. Atti delle quattordicesime giornate normanno-sveve Bari, 17–20 Octobre 2000* (Bari, 2002), pp. 225–50; Buck, *Principality of Antioch*, pp. 128–63.
[89] Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, pp. 40–53; B.Z. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades', *Crusades*, iii (2004), pp. 15–75, at 16–42; Skottki, 'Of "Pious Traitors"', pp. 75–94; N. Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 85–94, 111–89.

prominent. As a consequence, MacEvitt has stated that there were 'no crusaders' living in the east, for, once they had completed their vow, they ceased to be a crusader: in sum, settler and crusader are mutually exclusive terms, and, given the variety of interaction with non-Latin (especially Muslim) communities, also mutually exclusive concepts. Going further, it is argued that to imagine a figure like the king of Jerusalem taking the Cross in the Holy Sepulchre 'makes a joke out of the crusader as pilgrim'.[90] There is certainly something to this, for as the twelfth century progressed, it does appear that the needs of the Latins in the east did not directly correspond with the aims of western crusading forces or their willingness to offer support. Famously, this led to a debacle outside Damascus during the Second Crusade in 1148, when Jerusalemite forces came to terms with the Muslim defenders of the city, much to the chagrin of the crusaders, the French portion of which had already fallen into dispute with the prince of Antioch. It is even possible that this caused a growing western disenchantment with the Latin East in the following decades.[91]

However, to divorce warfare and interaction in the Latin East, and even to treat them as separate in a crusading context, is misleading. For example, the willingness to deal with Muslim powers on a diplomatic basis, and to ally with Eastern Christian communities, was characteristic of the First Crusade itself and continued in later expeditions.[92] Thus, crusading and interaction were not mutually exclusive. Moreover, while those who lived in the east did not take the Cross in a formal sense every time they rode into battle, it is well known that, before the battle of Hattin in 1187 (where it was lost), Jerusalemite forces rode with a relic of the True Cross as their standard—a practice that both Fulcher of Chartres and the author of the *Historia Nicaena* emphasised for campaigns earlier in the twelfth century. The same also appears to have been true of the Antiochenes, at least until the disastrous battle of the Field of Blood in 1119, when their relic was lost.[93] Furthermore, as already noted, the rhetoric of crusading still

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[90] MacEvitt, 'What was Crusader about the Crusader States?', pp. 328–9.

[91] Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 207–27, 269–79. See also Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 140–266.

[92] T.S. Asbridge, 'Knowing the Enemy: Latin Relations with Islam at the Time of the First Crusade', in N. Housley, ed., *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar Presented to Malcolm Barber* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 17–25; Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 20–58; Morton, *Encountering Islam*, pp. 111–89; T.S. Asbridge, 'Talking to the Enemy: The Role and Purpose of Negotiations between Saladin and Richard the Lionheart during the Third Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History*, xxxix (2013), pp. 275–96.

[93] FC, pp. 409–10, 414, 453–4, 495–6, 624–6, 630–633, 639–40, 647–8, 650, 664–5, 668, 686–7, 689–90, 746, 765; 'Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena', *RHC Occ.*, v. 178–80, 184; WC, pp. 72–3, 75, 85–8. See also A.V.

punctuated Walter the Chancellor's narrative of the conflicts involving Antioch in the late 1110s. Thus, alongside venerating and carrying before them a relic of the True Cross, the Antiochenes were also described as *milites Christi* or *bellatores Dei* on several occasions, adding to a general tone of a war that was both just and holy.[94] Such warfare was, on occasions, also regarded as penitential, as when Walter suggested that Bernard of Valence, the patriarch of Antioch, offered absolution of sin to those going into battle against their Muslim enemies. It was ordained that, in lieu of penance, 'those who would die in the war which was at hand would acquire salvation by his own absolution and also by propitiation of the Lord'.[95] While Walter's text is the most explicit Latin narrative written in the east to appropriate crusading rhetoric, similar imagery can also be found in Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia* and Ralph of Caen's *Tancredus*.[96] For example, in detailing a battle fought by Baldwin I of Jerusalem near to Beirut shortly after his accession in 1100, Fulcher noted that 'when we thought that battle would soon be upon us, advancing towards the enemy [and] pricked by pure hearts, we devoutly prayed that assistance would arrive from heaven' (which it duly did, as only a few Latins perished).[97] Alongside the obvious parallels with purgative rituals performed before battle during the First Crusade, Fulcher's use of *compunctio cordis* here is of interest, for the doctrine of compunction served as an important part of the emotional rhetoric used by authors of the crusade to demonstrate the idealised devotional and penitential practices of its participants.[98] Likewise, when Baldwin I defeated an Egyptian force near Ramla in the late summer of 1101, and when Prince Roger of Antioch marched south into the kingdom in 1113 to support Baldwin in defending Jerusalemite territory from the Damascenes, they were said to have done so either 'for the love of Him who mercifully deigned to die for us' or 'for the love of God', thereby echoing ideas of crusading as an act of love.[99] On two occasions, Fulcher also described those

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Murray, 'Mighty against the Enemies of Christ: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem' in J. France and W. Zajac, eds., *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 217–38.

[94] WC, pp. 72–3, 75–89.

[95] 'ut qui in illo eminenti bello mortui fuerint, sua absolutione, Domini quoque propitiatione salventur': WC, p. 71–2.

[96] Asbridge, '"Crusader" Community', pp. 308–9.

[97] 'qui cum bellum mox fore putaremus, cordibus compuncti puris auxilium de caelo adfore devote precabamur, ad eos accedentes': FC, p. 359.

[98] J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), pp. 58–119; S.J. Spencer, *Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095–1291* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 119–26.

[99] 'pro amore … qui pro nobis misericorditer morte dignatus est mori', 'pro amore Dei': FC, pp. 409, 570; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History*, lxv (1980), pp. 177–92.

fighting to protect Outremer as *milites Christi* (knights of Christ).[100] Ralph of Caen described Tancred as the 'standard bearer' (*vexilliferus*) of Christ, and also incorporated two key thematic allusions to the crusade: divine intervention and spiritual reward. Thus, as Tancred and his men achieved victory over Muslim forces near to Apamea in 1105, 'they ascribed this to God rather than to human strength. Christ fought openly for the Christians'.[101] Moreover, in an important parallel with Walter the Chancellor's account of a later conflict, as the Latins retreated after a disastrous battle near to Harran in 1104, Patriarch Bernard reportedly reassured those around him that 'just as God cuts away your sins, I absolve everything from those who cut it [fear] away'. In doing this, 'the soldier was absolved of his sins'.[102] Finally, Tancred himself is said to have told his men, who toiled in capturing the port city of Lattakia in 1105, to 'hear me, O martyrs of Christ. Prepare to have your blood pour out and to pour out blood for Him', before reminding them that numbers did not matter when God's support was present.[103] It is important to note that the promise of martyrdom, so resonant of the ways in which contemporaries understood the fate of the fallen during the First Crusade, was being made only six years later in the context of a battle with Byzantine Christian forces. This suggests that the holiness of conflict in Outremer was not limited to fighting Islam, but also tied to establishing Latin territorial dominance.[104] In short, to defend and expand the Latin East was of commensurate spiritual value to the original expedition. Though William of Tyre was somewhat less willing to evoke crusading themes outside the context of the First Crusade—no doubt because of the growing list of military failures against the Latins' Muslim neighbours, for the trio of authors discussed above, such ideology was still applicable to other forms of warfare in the Latin East.[105]

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[100] FC, pp. 411, 439. See also Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 12–29.

[101] 'Deo sunt haec ascribenda, non viribus humanis: palam pro Christianis Christus dimicat': Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, ed. D'Angelo, p. 131.

[102] 'sic peccata vestra Deus abscidat; ego autem abscissoris omnia absoluo', 'absoluuntur … miles a noxa': ibid., pp. 125–6.

[103] 'Eia, Christi martyres, parate fundi atque fundere pro eo Sanguinis!': ibid., p. 131.

[104] C. Morris, 'Martyrs on the Field of Battle before and during the First Crusade', in D.S. Wood, ed., *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, (Studies in Church History, 30; Cambridge, 1993), pp. 93–104.

[105] William did note that Latin settlers might fight or act 'in the service of Christ' ('in servicio Christi') or other variants, but these moments were relatively rare. He certainly never deployed *milites Christi* or similar terms. See William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, pp. 517, 553, 576, 614. See also Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 151–66; Riley-Smith, 'Peace Never Established', pp. 95–6.

Importantly, when the use of such imagery is viewed in the wider context of the active memorialisation and remembrance of the First Crusade outlined above, it is possible to challenge MacEvitt's assertion that crusading ideas of penitential warfare had no influence over the Latin East. It can also be suggested that those who lived in the east, and thus devoted their lives to cultivating and protecting the Holy Land, were in fact, in their own eyes, carrying out a form of pseudo-monastic penitence. Clearly settlers and warriors in the Latin East were not devotees subject to formal institutions, as were those who became monks or hermits, or members of the military religious orders—the Templars and Hospitallers—created to provide a permanent defence for the Latin East's sacred sites and roads. However, it is all too easy to forget the impact which living in close proximity to Christendom's holiest sites might have had on those who settled there in the years and decades following the First Crusade.[106] Indeed Riley-Smith once described the settlement and defence of Palestine as a form of Holy War, albeit one differentiated from crusading by the lack of a vow.[107] At a time, in the twelfth century, when crusading had yet to be formally institutionalised, this distinction may have made little difference to the ways in which those fighting in the east envisaged their roles and responsibilities. Indeed, in the aforementioned letter of Patriarch Warmund to the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela in 1120, the former offered a remission of sin to those who came from the west to aid the Latin East and join those already living and fighting there, for whom 'all their time is spent in the Lord'.[108] This suggests that, by dedicating their lives to the defence of the Holy Land, settlers were already actively cleansing their souls. It also implies that it was in the power of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as it appears to have been for the Patriarch of Antioch as well, to offer indulgences in return for acts of war carried out in the Holy Land. If we accept the evidence cited earlier, it is even possible that embedded within settler identity, especially for the first generation but perhaps also for later arrivals, was a notion of their being the new Israelites. It is certainly evident that crusading memory and identity was deeply rooted in the liturgical lives of those living in or near to Jerusalem. This is not to argue that those who settled in Outremer were

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[106] On monasticism in the Latin East, see Jotischky, *Perfection of Solitude*. For the military orders and the ideology underpinning their creation, see A. Forey, *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1991); J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land* (Notre Dame, IN, 2010).

[107] Riley-Smith, 'Peace Never Established', pp. 88–102.

[108] *Historia Compostellana*, ed. Falque Rey, pp. 270–72.

waging a perpetual crusade, nor that the idea of penitential service to God was the only means by which they conceptualised interaction with non-Latin, especially Muslim, communities. Rather, it is to recognise the influence which crusading identities and memories might have had in a world which was also shaped by considerable interaction.

In a similar fashion, the belief needs unpicking that the incorporation of Latin and eastern (Christian and Islamic) cultures—seen through decorative styles in buildings, everyday wares and other forms of material culture—precludes a sense of 'crusader' art or identity.[109] It should be noted that in recognising the lack of a singularly Latin European artistic or cultural imprint in Outremer, MacEvitt is correct. Thus, we now possess greater knowledge of the nature of linguistic exchange; both Minervini and Kevin Lewis have identified borrowings in Outremer French from eastern languages (including Arabic and Greek), and perhaps reciprocal exchange too.[110] Meanwhile, historians of 'crusader art', even if they sometimes use this term rather freely, have long recognised that the material and artistic evidence for the Latin East represents an intermingling of cultures. An illustrative example of this fusion of styles is the Melisende Psalter. This famous prayer book, probably produced in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre during the 1130s for Queen Melisende of Jerusalem at the behest of her husband King Fulk, bears eastern Christian and even Islamic artistic styles.[111] Similarly, the incorporation of Orthodox forms and inscriptions can also be found in high-profile churches around the east, including the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, as well as in icons and other devotional objects.[112] The same is true of more everyday objects, such as pottery, but also seals and coins. In the

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[109] MacEvitt, 'What was Crusader about the Crusader States?', pp. 327–8.
[110] Minervini, 'What We Know', pp. 20–22; K.J. Lewis, 'A Count of Counts: Parallel Loanwords and Channels of Communication between Arabic, Latin, French and Occitan in the Levant at the Time of the Crusades', *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies*, ii (2015), pp. 179–96.
[111] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 137–63.
[112] Ibid., pp. 175–245; J. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 511–27; J. Folda, 'Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century: Reflections on Christian Multiculturalism in the Levant', in B. Arbel, ed., *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean* (London, 1996), pp. 80–91; J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* (Philadelphia, PA, 1996); M. Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles: Medieval Christian Art in Syria and Lebanon* (Leuven, 2009); L. Mahoney, 'The Frankish Icon: Art and Devotion in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in E. Lapina, A.J. Morris, L.J. Whatley and S.A. Throop, eds, *The Crusades and Visual Culture* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 15–34; G. Fischof, 'The Role and Meanings of the Image of St Peter in the Crusader Sculpture of Nazareth: A New Reading', in Lapina, Morris, Whatley and Throop, eds, *Crusades and Visual Culture*, pp. 35–56; Mahoney, 'Church of the Nativity', pp. 15–31.

case of the latter, it is evident that the early settlers made use of both Islamic (in the form of imitation dinars) and Byzantine (copper *folles*) coins.[113] This even resulted in Prince Roger of Antioch issuing a coin in which his title was rendered in Greek: *ΡΟΤΓΕΡ ΠΡΙΓΚΙΠΟC* ('Roger, prince').[114]

Problems arise, though, when deciding how best to approach this evidence. Some, like Lucy-Anne Hunt and Maria Georgopoulou, have used the multicultural nature of Outremer's material evidence to question whether the arrival of the Latins made any noticeable difference to artistic expression in the east, at least in the sense of imposing a strictly religious 'crusader' ideology imported from the west. The term 'crusader art' is therefore seen to reflect modern colonial, even Orientalist, attitudes of European supremacy.[115] In contrast, Lisa Mahoney has argued that icons produced in the Latin East, even if modelled on Byzantine styles, were a 'self-conscious adaptation of artistic and devotional practices in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem', and that the persistence of western traditions in these 'announce difference—a difference from local practice—and participate in the articulation of the new features of a new community'.[116] Likewise, she has recently suggested that historians have overplayed the extent of Byzantine influence over the decorative mosaics of the Church of the Nativity. She interprets them instead as representations of Frankish conceptions of royal power in Jerusalem, and as part of a wider programme—one incorporating the aforementioned tomb of Baldwin I, which was designed to project visually the legitimacy of monarchical control in the Holy City.[117] The effect of distinctly crusading memories and identities over devotional artwork can also be traced elsewhere. For example, while images of Christ's crucifixion produced in the east during the period of Latin rule—

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[113] A.J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London, 1999); J. Porteous, 'Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions', in H.W. Hazard and N. Zacour, eds., *A History of the Crusades*, VI: *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe* (Madison, WI, 1989), pp. 354–87, at 362–9; M. Rheinheimer, 'Tankred und das Siegel Boemunds', *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*, lxx (1991), pp. 75–93; D.M. Metcalf, 'Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin Influences in the Iconography of Crusader Coins and Seals', in K. Ciggaar and H. Teule, eds., *East and West in the Crusader States: Context—Contacts—Confrontations, II* (Leuven, 1999), pp. 163–75.
[114] R. Pesant, 'St George and the Dragon on the Coinage of Roger of Antioch', *Spink Numismatic Circular*, c (1992), p. 79.
[115] L.-A. Hunt, 'Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of "Crusader" Art', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xlv (1991), pp. 69–85; M. Georgopoulou, 'Orientalism and Crusader Art: Constructing a New Canon', *Medieval Encounters*, v (1999), pp. 289–321; M. Georgopoulou, 'The Material Culture of the Crusades', in H.J. Nicholson, ed., *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 83–108.
[116] Mahoney, 'Frankish Icon', p. 29.
[117] Mahoney, 'Church of the Nativity', pp. 9–31.

including those found in the Melisende Psalter, the Perugia Missal, the Acre Sacramentary, and icons created at the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai—are not too far removed from eastern Christian examples, they include an important innovation: the incorporation of Jerusalem's walls in the background.[118] This is significant because, in addition to the ways in which the city walls and the Holy Sepulchre allowed for parallels with the Israelites and the liturgical commemoration of Jerusalem's capture in July 1099, the crusading movement also quickly became imbued with ideas of *imitatio Christi* and a greater focus on the crucifixion as a justification for holy war.[119] Therefore, the inclusion of Jerusalem's walls in a depiction of Christ's passion may have accentuated the sense that the crusader conquest of the city was justified, perhaps even biblically prophesised, and that the suffering experienced in making it over its walls emulated Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross. Consequently, these artworks not only memorialised that initial venture, they also demonstrated its enduring significance to Latin rule in the east. Furthermore, while some eastern influence can be traced through the coinage of Outremer, the numismatic and sigillographic evidence primarily reveals the continued legacy of western styles and motifs in the visual representation of power and authority.[120] Nor were eastern objects necessarily static or incapable of assuming 'crusading' significance in the west. As Nicholas Paul and Anne Lester have demonstrated, crusade veterans brought back objects of eastern, even Islamic, provenance—including rings and cloths—which then became totems of crusading lineage, preserved across generations to create familial identities that were intrinsically linked to participation in crusading ventures.[121] For example, Geoffrey of Vigeois detailed how in the 1180s the southern French Lastours family still exhibited certain 'cloth-hangings' (*pallia*) brought back from Jerusalem by a descendant

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[118] BL, Egerton MS 1139, the Melisende Psalter, Jerusalem, *c.*1130s, fo. 8r; Egerton MS 2902, Sacramentary, Acre/Jerusalem, *c.*1225–39, fo. 14v. Perugia, Museo capitolare di San Lorenzo, MS 6, the Perugia Missal, Acre, *c.*1250–75, fo. 182v. For the Mount Sinai icons, in particular the shift to incorporate the wall, see J. Folda, 'The Figural Arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine, 1187–1291', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, lviii (2004), pp. 315–31, images 7 and 9. On changes to images of the crucifixion in another context, see A.K. Wasserman, 'The Cross and the Tomb: The Crusader Contribution to Crucifixion Iconography', in R. Bartal and H. Vorholt, eds., *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 13–33. I am grateful to Faith Garrett not only for pointing out these examples to me but for an illuminating discussion on their potential significance.
[119] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 30–85; Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance*, pp. 97–107.
[120] Stahl, '*Denier* Outremer', pp. 30–43. More generally, see Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*; G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1943), pp. 1–72.
[121] Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps*, pp. 90–133; A.E. Lester, 'Remembrance of Things Past: Memory and Material Objects in the Time of the Crusades, 1095–1291', in M. Cassidy-Welch, ed., *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading* (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 73–94.

who fought during the First Crusade.[122] This complicates Georgopoulou's contention that such objects simply acted as 'museum pieces in foreign lands', suggesting that they could instead take on a whole new 'crusader' meaning, even if not originally produced for such a purpose.[123]

Therefore, even if it is difficult to track the influence of crusading theology in artistic production, this does not preclude the use of material culture for understanding how such objects contributed to the formation and maintenance of crusader identity. Indeed, though the redecoration of the Holy Sepulchre in the 1140s brought with it eastern forms of ornamentation and design, it is important to recognise that this was done as part of the ceremonial remembrance of the capture of Jerusalem fifty years earlier.[124] The incorporation and use of eastern styles was linked to a clear statement of the enduring legacy of the crusade, and its contribution to the processes of Latin identity-formation in Jerusalem. In this regard, it is striking that the Melisende Psalter, although frequently presented as a symbol of cultural interaction *par excellence*, includes prayers after the psalms which deliberately evoke holy war by speaking of fighting enemies and even referencing the First Crusade itself. Thus, the prayer for Psalm 136 reads: 'Omnipotent God, be mindful of our humility and have compassion on us, and you who once gave to our fathers the land of the adversaries in right of property, we ask that you may restore us, free from sins, in your right of property'.[125] Similarly, the coin of Roger of Antioch that rendered his title in Greek also carried with it an image of the eastern martyr, St George.[126] Yet, this was not simply a statement of eastern identity; rather, it evoked the fact that the early accounts of the First Crusade, which were evidently transmitted orally as well as in written form, even in Outremer, reported the appearance of St George and other eastern martyrs at the Battle of Antioch in June 1098. This sanctified the crusaders' capture of Antioch and underpinned the divine

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[122] Geoffrey of Vigeois, 'Chronica Gaufredi prior Vosiensis: Pars altera', ed. Philippe Labbé, *Novae Bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum, tomus secundus rerum Aquitanicarum praesertim biturcensium uberrima collection opera ac studio* (Paris, 1657), pp. 330–342, at 340. Discussed in Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps*, pp. 90–95.

[123] Georgopoulou, 'Orientalism and Crusader Art', p. 85.

[124] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 175–245.

[125] 'Memor esto humilitatis nostrae et miserere nostri omnipotens et qui quondam patribus nostris terram adversariorum in hereditatem donasti quesumus ut nos peccatis liberos in tuam hereditatem restituas': BL, Egerton MSS 1139, fo. 165v. Referenced (wrongly, as fo. 166v) in D. Gerish, 'Royal Daughters of Jerusalem and the Demands of Holy War', *Leidschrift: Historisch Tidschrift*, xxvii (2012), pp. 89–112, at 98–101.

[126] Pesant, 'St George and the Dragon', p. 79.

legitimacy of Latin rule there.[127] To evoke St George, therefore, was to remind those who came into contact with the coin that the crusader conquest had been divinely ordained and welcomed, even in the eastern Christian tradition. In short, it established Latin Christian supremacy.

That settlers in the Latin East did not create a specifically 'crusader' artistic style or culture, at least in the sense of a clear-cut theological programme transmitting the ethos of penitential warfare, is thus not, *contra* MacEvitt, Hunt and Georgopoulou, necessarily a significant stumbling block for the case for a 'crusader' identity in the east. As Finbarr Flood has remarked in a different context, 'processes of mediation, negotiation, and translation' of artistic styles across religious and cultural boundaries, especially if accompanied by violence or contestations of power, reflect a 'dynamic condition in which signs and meanings … [are] "appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew"', and this serves to undermine 'the privilege afforded an original as culturally (rather than temporally) prior to any subsequent works that it inspires'. In short, whatever the original intention or purpose of an object or motif, incorporation into a new setting or culture may afford it new meaning.[128] Thus, given that broader influences of family and social memory could allow varied objects and ideas to become incorporated into crusading remembrance in the west, it might also be argued that the use of eastern decorative motifs and styles in objects or buildings that were demonstrably Latin Christian by the settlers of *Outremer* acted not as symbols of tolerance or integration, but rather as metaphors for the conquest and their political and religious dominance.

This article has sought to demonstrate that, in looking to distinguish crusading from political and cultural life in the Latin East, historians risk anachronism. As Kristin Skottki has recently suggested, it is unhelpful 'to simply counter revived crusading pasts in political and violent contexts with images of peaceful coexistence … [and] by writing out the unpleasant parts'. In short, 'to answer oversimplifications with other oversimplifications'.[129] Even if the word 'crusade' did not exist, that does

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[127] Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous*, pp. 37–53.
[128] F. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu–Muslim' Encounter* (Princeton, NJ, 2009), pp. 261–9, at 262.
[129] Skottki, 'Dead, Revived and the Recreated Pasts', p. 123.

not mean that a concept, a culture—diverse, embryonic though it may have been—did not. Indeed, it is evident that memories of the First Crusade, of the lands settlers came from, and of the crusading deeds they witnessed and experienced were integral to Latin society in the east. Latin settlers encountered permanent reminders of their crusading heritage: in the names of their polities, liturgical celebrations, literary and material cultures, naming patterns, and enduring relationships with the west. Transmitted through the letters sent to Europe referencing the crusade, moreover, was a shared heritage: memories and identities that transcended political and geographical boundaries, that stemmed from experiences on crusade, and were fostered across generations. That this did not lead to endemic Holy War is an outcome which is difficult to explain only if we adopt the line that crusading had to be both perpetual and only about war in order to qualify as such. Yet crusading was as much about personal faith and reflection as it was about warfare; and it is evident that from an early point in time interaction with other denominations of Christianity, as well as with Islam, was not antithetical to crusading. Neither was cultural exchange or appropriation.

To separate crusade from settlement thus fundamentally misunderstands the influence the former had over the latter, but also what the latter can tell us about the crusade as an emerging cultural force. As historians have begun to recognise, the crusading past is found not just in religious ideology, but rather in the ways it was memorialised in texts, songs, material culture, naming patterns and liturgy. This in turn speaks to a broader, more dynamic concept of what might be meant by crusader identity, a sense of loyalty and belonging which was not simply about endlessly waging war on the infidel. That this may have played out differently in the Latin East than in the west, with western crusaders frequently encountering Latin settlers who had divergent aims and methods, does not mean that there was no crusader identity in Outremer. Indeed, problems arose not from a rejection of the impulses which drove that initial venture, but rather from the fact that, once the First Crusade was over, religious enthusiasm often made way for pragmatism. Yet this had even happened on the First Crusade itself, with delays occurring in northern Syria before a forced march south to Jerusalem. Again, a focus on war regardless of potential military cost was not, and never had been, the only guiding force for crusading, even if tactical errors were made. In fact, what is most evident about the first century of crusading is that it was

a changing situation, shaped by ongoing processes of reception and interpretation, rather than by a fixed ideology.

Above all else, this article has argued that, because crusading played a significant role in forging the social and cultural identities of those who settled in the Latin East, the term 'crusader states' retains value for scholars looking to understand these polities. Though none was ever in a state of perpetual crusade, it is apparent that the processes of crusade memorialisation which thrived in the west also existed in the east. To propose that scholars detach the Latin East from crusading and the Latin West thus ignores the important links between east and west which went beyond the narrow scope of political relations. Such a proposition creates an artificial binary between 'crusading' as a western phenomenon made manifest in penitential warfare and imbued with intolerance and distinct ideology from its inception, and the Latin East as an area of complex interchange and 'rough tolerance'. While I would not look to challenge the latter model of interaction in its entirety (even if such a concept cannot truly reflect the diversity of experience across the four polities), the distinction between 'crusade' and 'crusader state' is not as clear as the 'rough tolerance' approach suggests, at least not in the first century of the Latin presence in the east. Therefore, although MacEvitt argues for the reinterpretation of the Latin East as something free of the west, I propose instead that we need to reinterpret what the movement which evolved from the First Crusade meant for those who lived in its shadow. Though these were perhaps not *crusading* states, they were nevertheless states formed *through* crusade—a reality that was never forgotten.

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