THE COINS OF PRINCE ROGER OF ANTIOCH: POWER, INTERCULTURALITY, AND CRUSADE MEMORY IN THE LATIN EAST

ABSTRACT

This article offers an investigation into the nature of power in the early crusader states through a detailed discussion of the coins of Prince Roger of Antioch (r. 1112–19). By examining the three coin types issued by this prince over a period of only six years, a deeper understanding is provided of how the Latin principality and its rulers handled the complex succession crisis created by the departure of its founder, Bohemond of Taranto, and the existence of a child heir in the Latin West. More than this, though, it is argued that these coins reveal the pressures relating to the fragile, nascent, intercultural nature of the Latin East, and how this created the opportunity and need for responsive approaches to power, as well as experimentation with forms of visual culture and the transmission of crusade memory.

Introduction

On 14 September 1115, Roger of Salerno (r. 1112–19), the Norman ruler of the Latin principality of Antioch—one of four 'crusader states' formed in the Eastern Mediterranean as a result of the success of the First Crusade (1095–99)—achieved an astounding victory over the forces of Āq Sunqur al-Bursuqī, the Muslim ruler of Mosul, at Tell Dānīth in northern Syria. In the aftermath, Roger's triumph became a moment for communal celebration. With the spoils of victory sent ahead to Antioch, and the nobles allowed a few days to return home to see their families while the prince undertook a progress via the region's countryside and castles, where he was welcomed with hymns and songs, all were told to coalesce at the

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capital.[1] This came to a crescendo as Roger reached Antioch, as shown by the poetic, hymn-like remembrance crafted by one eyewitness, the Antiochene chronicler Walter the Chancellor (d. c. 1120s):

> In honour of the highest king / and for love of his flock / child, slave and maidservant rejoice on that day. / Meanwhile, too, people of different nations are bent upon garlanding the town with flowers. / Whatever dear or rare / ornament a person may have / then he does not hide it, but reveals it / in order to please the victor. / They strew the streets and squares / with silken decorations, / they are adorned with gold and jewels / for the arrival of the prince. / So much perfume is poured / of different kinds, / that it could entirely be called / an earthly paradise. / The prince enters, / the populace resounds with hymns of praise; / they praise God, / they greet the prince with sublime voices. / Thus they arrive together / at the temple of Saint Peter / where they render gladly / praises to God the father. / Therefore the prince bears to the altar / the triumphal banner / and offers it as a special, / princely gift after these events. / Having worshipped the true God / he gives thanks to all the clergy / by whose prayers he emerged / a distinguished and blessed victor. / As he comes out of the doors / they all shout with all their heart: / Hail king! / Champion of truth! / The enemies of God fear you, / and may you have continuing peace, prosperity and victory, / world without end! Amen![2]

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[1] Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1896), 75–77.

[2] Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, 76–77: "Ad honorem summi regis / Et adfectum sui gregis / Liber, seruus et ancilla / Gratulantur die illa. / Interim et diuersam / Nationum populus / Innituntur coronare / Ciuitatem floribus. / Quisquis carum siue rarum / Ornamentum habeat, / Tunc non celat, sed reuelat / Quo uictori placeat. / Vicos sternunt et plateas / Ornamentis sericis, / Auro, gemmis adornantur / Ob aduentum principis. / Diuersarum specierum / Tantus odor funditur, / Quod terrestris paradisus / Possit dici penitus. / Princeps intrat, plebs resultat / Laudibus hymnidicis; / Deum laudant, hunc salutant / Vocibus altisonis. / Sic ad templum sancti Petri / Pervenere pariter, / Ubi laudes Deo patri / Persoluunt alacriter. / Ergo princeps ad altare / Fert uexillum triumphale. / Offert illud speciale, / Post haec minus principale. / Adorato Deo uero, / Reddit grates omni clero, / Prece cuius decorates / Victor exstitit beatus. / Ipso ualuas exeunte, / Clamant omnes cordis uoce: / Salue rex! athleta ueri! / Te formident hostes Dei, / Tibique sit continua / Pax, salus et uictoria / Per saeculorum saecula! /

Walter's literary artifice notwithstanding, this is an important window onto the nature and significance of the public celebration of martial victories in the early crusader states, as well as the reality that such ritualised processions would have been intercultural—especially inter-Christian—affairs. More than just moments for triumphant intra-communal reinforcement of the Latins' special legitimacy as conquering settlers, they also served as opportunities to foster, or impose, broader relationships with non-Latin Christian communities.[3] This speaks to the complex nature of authority in the Latin East, as rulers in these nascent polities established their military and political dominance while also navigating the regions' demographic and devotional diversity. In other words, the practice of power in the crusader states was a fluid and dynamic process, one that required a level of responsiveness and pragmatism, in addition to superlative martial prowess.

Various scholars have attempted to model this.[4] In the nineteenth century, most—driven, it should be said, by a desire to backdate the colonial activities of their contemporaries—saw the Latin settler powers as benevolent overlords who both welcomed the exotic wonders of the East and provided western administrative civilization.[5] This changed as a more introspective recognition of the horrors of colonial and ideological violence emerged in the first half of the twentieth century, with notions of iron curtains, segregation, even apartheid, foregrounding many discussions of the crusader states.[6] Though it would be misleading to say that negativist viewpoints have disappeared entirely, it is

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Amen!" Translation follows Thomas S. Asbridge and Susan B. Edgington, *Walter the Chancellor's the Antiochene Wars: A Translation and Commentary* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 107–108.

[3] For an example of inter-Christian ritualised processions in the kingdom of Jerusalem, see Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913), 368. See also Christopher MacEvitt, "Processing Together, Celebrating Apart: Shared Processions in the Latin East," *Journal of Medieval History* 43/4 (2017): 455–69.

[4] For the best modern overview of the historiographical procession outlined below, see Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[5] An instructive example of this is Claude R. Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: 1099 to 1291 AD* (London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1897).

[6] Perhaps the most influential scholar in this regard was Joshua Prawer. See, for example, Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972).

certainly the case that most scholars now navigate within something of a historiographical frontier zone between these polarities. Yes, violence and intolerance existed, but so did coexistence, cohabitation, and perhaps even tolerance.[7] Some have thus sought to propose new overarching models, like Christopher MacEvitt's influential "Rough Tolerance," in which violence could be enacted by Latin overlords but it did not define, or even undermine, broader intercultural relations.[8] Concerning the principality of Antioch, scholars have likewise acknowledged the diverse, and at times cordial, responses of the Latins to the highly diverse local populations, although Kristin Skottki and Andrew Buck have recently cautioned against filling the evidential void with overly positivist assumptions.[9] Concurrently, there has emerged a growing debate regarding the influence of what might be classified as "crusader" identity over processes of settlement, identity construction, and power relations in the Latin East. MacEvitt's call to divorce the Latin East from the Latin West, and so altogether eschew notions of "crusader" states, was extensively challenged by Buck, who argued that, in addition to enduring links tying these apparent extremities of Latin Christendom together, many of the processes of crusade memorialisation found in Europe could also be witnessed in the Eastern Mediterranean.[10] Since then, others have added further nuance to considerations

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[7] Good introductions to this are Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant," in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 135–74; Andrew Jotischky, "Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People," in *East and West in the Crusader States III*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 1–19; Alan V. Murray, "Franks and Indigenous Communities in Palestine and Syria (1099–1187): A Hierarchical Model of Social Interaction in the Principalities of Outremer," *East and West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 289–307.

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

[9] Thomas S. Asbridge, "The 'Crusader' Community at Antioch: The Impact of Interaction with Byzantium and Islam," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society: 6th Series* 10 (1999): 305–25; Kristin Skottki, "Of 'Pious Traitors' and Dangerous Encounters. Historiographical Notions of Interculturality in the Principality of Antioch," *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 1 (2014): 75–115; Andrew D. Buck, *The Principality of Antioch and its Frontiers in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017), 164–88; Andrew D. Buck, "Theorising the Religious Borders of the Latin East: Some Reflections on the Inter-Christian Landscape of Frankish Northern Syria," *Journal of Medieval History* 47/3 (2021): 317–31.

[10] Christopher MacEvitt, "What was Crusader about the Crusader States?," *Al-Masāq* 30 (2018): 317–30; Andrew D. Buck, "Settlement, Identity, and Memory in the Latin East: An Examination of the Term 'Crusader States'," *English Historical Review* 135 (2020): 271–302. A worthwhile study that pre-dates this debate, and somewhat sits apart methodologically, is the examination of crusading ethnogenesis and the Latin East found in

of how settler communities constructed their identities and rationalised relations with non-Latin subjected peoples.[11]

It is in the context of these debates that this article seeks to make an intervention. It does so by homing-in on the reign of Roger of Antioch, a figure who came to power not through participation in the crusader conquest, or by being the child of the previous ruler, but instead by being the closest at hand relative when the need for a new prince emerged. It argues that this prince's coinage offers a powerful insight into Roger's attempts at legitimisation and the responsive, dynamic, and inter-cultural rule that characterised power in Latin-held northern Syria, and in the crusader states more generally, as well as the role of crusade memorialisation within this. Indeed, the numismatic evidence reveals a ruler who took great care to navigate a path between speaking to a diverse populace while also situating himself within a legacy of holy conquest to which he could claim no personal involvement. Before moving onto Roger's coinage and rule, though, it is worth examining the early history of the principality of Antioch, the challenges its ruling elites faced in establishing and maintaining their status, and what this meant for styles of power.

Models of Power: The Early Years of the Principality of Antioch

Between October 1097 and June 1098, the forces of the First Crusade enacted a gruelling eight-month siege of Antioch, which was finally broken when a tower guard betrayed the city to the Italo-Norman crusade leader Bohemond of Taranto (d. 1111). The sudden arrival of a

Timo Kirschberger, *Erster Kreuzzug und Ethnogenese: In novam formam commutatus—Ethnogenetische Prozesse im Fürstentum Antiochia und im Königreich Jerusalem* (Göttingen: V&R, 2015).
[11] Uri Zvi Shachar, *A Pious Belligerence: Dialogical Warfare and the Rhetoric of Righteousness in the Crusading Near East* (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2021); Julian Yolles, *Making the East Latin: The Latin Literature of the Levant in the Era of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022); Gil Fishhof, *Shaping Identities in a Holy Land. Crusader Art in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Patrons and Viewers* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2024).

large Muslim relief force led by Karbughā, *atabeg* of Mosul, then threatened to undo this success, but the Latins achieved a startling victory against him on 28 June and in doing so all but secured control.[12] Yet, serious challenges remained for Bohemond, who now claimed rulership of the city.

Prior to reaching northern Syria, the crusade leaders had sworn an oath to the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos that they would hand back former imperial territories they captured, with Antioch a particularly significant target. However, Bohemond and others pointed to Alexios' failure to fully meet his side of this agreement: to provide military aid in the campaign to recover Jerusalem. The emperor had sent forces under the leadership of the general Tatikios, but he had departed the famine-ravaged camp prior to Antioch's taking under the auspice of securing much-needed supplies. Moreover, although Alexios had brought armies as far as Philomelium in Asia Minor, he then withdrew to Constantinople after meeting the crusade leader Stephen of Blois, who had fled under the (false) assumption that the venture was doomed.[13] Despite this, some crusaders, most prominently Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who clearly hoped to secure his own foothold in northern Syria, steadfastly argued that the oath to Alexios should be honoured, and over the following years his alliance with the Byzantines was a constant source of trouble.[14] The spectre of imperial intervention was thus an ever present danger during the early years of Latin rule. This also made the region of Cilicia highly fractious, as although the crusaders had established themselves in the Amanus Mountains and on the Cilician plain, they relied greatly on the compliance of local Armenians. Efforts were made to foster good relations with the latter, for example through an

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[12] Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 15–34.

[13] Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 2nd edn. (London: Bloosmbury, 2014), 60–76.

[14] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 24–42, 107–111; Isabelle Augé, "Les Comnènes et le comté de Tripoli: une collaboration efficace?," *Le comté de Tripoli: état multiculturel et multiconfessionnel (1102–1289)*, ed. Gerard Dédéyan and Karim Rizak (Paris: Geuthner, 2010), 141–55; Kevin J. Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli and Lebanon in the Twelfth Century: Sons of Saint-Gilles* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 18–25.

alliance with Gabriel of Melitene in 1101, but imperial money and martial power ensured that the Latins were ejected from Cilicia on more than one occasion.[15]

Likewise, though the crusaders defeated Karbughā, and had earlier repelled armies led separately by two other major Muslim leaders, the brothers Ridwān of Aleppo and Duqaq of Damascus, this was not the end of military contact with neighbouring Islamic powers.[16] Within a couple of years, the nascent principality had spread eastwards into the border regions with Aleppo, taking key sites like Artāh, Hārim, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, al-Bāra, Kafartāb, and Afāmiyyā, as well as the Syrian coastline, and such activity did not go unchecked. Ridwān made various assaults and temporarily recaptured sites along the frontier.[17] The situation was not helped by Bohemond's proclivity for being captured or defeated during misguided campaigns outside of the principality's reach. In 1101, he was taken prisoner by the Turkish leader, Gumushtakīn ibn al-Dānishmand, near to Melitene, far to the north; in 1104, having only just been released on payment of a sizeable ransom, he was amongst the small number of Latins able to escape a disastrous defeat to Jokermish of Mosul and Sukmān ibn Artuq of Mardin at Harran; and, finally, in 1107/08, following a lengthy recruitment campaign in France that began in 1105, he launched a calamitous assault on Byzantine Dyrrachium and was made to accept a humiliating treaty with Emperor Alexios.[18] Luckily for the Antiochenes, the prince's nephew and fellow crusade veteran, Tancred (d. 1112), stepped in to defend and secure the principality, but Bohemond's activities robbed the Latins of much-needed human and financial resources, as well as leadership—after

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[15] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 50–56.
[16] On these rulers and the wider situation of Muslim Syria at the time of the crusade, see: Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 31–88; Michael Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East*, trans. Peter M. Holt and Konrad Hirschler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 7–126; James Wilson, *Medieval Syria and the Onset of the Crusades: The Political World of Bilad al-Sham 1050–1128* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023).
[17] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 50–59.
[18] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 50–59; Brett Whalen, "God's Will or Not? Bohemond's Campaign Against the Byzantine Empire 1105–1108," in *Crusades – Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. Thomas Madden, James Naus, and Vincent Ryan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 111–25.

Dyrrachium he retired to Bari, where he remained until his death.[19] To add further complications, he then had a son, Bohemond II (d. 1130), whose existence confused the status of those left to rule Antioch while this young heir grew up in the Latin West under the tutelage of his mother, Constance, daughter of King Philip I of France.[20]

If the principality, like the other crusader polities, was to have any hope of survival, Bohemond also had to maintain the inter-Latin unity, what might be called the "crusading spirit," of that initial venture. It has already been established that tension emerged amongst the leaders, and relations with Raymond of Saint-Gilles remained frosty up until the latter's death in 1105. However, Bohemond—who, as shown by his (self-)promotion tour of northern France in 1105/06, clearly understood the power of harnessing the memories of the crusade— did maintain better relations with the other rulers, especially Baldwin of Boulogne (d. 1118), who was first count of Edessa but then after 1100 became king of Jerusalem, and his successor on both counts, Baldwin of Bourcq (d. 1131).[21] Indeed, while defeat at Harran was disastrous, it is important to note that Bohemond had travelled north to help Baldwin II of Edessa face off a major Muslim invasion, perhaps in return for the count's support with raising the prince's ransom in 1103.[22] Following Harran, Bohemond also installed Tancred as regent in Edessa to prevent the county's annihilation.[23]

In addition to issues of territorial integrity and external threat, there was also the problem of building an effective state that could govern a complex and fluctuating polity. Any Antiochene ruler had to rule over a highly diverse populace, as the principality emerged in a

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[19] In secondary literature, Tancred is often attributed with the family name "of Hauteville," but this is not found in the medieval sources, which instead refer to him as "son of the Marquis." This article will thus simply go by his first name.

[20] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 99, 130–47.

[21] Nicholas L. Paul, "A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade," *Speculum* 85/3 (2010): 534–66; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 107–111. See also Susan B. Edgington, *Baldwin I of Jerusalem, 1100–1118* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 54–60, 84–85; Alan V. Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq: Count of Edessa and King of Jerusalem (1100–1131)* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), 37–64.

[22] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 107–111.

[23] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 110–11; Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq*, 65–67.

region home not only to Sunni and Shi'a Muslims, but also various denominations of Christian—Greek Orthodox (both Greek and Arabic speaking), Armenians, Georgians, and the followers of the East Syrian Church, otherwise known as the Jacobites—and Jews.[24] From the beginning, the crusaders appear to have wondered how best to broach relations with these communities, especially Christians who did not follow the Latin rite. In a letter dispatched from Antioch to Pope Urban II by the leaders of the crusade in September 1098, it was noted that "although we have triumphed over the Turks and the pagans, we cannot do the same with the Greek, Armenian, Syrian, and Jacobite heretics."[25] Though the use of "heretic" is unreflective of wider responses to Eastern Christians in the principality's history, it is likely the case that the early fragility of Antioch's status, along with threats from Muslim Aleppo, the Byzantines, and the changeable friendship of the Armenian lords of Cilicia, did little to foster communal bonds.

These, then, were the problems that faced Bohemond as he sought to establish the principality. However, his time spent directly ruling was limited, and he never returned to the Latin East after 1105. Instead, it was Tancred who took on the mantle of rule, and so his responses to these difficulties serve as more important indicators of the forms and expectations of rulership that Roger would have inherited and been expected to emulate. When it came to Byzantium, for example, Tancred steadfastly refused to acknowledge the terms of the treaty agreed by Bohemond at Dyrrachium, which included surrendering Antioch. Imperial forces were ousted from the port of Latakia, which ended Alexios' hopes of undermining Latin power on the coast, while the prince recovered Cilicia between 1109–11.[26]

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[24] Buck, *The Principality of Antioch*, 166–74.
[25] *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quae supersunt aevo aequales et genuinae. Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100: Eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901), 161–65 (quote at 164): "nos enim Turcos et paganos expugnauimus, haereticos autem, Graecos et Armenos, Syros Iacobitasque expugnare nequiuimus." See also Thomas W. Smith, *Rewriting the First Crusade: Epistolary Culture in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2024), 116–21.
[26] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 62–65, 99–100.

The emperor tried to revive ties with Tripoli through Raymond's son, the newly-arrived

Bertrand of Toulouse, but, while he appears to have been open to an alliance, he died in 1112

and the regents for his child heir Pons opted for Tancred.[27] Moreover, any sense that

Armenian lords might help to undermine the Latins was negated by Tancred's restless martial

energies. When Kogh Vasil, the lord of Raban and Kesoun, attacked the principality's

holdings from the north and ejected the Latins, he met with swift retribution when Tancred

seized Raban and Kesoun and a rich tribute was extracted in return for peace.[28] The prince's

military prowess was similarly displayed against the principality's Muslim neighbours. In

1105, victory over Ridwān all but ended his opposition, with Tancred now establishing full

control over the fortresses nearest to Aleppo, which made it difficult for the Muslim lord to

act and allowed the Latins to raid the city's environs at will. Ridwān thus agreed to the

payment of regular tributes that brought peace and security to Aleppo's agricultural lands.

Even when a major Muslim force arrived from Mosul in 1111, Ridwān held to his word and

kept Aleppo's gates closed.[29] Tancred also utilised military pressure followed by financial

exaction against the ruling family of Shayzar, the Banū Munqidh, who were to have a long

history of complex, and at times positive, relations with the crusader states, even if one their

number, the famous writer Usama ibn Munqidh, clearly saw Tancred as a devil.[30] Tancred,

then, was a vigorous, active, and sensible military leader; a ruler who powerfully defended

and expanded the principality's borders, but who also used this dominance as a platform from

which to act pragmatically to use diplomacy to fill central coffers.

By contrast, Tancred's approach to inter-Latin unity was rather less diplomatic.

Though after Harran he was made regent of Edessa, he duly passed this role onto Roger's

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[27] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 114–23; Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli*, 26–59, 80–83.
[28] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 67.
[29] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 65–67.
[30] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 60–62; Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, trans. Paul M. Cobb (London: Penguin, 2008), 77–83.

father, Richard of Salerno, when he took the reins of princely power following Bohemond's departure for Europe in 1105. However, while Baldwin II of Edessa had helped to secure Bohemond's release from captivity only a couple of years previously, the Antiochenes did not return the favour. Baldwin, along with Joscelin of Courteney, the lord of Tell Bashir and later successor to the county, were eventually released in 1107 by Jāwulī Saqāo of Mosul, but this was done with the intention of undermining Latin unity. This certainly paid off: in 1108, an alliance of Edessan and Mosuli forces faced off in battle against an Antioch-Aleppo coalition, with both sides suffering significant losses. Tancred came off the lightest, and as such could be loosely described as the victor, but Baldwin recovered Edessa in the process.[31] Meanwhile, in retaliation for Betrand of Toulouse's *détente* with Byzantium, Tancred intervened in a succession crisis in the county of Tripoli in 1109 to support William Jordan, Raymond of Saint-Gilles' cousin who had come to the Latin East and acted as the latter's successor after his death in 1105. It was only the intervention of Baldwin I of Jerusalem that prevented further inter-Latin warfare.[32] Such was the distrust of Tancred, when Mawdūd of Mosul attacked Edessa in 1111, Baldwin II reportedly accused the Antiochene prince of having paid the Muslim ruler to do so, even though he contributed forces to a Jerusalemite-led relief effort. Nevertheless, when in real crisis, unity was restored, as the crusader states combined to offer battle to Mawdūd, although he withdrew following minor skirmishing.[33] Moreover, by the time of Tancred's death in December 1112, he had settled disputes with Edessa, while he was on good enough terms with Tripoli to sell them the famous castle of Krak des Chevaliers and, on his deathbed, to send his soon-to-be widow, Cecilia of France, to marry Pons.[34]

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[31] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 111–14; Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq*, 65–69. See also George T. Beech, "The Crusader Lordship of Marash in Armenian Cilicia, 1104–1149," *Viator* 27 (1996): 35–52.

[32] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 114–23; Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli*, 26–59, 80–83; Edgington, *Baldwin I*, 159–61.

[33] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 120–22; Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq*, 75–78.

[34] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 114–23; Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli*, 26–59, 80–83.

There were also key internal developments in Tancred's reign that responded to external pressures and the need to better cement ties to local communities. It is during this period, therefore, that we see the demonstrable emergence of coherent lordships, especially at the extremities of Antiochene territory. To the north, Guy Le Chevreuil was granted Tarsus and Mamistra, which created a powerful Latin powerbase on the Cilician plain, while on the eastern frontier with Aleppo we find lordships centred on key castles like Hārim, Kafartāb, Zardanā, and Hāb. The Syrian coastline was strengthened through the installation of a count at Latakia, a castellan at Port Saint Simeon (Antioch's primary port), and furthest to the south, at Valania, the first building blocks were laid for the holdings of the Masoir, who were to become the principality's primary noble dynasty. Tancred appears to have maintained control over certain places, including Artāh and Afāmiyyā, both of which were entrusted to *praefecti*, but increasingly the borderlands of the principality were no longer subject to direct princely rule.[35] This is testament to the greater sense of security felt by the Antiochenes, as the creation of such lordships would have been unconscionable had the frontiers not begun to stabilise, but also to Tancred's personality and leadership—though there was undoubtably a degree of pragmatism to recognising that he could not be everywhere at once, and that placing lands into the hands of others helped maintain power, such a move nevertheless relied on the bond of trust between prince and landholder. As Thomas Asbridge has argued, the success of Tancred's reign was in large part down to his personality, as his willingness to lead and reward, and above all else his ability to win, helped to inspire loyalty in those around him.[36] His status as a crusade veteran would have contributed to this, for the composition of a

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[35] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 156–62.
[36] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 148–54.

heroic biography, the *Tancredus*, by Ralph of Caen in the years following his death indicates that he was a celebrated figure worthy of epic remembrance.[37]

We can also denote growing efforts to foster intercultural unity. Most famously, this is demonstrated by one of Tancred's coins (Figure 1). On the reverse of this coin, which is the second type issued during his reign, we find a cross with the inscription IC XC NI KA (a Greek Christogram of the phrase "Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νίκα" (*iesus christos nika*) meaning "Jesus Christ Conquers"); while on the obverse there is the inscription KE BO TANKPI—an abbreviation of KYPIE ΒΟΗΘΕΙ TANKRI (*kyrie voethei tankri*), or "Lord help Tancred"— along with the bust of a bearded, sword-wielding figure with what appears to be some form of headwear. This a much-debated coin, primarily because of the aforementioned headwear, which some have suggested is a turban, while others have argued that it is simply Tancred's hair.[38] Interestingly, the iconography is nearly identical to a coin issued by the Byzantine lords of Trebizond in the 1090s, on which the bearded, sword-bearing figure represents a composite of Saint Theodore and the local ruler Theodore Gabras.[39] Similarities have also been noted with a coin of Alexios I Komnenos.[40] In using Greek inscriptions, Tancred was not unique. Bohemond's coins carried an image of Saint Peter with the Greek phrase "O Lord, come to the aid of thy servant Bohemond," which was initially copied (with the swapping of forenames) by Tancred for his first coin type.[41] The early counts of Edessa

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[37] Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, ed. Edoardo d'Angelo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011). See also Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, 130–44.

[38] Gustav Schlumberger, *Numismatique de L'Orient Latin* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1878), 46–48; John Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," in *A History of the Crusades, VI: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. Harry W. Hazard and Norman Zacour (Madison, WI: Wisconsin University Press, 1989), 354–420 (at 366–67); Martin Rheinheimer, "Tankred und das Siegel Boemunds: Zum historischen Hintergrund der antiochenischen Folles," *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau* 70 (1991): 75–93 (at 81– 82); David Michael Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford: 2nd edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged* (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1995), 27.

[39] Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 27. See also Simon Bendall, "The Mint of Trebizond under Alexius I and the Gabrades," *Numismatic Circular* 137 (1977): 126–36.

[40] Rheinheimer, "Tankred und das Siegel," 83–84.

[41] Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 26.

similarly drew upon Greek language and iconography on their coins.[42] Yet, Tancred's second type, which has been found overstruck on the first type coins, is novel in its visual iconography, at least in the principality of Antioch.[43] The third and fourth types issued by Tancred—the former of which is occasionally found overstruck on the second type, although mostly on the first type—instead carry images of Saint Peter and Christ, as well as Latin inscriptions, including a translation of the earlier Greek phrase beseeching the Lord's help, *Domine, salvum fac Tancredum*.[44]

As is also the case regarding the counts of Edessa, the decision by Bohemond and Tancred to use Greek inscriptions on certain of their coins has largely been explained as an effort—one that mimicked the activities of the Normans in southern Italy in the case of Antioch—to style Latin rulers as the rightful heirs to Byzantine power, which would have been especially valuable for Tancred after Dyrrachium.[45] Prior to the First Crusade, the main cities of what became the principality, those being Antioch and Latakia, were primarily Greek speaking, or at the very least Byzantine-aligned, so there were certainly pragmatic and practical reasons to issue coins that used the language and iconography that was most familiar to the main pre-existing trading communities.[46] However, as Lisa Mahoney has recently argued, it would be misleading to believe that coin designs were dictated wholly by practical, market-driven concerns—"necessity alone does not account for the sum of such a potentially

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[42] Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq*, 44–45.

[43] This may well indicate an active move to establish authority free from Bohemond's. See Rheinheimer, "Tankred und das Siegel," 75–93.

[44] Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 27. On the importance of Saint Peter to early Antiochene efforts at forging legitimacy through ethnogenesis, see Kirschberger, *Erster Kreuzzug und Ethnogenese*, 278–86.

[45] Rheinheimer, "Tankred und das Siegel," 77, 82–84; Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 22–24; Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq*, 44–45.

[46] Angeliki E. Laiou, "Byzantine Trade with Christians and Muslims and the Crusades," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 157–96 (esp. at 169); Susan B. Edgington, "Antioch: Medieval City of Culture,", in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean I: Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest to the End of the Crusader Principality*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar and Michael Metcalf (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 247–60; Murray, *Baldwin of Bourcq*, 44–45.

powerful visual and material statement."[47] For example, Tancred appearing bearded and in a sartorial style reminiscent of imperial coins has also been viewed as reflecting a desire to appeal to, and perhaps put at ease, non-Latins under his authority.[48] Moreover, irrespective of finding a definitive ruling on the issue of the turban, it might still be speculated that Tancred's overly exaggerated crown was a conscious stylistic choice that would have allowed some to *think* that it represented a local headdress. As Gil Fishhof has recently proposed for artistic and architectural styles in the kingdom of Jerusalem, the diverse communities of the Latin East, and the competing and contrasting visual cultures that came with them, created the ideal conditions for forms of experimentation that could speak to multiple audiences at once—what he calls "the model of flexibility." In other words, where we find imagery that skirts the fringes of different traditions, and so takes a hazy approach to cultural alignment, we should be alive to this being a deliberate move to communicate across communities.[49] Furthermore what appears to have gone unnoticed is that the choice to copy a coin depicting Saint Theodore could have significant meaning beyond the appropriation of imperial power. Theodore was one of a small list of Eastern warrior saints said to have appeared at the battle of Antioch to fight for, and with, the crusaders.[50] Given that the Normans were particularly influential in shaping dialogues around saintly intervention in battle—the late eleventh-century chronicler Geoffrey Malaterra reported that Saint George intervened in support of Roger of Sicily (Roger of Antioch's great uncle) at the Battle of Cerami in 1063—it is quite possible that another motive behind the coin's design was the active memorialisation of the

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[47] Lisa Mahoney, "A Byzantine Pedigree: The Design of Coins and Seals in the Latin East," in *Medieval Coins and Seals: Constructing Identity, Signifying Power*, ed. Susan Solway (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 131–52 (quote at 136).

[48] Schlumberger, *Numismatique de L'Orient Latin*, 43–48; Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 23–24; Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," 366–69.

[49] Fishhof, *Shaping Identities in a Holy Land*, 321–23 and *passim*.

[50] Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris: Geuthner, 1977), 112.

First Crusade and a visual reminder that Tancred's rule was underpinned by his participation in that divine conquest.[51]

What this all demonstrates is that ruling the principality of Antioch in the early twelfth century was a complicated job. Not only did its lords have to navigate external threats that could spring up from all directions, but there was also a pressure to continue the initial wave of expansion to maintain the wider regional balance of power and to provide faithful followers with rewards. To aid this, Antioch's princes had to find ways to tap into the unity and memory of the crusade, as well as to simultaneously foster the good will, or at least compliance, of the myriad non-Latin communities they now governed. For Bohemond and Tancred, their powerful personalities and statuses as heroes of the First Crusade clearly went a long way towards navigating these difficulties, and both seem to have been aware of this. When Tancred died in December 1112, though, power passed not to a fellow crusade veteran, or even a son of one, but to his nephew. The task facing Roger in establishing his legitimacy and authority was thus far from simple.

The Reign of Roger

As already noted, while Tancred succeeded to the princely throne upon Bohemond's departure for Europe in 1105, having been confirmed in position as ruler by the latter, who never returned to resume power, the production of an heir, Bohemond II, did complicate matters. Not only was he son to the principality's founder and heroic veteran of the crusade, but he was also grandson to the king of France. His Antiochene, royal, and crusading

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[51] Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardis ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1928), 44 (Book II, chapter 33). See also Elizabeth Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2007), 37–96.

pedigree was impeccable. He was also, at best, four years old when Tancred died, and it cannot have been reasonably expected that he would take up his father's former mantle immediately. The decision to turn to Roger, then, has been viewed as not only pragmatic, but also in line with longstanding Norman practices, especially in southern Italy, whereby the nearest, or at least most geographically convenient, male relative would be called upon to step into the void.[52] There has, likewise, been no doubt that the power Roger enacted, at least as can be ascertained from the available evidence, was that of a ruler.[53] Quite what Roger's status was vis-à-vis the long-term succession of the principality is another matter. Writing much later, the Jerusalemite chronicler William of Tyre commented that Roger had succeeded Tancred, but that he was made to swear to hold the principality only for so long as it took for Bohemond II to take up his inheritance. This made him *de iure* regent, even if he may have been *de facto* prince.[54] Yet, when detailing Roger's death at the Field of Blood in 1119, William noted that "for the entire time that he held the principality, he had alienated from Antioch his lord, Bohemond the Younger, son of Bohemond the Elder, who lived in Apulia with his mother, whose paternal inheritance it was."[55] This echoed the earlier accusations of another Jerusalemite, Fulcher of Chartres.[56] Even some Muslim authors were aware that a major dispute had emerged over the principality's succession upon Tancred's death.[57] The reality of what was agreed is difficult to discern. It is quite likely that there were those who wanted to ensure Bohemond II's eventual succession given the potential support it might bring from the Latin West, yet it cannot be assumed that all were especially fond of

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[52] Asbridge, *Creation of the Principality*, 139–43; Francesca Petrizzo, "Wars of our Fathers: Hauteville Kin Networks and the Making of Norman Antioch," *Journal of Medieval History* 48/1 (2022): 1–31.
[53] Asbridge, *Creation of the Principality*, 139–43.
[54] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), I, 522–23.
[55] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, I, 558: "dominum suum iuniorem Boamundum, senioris Boamundi filium, in Apulia cum matre morantem, ab Antiochia, que paterna ei hereditas erat, omni eo tempore, quo principatum tenuit, fecerat alienum."
[56] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 620–29.
[57] Ibn al-Qalānisī, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. Hamilton A. R. Gibb (London: Luzac, 1932), 132; Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, ed. and trans. Donald S. Richards, 3 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005–2008), I, 160–61.

Bohemond I given his precipitous departure in 1105 and failure to return. Likewise, the realities of the principality's need for immediate rule and defence probably did allow for a situation in which the ruling elites were prepared to allow someone else to take full control, as opposed to a mere regency, especially given the familial connection. In the end, the matter of what might happen should Roger be faced with Bohemond's arrival was made moot by the Field of Blood, but Roger did not have the benefit of hindsight. Consequently, the strategies he deployed to meet the challenges outlined above, and so cement and legitimise his status, are an invaluable window onto the nature of power in the early principality.

It should be noted first that Roger never once styled himself as regent. In a charter confirming the rights of the Abbey of Our Lady of Josaphat in the principality issued in 1114/15, he was "Roger, by God's merciful favour prince of Antioch," and the Antiochene nobles were "my barons" (*baronibus meis*). He even used this charter to confirm gifts made previously by "my uncle" (*avunculi mei*) Tancred.[58] Roger was also clearly able to call on the military strength of the principality across his reign, as shown by his victory at Tell Dānīth.[59] He was even recognised by external powers. Both Aleppo and Shayzar immediately assented to renewing the tribute payments previously owed to Tancred, while in 1113 he was called upon by Baldwin I of Jerusalem to offer military aid against Tughtakīn of Damascus, which he duly rode south to deliver, although the king unwisely decided against waiting for reinforcements.[60] Roger also married Baldwin II of Edessa's sister Cecilia, while Joscelin of Courtenay was wed to Roger's sister Maria.[61] The principality's landed holdings were extended, for example through the capture of the important fortress of Sahyūn, along with

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[58] *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'Abbaye de N.-D de Josaphat*, ed. Henri-François Delaborde (Paris, 1880), 26–27: "Rogerius annuente misericordia Dei princeps Antiochenus."
[59] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 69–81, 151–53.
[60] Ibn al-Qalānisī, *The Damascus Chronicle*, 132; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 565–73.
[61] Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, 105; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, I, 527; II, 869. See also Andrew D. Buck, "Women in the Principality of Antioch: Power, Status, and Social Agency," *Haskins Society Journal* 31 (2020): 95–132 (at 98–99, 114).

nearby Balātanus, in 1118. Both were then handed to Robert fitzFulk, lord of Zardanā, which

expanded the power of this lordship. Furthermore, he strengthened the policy of encircling

Aleppo by capturing nearby Buzā'a in early 1119 and launching frequent raids from al-

Athārib.[62] Such is Roger's seemingly quiet effectiveness in stepping into the void left by his

uncle, that Asbridge stated that, while he was less aggressive than his immediate forebear, he

"wielded the same princely authority as Bohemond and Tancred."[63] This is a valuable

corrective to previous scholarship that bought too much into the negative primary source

coverage of Roger's reign, and so was unduly influenced by his subsequent death at the Field

of Blood in 1119 and contemporary accusations of usurpation.[64] Nevertheless, a focus on the

textual evidence, as well as on Roger's response to the aforementioned military and

diplomatic difficulties that faced any incoming prince of Antioch, has precluded a deeper

understanding of his strategies for dealing with his accession to power, as can be gleaned

from his coins.

For Roger's reign, we find three distinct coin types. The first (Figure 2) has an image

of Christ on the obverse, while on the reverse it has the abbreviated DNE SAL FT RO, which

likely stands for *Domine salva famulum tuum Rogerium*, "O Lord, save thy servant Roger."

Not only do we find this overstruck on Tancred's aforementioned second type, but it also

mirrors the wording and iconography found on Tancred's third type, and in so doing echoes

Bohemond's first type in phrasing, if not in the language used.[65] The second (Figure 3) has

the Virgin Mary on the obverse, with the abbreviation MH OV—a corruption of the Greek

MP ΘY, or MHTEP ΘEOY (*meter theou*), meaning "the Mother of God"; while on the

reverse is the phrase ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΣΩΥ ΡΟΤΖΕΡΙΩ (*kyrie voethei to thoulo*

[62] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 69–74.
[63] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 140.
[64] For many decades, the primary narrative for Roger's reign was that found in Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord a l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris: Geuthner, 1940), 266–82.
[65] Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 26–28.

soi rotzerio), or "Lord help thy servant Roger." This coin appears overstruck on Roger's first

type and, occasionally, on Tancred's fourth type (which carries a bust of Christ and Tancred's

name in Greek).[66] Lastly, there is Roger's third type (Figure 4), which on the obverse carries

an image of Saint George striking downwards with his lance from horseback with the legend

Ο Α ΓΕΩΡ, an abbreviation of Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ (*o agios georgios*), "O Saint George";

while on the reverse we find variant shortened forms of the phrase ΡΟΤΖΕΡΙΟΣ ΠΡΙΓΚΙΡΟΣ

ΑΝΤΙΟΚΙΑ (*rotzerios prinkipos antiokia*), "Roger, prince of Antioch." This, too, can be

found overstruck on Roger's first type and, very occasionally, on coins of Tancred, Byzantine

rulers, and Roger's second type.[67]

Over the period of only six years of rule, therefore, Roger issued multiple coin types,

with a noticeable shift away from the Latin used at the start to the use of Greek language and

iconography. Gustav Schlumberger found the number of issues, especially the shift in

language, to be puzzling, and pondered whether it was a practical effort to appeal to both

communities while also representing Roger's growing power and move to usurp Bohemond

II after victory at Tell Dānīth.[68] A similar view is espoused by John Porteous and Martin

Rheinheimer, who both emphasised Roger's desire to distance himself from his predecessors

iconographically, although Porteous argued for a different ordering of coins, with the Latin

coin appearing as the final type—a stance which overlooks the issue of overstriking (we find

types two and three overstruck onto it, but never the other way around)—and Rheinheimer

suggests that the type three coin could date to as late as 1118.[69] Metcalf has followed the

traditional ordering and explanation of the coins; though, like Rheinheimer, he has posited

that the multiple issues likely reflected tax concerns, and that with every new striking this

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[66] Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 26–28.
[67] Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 26–28.
[68] Schlumberger, *Numismatique de L'Orient Latin*, 46–49.
[69] Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," 366–69; Rheinheimer, "Tankred und das Siegel," 86–91.

would have offered Roger the opportunity to raise monies.[70] However, certain points of contention will be addressed below: that tax concerns do little to explain the shifts in style; that Porteous' claims at a lack of evocation of Roger's predecessors and his desire to push against Bohemond II's inheritance are simplistic in their consideration of how power and status were being expressed; that, even though Roger had the same potential pragmatic reasons to employ Greek as his forebears, the function of using this language and its attendant iconography cannot be explained solely as an effort at communal deference or battle memorialisation; and that Schlumberger's speculation that coins were issued simultaneously requires deeper unpacking.

We begin, therefore, with Roger's first type, which carries an image of Christ and a Latin inscription asking for the Lord's aid. Contrary to Porteous' belief that Roger did not seek to evoke his predecessors, this legend has distinct similarities with Tancred's third type and mimics, if in a different language, the call for divine aid found on Bohemond's coinage. Likewise, Tancred was known to have included an image of Christ on his fourth coin type. As such, while this coin cannot be said to be a verbatim copy of an earlier template, it does act as a composite of the numismatic iconography of both of Roger's princely forebears. This almost certainly aimed at providing a sense of legitimacy and continuity at the beginning of his reign, when there may well have remained questions over his succession. That he chose Latin and Christological imagery makes clear that the primary audience for this expression of power and call for unity was the Latins.[71] It was a reminder of shared denominational allegiance, as well as Roger's status as a relative and rightful inheritor of both Bohemond and Tancred. Of further, but so far overlooked, significance is the choice of which of the earlier coin types was chosen to overstrike, and so theoretically remove from circulation. Indeed,

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[70] Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 22–24; Rheinheimer, "Tankred und das Siegel," 81–82.
[71] Rheinheimer suggested it may even have been an effort to express his good relations with the kingdom of Jerusalem, though this is unconvincing. See Rheinheimer, "Tankred und das Siegel," 87.

though it has been recognised that Roger's first type is only found overstruck onto Tancred's second type, what has not been asked is why. It is evident that multiple coin types circulated at any one moment in the principality, and that Tancred's coins were not simply decommissioned upon his death, as shown by the fact that Roger's later types are occasionally overstruck onto several of Tancred's types. Consequently, this appears a more targeted move to replace a specific design. Important here is that Tancred's second type was at this point the only known coin type issued by an Antiochene ruler to carry martial and political connotations, as well as a hint at crusade memorialisation—Tancred is modelled on a Byzantine ruler, as well as a warrior saint said to have appeared at the battle of Antioch, and a sword is seen resting on his shoulder. It can be suggested, therefore, that Roger sought to emphasise not just his familial ties to the ruling house, but also that the underlying legitimacy of his power came from Christ—something that transcended the crusader conquest in its universality and did not require imperial mimicry. Given that, unlike Bohemond and Tancred, he could not lay any direct claim to the right of holy conquest afforded to veterans of the First Crusade, or at least their children, this necessitated a change to how the underlying legitimacy of authority in the principality was expressed.

The motivations behind this could also be found in considering what it reveals about Roger's initial stance towards non-Latins. It has already been established that both Bohemond and Tancred made efforts to speak to the Eastern Christian populace through their coins, largely by emphasising common Christian identity, but also by evoking Byzantine authority and crusade memories that would have served to emphasise the Latins' status as legitimate heirs, both secular and divine. Yet, upon his succession, Roger's greatest threat was likely his fellow Latins, who may have been divided over his status, or even his suitability. This could explain why his earliest known military efforts were focused on establishing, through diplomacy, the continuance of Tancred's policy of extracting tribute from Aleppo and

Shayzar before travelling south to bring aid to Baldwin I of Jerusalem, with whom even Armenian and Muslim authors recognised Roger had a strong relationship—according to Usama ibn Munqidh, the pair had agreed to be each other's heirs.[72] It may also have been around this time that Roger's aforementioned marriage alliances with Edessa were finalised. By contrast, the apparent lack of an active Byzantine threat perhaps precluded any impetus for the targeted courting of the principality's Eastern Christians. In Book One of Walter the Chancellor's text, which initially appears to have been composed as a standalone narrative aimed at memorialising the victory at Tell Dānīth, the author adopts an especially hostile tone towards the non-Latin populace. Walter states that the lands of Eastern Christians were ravaged by locusts due to their sins, that they refused to respond by changing their lavish, greedy, and sex-fuelled lifestyles, and that they had been conquered successively by the Byzantines, the Turks, and the Latins because they were weak and welcomed external rule. Moreover, that it was as a result of their sins that God brought forth a massive series of earthquakes, which ravaged the whole of northern Syria in late 1114.[73] Given the author's privileged status in the principality and his obvious closeness to Roger, it is likely that his accusatory tone reflects a more widespread stance towards non-Latins within the prince's inner circle, especially at the start of his reign.[74] This is made all the more plausible by the fact that Roger's father Richard was known for his cruelty towards Eastern Christians when acting first as Tancred's proxy at Edessa during Baldwin II of Edessa's captivity following Harran and then as lord of Marash.[75] Roger's overstrike of Tancred's imperial coin might thus

[72] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, 131; "Matthew of Edessa: Chronicle," translated in Ara E. Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades: Tenth to Twelfth Centuries* (New York: University Press of America, 1993), 1–239 (at 214).

[73] Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, 61–63.

[74] This aligns with the view of Walter outlined in Skottki, "Of 'Pious Traitors'," 94–104.

[75] "Matthew of Edessa: Chronicle," 201–202; *The Chronicle of Michael the Great (The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex): Books XV–XXI. From the Year 1050 to 1195 AD*, trans. Amir Harrak (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2019) 88; *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad A. C. 1234 pertinens*, ed. and trans. Albīr Abouna, Jean-Maurice Fiey and Jean-Baptiste Chabot, 4 vols (Leuven: Peeters, 1916–74), II, 52–53.

have been a move not just to court Latin unity and ensure a sense of continuity with his Hauteville forebears, but also to showcase that he was to be a ruler primarily for the settlers.

This evidently changed. Roger's other two types, both of which are found overstruck onto the first, utilise Greek language and religious iconography, while we also see the return to martial imagery. As already noted, those who have pondered why have argued that this shift was heralded by victory at Tell Dānīth in September 1115, a stance underpinned by the belief that only after such a success could Roger advertise his credentials as a military leader and, through use of the title of prince, his desire for greater independence from the legitimacy that came from his predecessors. In other words, these coins represent a triumphant leader basking in victory and hoping to be recognised ruler in his own right. However, this overlooks the underlying efforts to address issues of dynastic and religious inheritance in the first coin type, while none have so far found an adequate explanation for why this was matched by a return to the use of Greek, especially given the clear significance he placed on the use of non-Latin symbols of identity and power at the beginning of his reign. A way through this question might be found not in the events of summer 1115, but in the year prior.

In late 1114, as already noted, a series of earthquakes struck northern Syria, causing mass devastation and widespread death, with Antioch itself hit in November. Walter the Chancellor had been quick to point to sin as the primary cause of this disaster, particularly the sins of the Eastern Christians, although the Latins were not free from blame. Yet, his description of what then happened within Antioch potentially reveals a shift towards greater inter-Christian unity. Thus, all groups of sinners, be they Latin, Greek, Syrian (likely Arabic speaking Greek Orthodox and/or Jacobites), and Armenian,

> at once took advantage of good advice and had recourse to the church of Saint Peter
> the apostle himself, seeking the protection of his eternal patronage […] and those

same men confessed that they had grievously sinned and, renouncing their past and present pleasures to Lord Bernard, the first Latin patriarch, they promised most devoutly to amend their ways.[76]

With Bernard having set out a series of reforms and ritualised penances for all to follow, Walter noted that everyone abhorred their previous sinful behaviours and instead lived in ways more pleasing to God.[77] Though there is undoubtedly an element of narrative embellishment, Walter's message is all too clear: whereas a sense of inter-Christian unity and dedication to God had been lacking, now all came together in common faith, although with the recognition that the Latin church was the chief arbiter with the Lord. It would be easy to dismiss this as mere rhetoric, but the impact of such a natural disaster, and the fear of God's anger, would likely have been a powerful motivator towards religious introspection, especially as news arrived of destruction elsewhere.[78] We also read that, in response, Roger, who had spent a decent amount of his first years of rule to the south in the kingdom of Jerusalem, restlessly sought to refortify and rebuild the damaged areas of the principality. At Antioch, he convened a council with the city's key figures to ensure that it was fully repaired, while he also undertook a penitential prayer visitation of the main churches, particularly those dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Saints Peter and Paul, and Saint George. It was after this devotional tour, which culminated in Roger confessing his sins to the patriarch, that he then set out on the campaign that would culminate in Tell Dānīth, likely around June 1115.[79] Walter's text, then, provides evidence that in the wake of the 1114 earthquakes there was a tangible move towards establishing greater inter-Christian unity, and that Roger played an

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[76] Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, 63–64: "salubri utentes consilio ad ipsam beati Petri apostoli confugiunt ecclesiam, perpetuae tutelae quaerentes patrocinium […] et eidem se grauiter peccasse confitentur suisque praeteritis et praesentibus abrenuntiando uoluptatibus domino Bernardo, primo patriarchae Latino, emendationem uitae promittunt deuotissime." Translation lightly adapted from Asbridge and Edgington, *Walter's the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars*, 81–82.
[77] Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, 63–65.
[78] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 69–70.
[79] Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, 65–66.

active part in this. Importantly, such a shift not only helps to explain the united front described in the ritualised triumph into Antioch with which this article began, it also helps to make sense of the change in coinage.

As already outlined, type two carries a Byzantine-style image of the Virgin Mary along with the Greek inscription ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΣΩΥ ΡΟΤΖΕΡΙΩ, or "Lord, help thy servant Roger." There are two points to make here: firstly, that the use of the Virgin Mary was unique within the principality of Antioch at this juncture—up to this point we see only Christ or Saint Peter; and, secondly, that having the inscription written out across five lines, instead of being heavily abbreviated, marks a return to Tancred's first coin type.[80] Regarding the use of the Virgin Mary, Rheinheimer posited that this may relate to Roger's marriage to Cecilia of Bourcq or to the birth of a daughter, yet this relies on the testimony of Orderic Vitalis, who clearly transmits, somewhat confusedly, the later story of a potential marriage alliance between Alexios Komnenos' son, John, and Constance, the daughter of Bohemond II.[81] It is more significant that the cult of the Virgin Mary was one of those Roger sought to align himself with in the wake of the earthquake. Likewise, the coin's inscription not only reiterated ties to Tancred, but its fullness would also have allowed for it to be better understood by readers, for it cannot be assumed that only non-Latins had enough knowledge of Greek for it to be intelligible. In the religiously charged atmosphere that followed the earthquakes, when Christians of all denominations appear to have come together to beseech God's forgiveness, this inscription would have served as a poignant message of common identity and may even have tapped into the multi-lingual liturgical activities that would have accompanied this outpouring of devotional unity. It is also potentially of interest that the

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[80] Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 25.
[81] Rheinheimer, "Tankred und das Siegel," 87–88; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969–80), VI, 128–30. See also Buck, *The Principality of Antioch*, 191–92.

phrasing deployed, though seen on coins in Norman Italy and Byzantium, matches that used on Greek Orthodox religious art produced at Antioch, such as the Reliquary of Saint Anastasios the Persian made in the city in the late tenth century, which carries the inscription ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ ΣΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΕΙΩ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩ ΠΑΤΡΙΚ(ΙΩ) ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓΩ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΚΑΝΔΟΥ ((*kyrie voethei to thoulo soi eustatheio anthepato patrikio kai stratigo antiochias kai likanthou*), or "Lord, help they servant Eustathios, the proconsul, patrician, and strategos of Antioch and Lykandos".[82] The deliberate evocation of a phrase likely well known by many of Antioch's Christians, who would have come into contact with multi-lingual artworks in shared devotional spaces like the cathedral of Saint Peter, would certainly have allowed this message to appeal to a broader spread of the city's (and principality's) populace. It may even intertwine with Julian Yolles' suggestion that Walter the Chancellor ended Book One with a poetic hymn so that his account of the earthquakes and subsequent victory at Tell Dānīth could take on a liturgical-commemorative character.[83] Indeed, the importance of liturgical performance, and its relationship to processes of crusade remembrance, has been widely recognised for the Latin East.[84]

An effort at speaking to a wider audience also appears to have contributed to the design of Roger's third type. Here, we find more novelty, for the use of an image of Saint George in a warrior pose was not taken from the coins of his forebears, while this also serves as the first instance of the title of prince found on an Antiochene coin, even if it is in Greek, not Latin. It is again tempting to view this coin in the wake of the 1114 earthquakes, for Walter noted that Roger made an active show of tying himself to the cult of Saint George in

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[82] Mabi Anger, *Byzantine Head Reliquaries and their Perception in the West after 1204: A Case Study of the Reliquary of St. Anastasios the Persian in Aachen and Related Objects* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz Verlag, 2017), esp. 23–32. See also Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," 368–69.
[83] Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, 150–51.
[84] Iris Shagrir, "*Adventus* in Jerusalem: The Palm Sunday Celebration in Latin Jerusalem," *Journal of Medieval History* 41 (2015): 1–20; Simon John, "The Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem: Remembering and Reconstructing the First Crusade in the Holy City, 1099–1187," *Journal of Medieval History* 41 (2015): 409–31.

the aftermath. As already alluded to above, Roger would have been familiar with George's cult from his time in southern Italy, while his status as a saint most obviously linked to the traditions of Eastern rite Christians means his evocation speaks to a conciliatory atmosphere of inter-Christian unity, with Roger looking to present himself as the protector of all, not just of the Latins. However, the choice of Saint George has deeper significance because, like Theodore, who was evoked on Tancred's coin, this saint was said to have appeared to fight for the crusaders at the battle of Antioch.[85] As several scholars have noted, by calling on this saint in this moment and in this geographical context, Roger's coin thus also serves as an act of crusade memorialisation.[86] In this regard it should be remembered that the earliest narrative traditions of the crusade likewise had the Virgin Mary appear miraculously during the siege of Antioch to intercede on behalf of the Latins.[87] Yet, the similarly common historiographical stance that the Saint George coin can be tied to the triumphal mood post-Tell Dānīth, as well as Roger's desire to now express his specifically princely authority in ways that freed him from the legacy of his forebears and, in turn, his need to respect the eventual inheritance of Bohemond II, overlooks the fact that Roger was now evoking a heritage that he appears to have sought to move away from with his first coin type, that of the crusader conquest—which, as we should remind ourselves, he took no actual part in. Moreover, his overt mobilisation of the cult of Saint George appears to have emerged *prior* to the battle, as did his wider recognition of the potential value in evoking the crusade, such as through his carrying of a relic of the True Cross with him on the 1115 campaign.[88] An issue when it comes to ordering, and thus dating, this coin comes from the fact that there are

[85] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hieroslimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Rosalind T. Hill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 69.

[86] Jacques Yvon, "Les monnaies de Roger d'Antioche au type de S. Georges," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 19/1 (January, 1966): 29–30; Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous*, 66; Buck, "Settlement, Identity, and Memory," 300.

[87] *Gesta Francorum*, 57–58. See also Beth C. Spacey, *The Miraculous and the Writing of Crusade Narrative* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020), 75–86.

[88] Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, 72–73. See also Kirschberger, *Erster Kreuzzuge und Ethnogenese*, 343–49.

examples of it being overstruck onto the type two coin. However, such coins are rare, as the type three coins, like the type twos, are primarily found overstruck onto type ones.[89] As such, it need not be the case that the type three coin was issued much later, with the possibility remaining that both could have been issued around the same time and had circulated together, and that at some stage before Roger's death in 1119 a desire for more copies of type three meant that some of the type twos were overstruck. A later need for more coins would help to explain why we find variations in the exact implementation of this design, and why they were also overstruck onto several of Tancred's type, as well as random Byzantine coins, like one of Emperor Leo VI (r. 886–912).[90]

Irrespective of this, though, there are reasons for challenging the historiographical model of this as a triumphant image of independence and usurpation. Though it has been argued that the use of Saint George, and the evocation of crusading memory, can be read as an act of cultural appropriation that emphasised the Latin ownership of, and dominance over, Eastern rite traditions through the prism of the crusade, it is also true that an attempt by Roger to cultivate and promote his own personal ties to this cult served as a reminder that he would fight for all Christians, not only the Latins.[91] This is entirely in keeping with Walter's description of his activities following the earthquakes and before setting out on campaign. In line with Fishhof's aforementioned "model of flexibility," it need not be an either-or situation—the image of Saint George, like that of the Virgin Mary, could evoke the crusader conquest and emphasise the Latins' sense of being God's chosen people, *and* speak to the common heritage shared by all Christians. This, again, is supported by Walter the Chancellor, as alongside his depiction of Roger as a prince who curated the support of all denominations, he also went to great lengths to imbue his coverage of the latter's battles with crusading

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[89] Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 28.
[90] Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 28.
[91] Buck, "Settlement, Identity, and Memory," 300–301.

imagery, rhetoric, and performance.[92] It is even possible that he did so in emulation of, or in response to, Ralph of Caen's *Tancredus*, an early copy of which he may have seen, which speaks to a wider recognition of the importance of cultivating active martial memorialisation within the principality.[93] As a consequence, a further aspect of this coin's design is an apparent attempt to repair, or at least recultivate, a sense that Antioch's rulers protected all Christian denominations, which had been lacking at the start of Roger's reign. The use of the title of "prince" can be read in the same way. While scholars have so far seen this as an expression of independence, the fact that Roger utilised a Latin title but rendered it in Greek denotes an attempt to speak across linguistic, and so liturgical, divides—a ruler for Latins and non-Latins alike. As Walter's text shows, this is a view Roger sought to cultivate immediately following the earthquakes, perhaps being influenced by fear of God's wrath for having not sought to promote inter-Christian unity, as well as during his triumph back into Antioch following Tell Dānīth.[94] Seen in this light, this coin no longer stands so clearly as a symbol of Roger breaking from the past; rather, like the second type, it stands as witness to his *returning* to the heritage and iconographical tactics of his princely, crusading forebears, which he may perhaps have sought to struggle against at the start of his reign. In this regard, it must always be remembered that our main sources for accusations of Roger's apparent act of usurpation are Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre, both of whom had a vested interest in blackening Roger's memory and emphasising the righteousness of Bohemond II's claim. Doing so explained why God had abandoned the Antiochenes at the Field of Blood, but it also provided the necessary pretext for explaining Baldwin II of Jerusalem's subsequent seven-year regency of the principality (1119–26) and helped to emphasise the prestige of the

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[92] Thomas S. Asbridge, "The Portrayal of Violence in Walter the Chancellor's *Bella Antiochena*," in *Syria in Crusader Times: Conflict and Co-Existence*, ed. Carole Hillenbrand (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 163–83.
[93] Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, 146–47.
[94] Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, 150–51.

Jerusalemite royal house, given that Bohemond II went on to marry Baldwin's daughter, Alice.[95]

What this all suggests, therefore, is that historians should now look to understand Roger's type two and three coins not solely in the context of Tell Dānīth, but instead in the aftermath of the earthquakes of 1114 and the outpouring of devotional unity that appears to have emerged as the Christian populations sought to explain why God had collectively punished them. Roger's coins speak to a desire to establish his status as protector of all, which moved away from the apparent Latin-focused beginnings of his tenure. This did facilitate the use of martial, crusading imagery, but it also sought to combine Latin and Greek iconography, as well as markers of status and power, in ways that could speak across linguistic divides and provide meaning and identity for all.

Conclusion

This article has sought to change the way scholars understand the coins of Prince Roger of Antioch. It has stressed that, though his first coin may have represented a desire to shift the underlying legitimacy of the principality away from the crusader conquest in order to better establish his status as prince, his other two coins speak to a different reality. Indeed, these show a ruler who, in the wake of a major natural disaster that shook the foundations not just of the city, but of popular trust in God's love, now hoped to (re)establish common devotional identity amongst the Christian populations of his principality and to align himself with memories of the First Crusade. In turn, this brought him more closely into line with the legitimacy of his kingroup—his predecessors as rulers in Antioch—as well as the fluid

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[95] Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, 143; Thomas S. Asbridge, "William of Tyre and the First Rulers of the Latin Principality of Antioch," *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 35–42.

dynastic strategies that they had undertaken. If ever Roger had intended to "usurp" and break entirely from his family, and it is far from clear that he ever did, he did not do so after the earthquake and his celebrated victory at Tell Dānīth soon after, but before it. Yet, beyond addressing this historiographical point, it has been the aim here to tap into wider debates regarding the nature of interculturality and power in the Latin East, and the function of crusade memories within settler cultures. It has been demonstrated that the distinct challenges posed by governing the fragile and diverse societies of the crusader states, especially given the extent of external threats and the nascence of administrative structures, created the perfect environment for experimentation—in forms of authority, in inter-cultural relationships, in identity construction, and in visual cultures. Memories of the First Crusade, still fresh, were only one part of this, although they were a significant part. Evocation of events and figures of the crusade could at once establish Latin exceptionalism and dominance, and so provide coherence and common identity in moments of crisis, but they could also undermine authority if claimed wrongly and alienate subjected communities. Roger, it seems, in emerging from the shadow of two relatives whose crusading exploits were already immortalised in text and song, and which had even earned them marriages into the ruling house of the kingdom of France, was only too aware of this. His responsive and careful use of iconography and title speaks to how such an environment could help to shape a leader, and to the fact that his reign warrants a greater degree of respect from historians. Indeed, it might be argued that his more conciliatory approach to power was to have a significant influence over the dynamic nature of authority witnessed in the principality of Antioch for the rest of the twelfth century.[96]

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[96] On power dynamics in the principality in the later period, see Buck, *The Principality of Antioch*, 62–163.

Figures

Figure 1: 2nd Type Coin of Tancred © Museum of the Order of St John and the University of Birmingham. Inscriptions read: IC XC NI KA and KE BO TANKPI.

Figure 2: 1st Type Coin of Roger © Museum of the Order of St John and the University of Birmingham. Inscription reads: DNE SAL FT RO.

Figure 3: 2nd Type Coin of Roger © Museum of the Order of St John and the University of

Birmingham. Inscriptions read: ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΣΩΥ ΡΟΤΖΕΡΙΩ and MH OV.
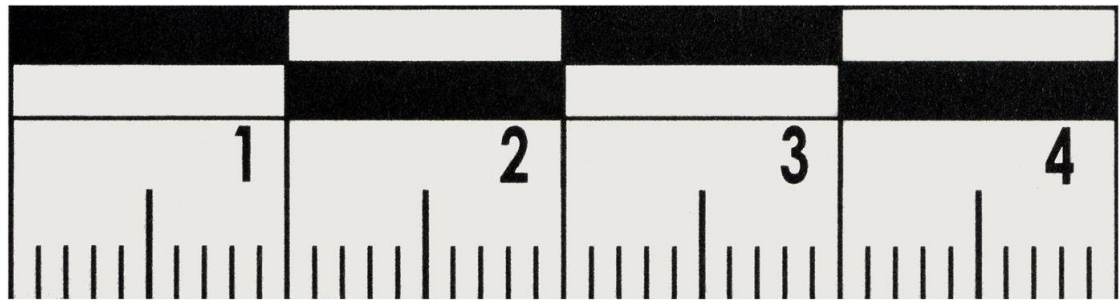
Figure 4: 3rd Type Coin of Roger © Museum of the Order of St John and the University of Birmingham. Inscriptions read: ΡΟΤΖΕΡΙΟΣ ΠΡΙΓΚΙΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΚΙΑ and Ο Α ΓΕΩΡ.