

To My Beloved Mother

Zeliha Ayten Gündođdu

THE MEANINGS OF THE TERMS USED FOR THE MUSLIMS IN THE
ACCOUNTS OF THE FIRST AND THIRD CRUSADES

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

BİROL GÜNDOĞDU

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY
BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

August 2005

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

Asst. Prof. Paul Latimer
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

Asst. Prof. David E. Thornton
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

Asst. Prof. Julian Bennett
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

THE MEANINGS OF THE TERMS USED FOR THE MUSLIMS IN THE ACCOUNTS OF THE FIRST AND THIRD CRUSADES

Gündoğdu, Birol

M.A., Department of History

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Paul Latimer

August 2005

Although most people who encounter terms such as identity, group identity, ethnic, groups, nations or religious groups believe that they know, at least roughly, what these terms mean, the terms are in fact slippery and difficult to define. The confusion is not limited to readers of the mass media they are difficult terms for the academic world, as well. Exact definition of these terms remains as elusive as ever. The more academics have tried to define such terms, the more such terms have taken new meanings, which do not necessarily bring either better or worse definitions of these terms. In this study, I have tried to investigate the terms whereby one might argue to define identity, group identity, the concept of ethnicity, groups, nations or religious groups in the crusading era. The way the chroniclers of the First and Third Crusades identify Muslims constitutes the basic and the most important part of this thesis.

My point of departure is to look at the terms used for Muslims by the chroniclers and to understand the contemporary meanings of these terms in order to analyze what changed between these two periods separated as they are by some ninety years. Not only does it throw a different and particular light on Latin Christian attitudes to Muslims compared with the more detached, more purely Western-based and more academic “western views of Islam” literature, but it contributes also to the study of “identity”, and particularly “group identity” in the Middle Ages. After describing the difficulties that historians might encounter and what they need to take into consideration in studying this terminology, I have concentrated on the religious and the ethnic terms the chroniclers used for Muslims in their accounts of the First and Third Crusades. This is a study where I have attempted to show how it is not sufficient for historians to use the terms in his or her sources without explaining the earlier meanings they had for the people who used them. In this connection, this is an attempt to provide an already investigated topic with a distinct, new perspective showing how historians should approach the terms with their original meanings in the times they were used.

ÖZET

BİRİNCİ VE ÜÇÜNCÜ HAÇLI SEFERLERİ KAYNAKLARINDA MÜSLÜMANLAR İÇİN KULLANILAN TERİMLERİN ANLAMLARI

Gündoğdu, Birol

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Paul Latimer

Ağustos 2005

Kimlik, grup kimliği, etnik gruplar, millet veya din grupları gibi terimlerle karşılaşan birçok insan bu terimlerin anlamlarını, en azından yüzeysel olarak bildiklerine inanmalarına rağmen, aslında bu terimlerin tanımları gayet muğlaktır. Karışıklık yalnızca bireysel kullanımlar ile sınırlı olmamakta, akademik kullanımlar da problemlili olabilmektedir. Akademisyenler bu terimleri tanımlamaya çalıştıkça, terimlere yeni anlamlar atfedilmiştir ki bu ne daha iyi, ne de daha kötü tanımlamaların yapıldığı anlamına gelmektedir.

Bu çalışmada haçlı seferleri döneminde kullanılan kimlik, grup kimliği, etnik gruplar, millet veya din grupları gibi terimleri tanımlayabileceği düşünülen bazı kavramları araştırmaya çalıştım. Bu bağlamda Birinci ve Üçüncü Haçlı Seferleri sırasında batı kronikçilerinin Müslümanları tanımlamaları kullandıkları terminoloji bu tezin ana ve en önemli kısmını oluşturmaktadır. Benim bu çalışmadaki çıkış noktam, aralarında yaklaşık doksan yıl bulunan bu iki dönemde nelerin değişmiş olabileceğini anlamak; batılı tarihçilerin müslümanlar için kullanmış oldukları terimlere bakarak bu terimleri o dönemdeki anlamlarıyla açıklayabilmektir. Bu çalışma, Latin Hıristiyanların Müslümanlara karşı olan yaklaşımlarını, genelde batı tabanlı, daha akademik ve "batının İslam görüşü" perspektifiyle açıklayan literatürle karşılaştırıldığında bu alana farklı bir ışık tutmakla kalmayıp; Orta Çağdaki "kimlik", özellikle de "grup kimliği" üzerine yapılmış olan çalışmalara katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Böyle bir terminoloji çalışması yaparken, tarihçilerin karşılaşabilecekleri ve göz önünde bulundurmaları gereken bazı sorunları dile getirdikten sonra, batılı kronikçilerin Birinci ve Üçüncü Haçlı Seferlerini anlattıkları kaynaklarda Müslümanlar için kullanmış oldukları dini ve etnik terimlere yoğunlaştım. Tezimiz, tarihçilerin bu terimleri dönem kullanımlarını göz önünde bulundurmadan kullanmalarının ne kadar eksik olduğunu da göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda, daha önceleri çalışılmış olan bir konuda tarihçilerin terimlere, kullandıkları dönemdeki anlamlarıyla nasıl yaklaşmaları gerektiğini gösteren yeni ve farklı bir bakış açısının ürünüdür.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor Assistant Professor Paul Latimer for his invaluable guidance and contribution throughout this study. He really inspired me with his erudition, vast knowledge in crusade history and kind words. Without his guidance and support, this thesis could not be finalized. I am truly blessed to have such a perfect and cheerful supervisor.

I would also like to thank my professors in the Department of History at METU and Bilgi University, Assistant Professor Ömer Turan and Assistant Professor Aykut Kansu, who have showed the way and who have always supported me during my undergraduate and graduate education, without whose assistance I could not have had a career in history. Not to forget the thanks I owe to the Ottomanists Assistant Professor Oktay Özel, whose assistances have contributed a good deal to my thesis.

Special thanks go to my friends, Caner Kaya, Muhsin Soyudođan, Mustafa İsmail Kaya and Veysel Şimşek, without their companionship I could not have put up with the life being unbearable in Ankara and without their encouragements the present study could not have been what it is now. I would also like to thank Elif Bayraktar, not only for her help to read sources in Greek but also her friendship.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family for the all support and sacrifices. My sister Elif Gündođdu deserves my special thanks for her unfailing love, support and encouragement throughout my whole life. Finally, I would like to express my deep affection for my mother Zeliha Ayten Gündođdu, whom I have always longed for and whom I shall never forget.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
A. Identity and Otherness.....	1
B. Why Study This Subject?.....	3
C. Christian-Muslim Relations.....	3
D. The Crusade Emerges.....	7
E. Islam and Christianity.....	8
F. Western Views of Islam.....	9
G. The <i>Gesta Francorum</i> and the <i>Itinerarium Peregrinorum</i>	15
CHAPTER 1: THE TERMS USED FOR MUSLIMS	18
A. The Question of “Identity” and “Group Identity” in the Middle Ages.....	18
B. The Terms Used for Muslims.....	22
CHAPTER 2: RELIGIOUS TERMS	28
A. The Question of Religion as an Identifier.....	28
B. Pagan.....	31
C. Gentile.....	38
D. Pagan and Gentile.....	39

CHAPTER 3: ETHNIC TERMS	44
A. The Question of Ethnic Identity.....	44
B. Language.....	51
C. Culture and Customs.....	53
D. Visual Distinctions.....	56
E. Differentiation by Sects.....	61
F. Differentiation by Geography.....	63
CHAPTER 4: ETHNIC TERMS IN THE <i>GESTA</i> AND THE <i>ITINERARIUM</i>	69
A. Turk.....	69
B. Saracen.....	72
C. Turk and Saracen.....	76
D. Arab.....	86
E. Kurd.....	92
CONCLUSION	97
BIBLIOGRAPHY	101
APPENDIX	108

INTRODUCTION

A. Identity and Otherness

Concepts such as “identity” and “otherness” have played an important role in the writings of historians who try to investigate groups of people. The construction of identity creates borders separating one particular group from any “others”. Consequently, the making of an identity involves a process of external construction. Identities are constructed at least in part with reference to the external “other”, and this directs us to the policies of exclusion which always exist in the definition of each society throughout history. That is to say, we often define ourselves by what differentiates us from ‘others’. “The representation of “other” is integrally related to the representation of ‘self’”¹ For that matter, a change in the value of “self” means also a change in the image of the ‘other’, and vice versa. There can be no final definition of the relation between “ourselves” and “others” since, in the course of time, the images of what is universal and what divides one group from another invariably alter.² Moreover, there is frequently, if not invariably, a slightly derogatory side to the definition of the “other”. The other is the one who is not quite as good as us or whose culture is not quite as sophisticated as our own, and so on.³

¹ Elizabeth Hallam and Brian Street, *Cultural Encounters- representing ‘otherness’*. (London, 2000), p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ Miroslav Volf. *The Role of the Other* 2001 [Online] available from <http://www.globalengagement.org/issues/2001/09/mvolf-bwf-other-p.htm> [Accessed 22 July 2005].

The crusading era is a good example by which to observe “identity” and “otherness”. In this study, I shall try to analyze the way the chroniclers identifies Muslims during the First and Third Crusades. To do so, I shall mainly concentrate on the terms used for Muslims in these two periods, separated as they are by some ninety years. It is interesting to gain an insight into the great changes underway in Western Europe between the two crusades. Around the time of the First Crusade or thereabouts, “the western understanding of Islam took on new forms with a bewildering rapidity of shifting attitudes, partly due to the changes in the practical relations between East and West and even more profoundly because of the changing interests and equipment of thought in Europe itself.”⁴ By the time of the Third Crusade, the changes in the attitude of westerners towards Islamic society reflected themselves more clearly. My point of departure is to look at the terms used for Muslims by the chroniclers and to understand the contemporary meanings of these terms in order to analyze what did change between these two periods. It should be kept in mind that the chroniclers, however partial their perspective, were trying to describe the Muslims that they found in the East. In this connection, this is not just a study of Christian representation of “otherness” in terms of Muslims as enemies of the Christians, but also a way of classifying the Muslims according to the Latin understanding of the time, that is, what the crusaders imagined when they talked about Muslims during the First and Third Crusades.

⁴ R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*. (Cambridge, 1962), p. 13.

B. Why Study This Subject?

The answer to the question ‘why it is necessary to study this subject?’ has two dimensions. Firstly, such a study throws a different and particular light on Latin Christian attitudes to Muslims compared with the more detached, more purely Western-based, more academic ‘western views of Islam’ literature. Therefore, it can provide an already investigated topic with a distinct, new perspective. Secondly, it has a more general importance as a contribution to the study of ‘identity’, and particularly ‘group identity’ in the Middle Ages. The essence of this study relates to the terminology that the western chroniclers used in their manuscripts and we have to decide what these terms meant for the chroniclers. Many of the terms are still in use today, yet not necessarily with any or all of the same meanings. It is not enough for a historian to use the terms used in his or her sources without explaining the earlier meanings and the way in which they might have changed even during the period of the crusades. This thesis can provide an opportunity to show how historians should approach the terms with the original meanings at the times they were used.

C. Christian-Muslim Relations

The religious message that Muhammad preached had been broadly accepted throughout the Arabian Peninsula by the time he died in 632. The dramatic period of the Islamic expansion began in the time of Omar, who came after Abu Bakr, who had been selected as successor of Muhammad. This brought about the complete collapse of the Byzantine army at the battle of the Yarmuk in 636 and the Sassanian army at the battle

of Qadisiyya in 637. By eliminating the two biggest powers of the time, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Persia fell into the hands of the Muslims. Muslim expansion to both East and West continued for about another century with the later conquests of North Africa in the seventh century and Spain in 711. Thus, the Islamic expansion took place at such an astonishing pace that within a century after the death of Muhammad, Muslims started to rule over the largest Empire seen in history until that time and the pace of Muslim expansion left little time for western Christian appreciation of its nature to become very fully developed.

After around the year 750, the progress of Islamic expansion began to lose its momentum and the boundaries of the Islamic Empire, to some extent, stabilized. This was also a time when Islam in some areas expanded peacefully and on its own merits, which caused the Turkish tribes of Central Asia to accept Islam by means of the activities of Muslim traders, a number of Sufi Muslims and perhaps returning slave warriors.⁵ The newly converted Turks came to occupy a crucial role, first in the preservation of the authority of the caliph in Baghdad and then in the further expansion of the Islamic Empire.⁶ The Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century came into conflict with the Byzantine Empire and effectively drove the Byzantines out of Asia Minor apart from some coastal areas.

The main political embodiment of Christianity at the time of the Arab Muslim conquests was the Byzantine Empire. Following the Edict of Milan, Christianity, once being the faith of a persecuted minority, gradually became the established religion of the Empire. However, dissenting theological beliefs had created a divided Christendom by

⁵ Hugh Goddard, *Christians and Muslims: from double standards to mutual understanding*. (Surrey, 1995), p. 128.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

the eve of the Muslim conquests, such as the Copts in Egypt, who preferred their new masters to the doctrines imposed by Byzantium. The challenge posed by Islam was not only perceived in large-scale conversion to Islam in the newly conquered region, but continued to be felt on the margins of the Islamic Empire in military terms.⁷ With Christianity face-to-face along an extensive frontier with its formidable opponent, the crusades came into existence as a response of Christianity to the Islamic expansion that had been checked even before 1095 in Sicily and Spain. The crusades represented a 'counter-attack' against the biggest threat Christianity had seen throughout its history.⁸

There were some reasons for European counter-attack at that time. Malikshah, the last great Seljuk ruler, died in 1092, initiating the process of political fragmentation of his Empire because, Seljukid policy had allowed princes to rule whole provinces such as Kirman, Mesopotamia, Syria and Anatolia. However, this did not bring comfort to the Byzantines, who had lost most of Asia Minor to the Seljuk sultans within ten years of the battle of Manzikert. In spite of the possibility of playing off one Turkish ruler against another, Turkish hegemony was not disturbed. Huge areas in Asia Minor which had been under the rule of a Christian Empire for centuries were exposed to

⁷ Kate Zebiri, *Muslims and Christians Face to Face*. (Oxford, 1997), pp. 22-23. Lewis argues that 'It is the Arabization and Islamization of the peoples of the conquered provinces, rather than the actual military conquest itself, that is the true wonder of the Arab empire. The period of Arab political and military supremacy was very brief, and soon the Arabs were compelled to relinquish the control of the empire, and even the leadership of the civilization which they had created, to other peoples. But their language, their faith, and their law remained- and still remain- as an enduring monument of their rule.' Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East: 2000 years of history from the rise of Christianity to the present day*. (London, 1995), p. 58. The pace of Islamization and Arabization is, however, still uncertain in many areas: See Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 20-22 and 26-28.

⁸ On the origins of the crusades, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*. (Oxford, 1988), pp. 9-40.

Islamization.⁹ It was under these circumstances that Alexius Comnenus asked for troops to be sent to serve under the Byzantine army.¹⁰

Attempts to recover the lands which had been under Christian rule were not new. The Christians had already tried to recapture Sicily and Spain ever since the first Muslim conquests there. The Normans attempted to conquer northern Sicily (1061-72) very much in the style of a religiously motivated holy war. Also, the war against the Muslims in Spain had a long tradition which played an important part in the origin of the crusades. The Muslim chaos after the death of the Abd al-Malik in 1008 profited the Christian kings of the north, who pressed their own boundaries at the expense of the Muslim principalities. The capture of Toledo in 1085 by Alfonso VI became the beginning of the Christian reconquest of the peninsula.¹¹ However, neither the campaigns in Sicily nor those in Spain contained quite all the elements of what became crusades.¹² These early efforts to fight against Muslims were to familiarize Latin Christians with the idea of a sacred war against the infidel which took its final form with the crusades.

⁹ Peter Partner, *God of Battles: holy wars of Christianity and Islam*. (Princeton, 1998), p. 72.

¹⁰ Alexius (1048-1118) was emperor of the Byzantine Empire at the time of the First Crusade. After the struggle with the Italian Normans and Turks, he succeeded in founding a stronger and more effective Byzantine Empire by driving the former from western Greece; and defeating the latter in the Balkans and stopping their encroachment in Anatolia. Almost all things we know about him came from his scholarly daughter, Anna Comnena. See Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*. (London, 1969).

¹¹ Peter Partner, *God of Battles: holy wars of Christianity and Islam*, p. 68; for further information, see Peter C. Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba: Berbers and Andalusis in conflict*. (Leiden, 1994).

¹² Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 19-20, 32.

D. The Crusade Emerges

It was under these circumstances that the crusades emerged as a conflict of Muslims and Christians, but also it was more than that. It was Christians against all non-Christians. The perspective afforded by examining the anti-Jewish assaults is significant for a general understanding of aspects of the crusading experience. In promoting the First Crusade, speaking without making distinction of persons, Pope Urban II made a radical and a potentially dangerous venture into the field of popular religion which demonstrated itself in a very short time by anti-Semitic massacres.¹³ Everywhere in Europe there were popular attempts to force Christianity on the Jews, to whom the crusaders intended to offer the choice of conversion or death. Some contemporary western writers including Guibert of Nogent claimed that the crusaders thought it strange to travel to the east to fight the “enemies of God” while the Jews, whom they considered to be responsible for the death of Christ, were in their very midst:

At Rouen one day, some men who had taken the cross with the intention of leaving for the crusade began complaining among themselves. “Here we are,” they said, “going of to attack God’s enemies in the East, having to travel a tremendous distance, when there are Jews right here before our very eyes. No race is more hostile to God than they are. Our project is insane!” Having said this they armed themselves, rounded up some Jews in a church- whether by force or by ruse I don’t know- and led them out to put them to the sword regardless of age or sex. Those who agreed to submit to the Christian way of life could, however, escape the impending slaughter...¹⁴

This quotation reflects the Christians’ ideology of attacking “the others”. A dramatic reflection of religious fervour associated with the First Crusade caused a series

¹³ Partner, *God of Battles*, p. 75.

¹⁴ Guibert of Nogent, *A Monk's Confession: the memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*. (Pennsylvania, 1996), p. 111.

of devastating attacks on Jewish communities in the cities of the Rhineland, including Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Cologne and Trier, since certain crusaders regarded the papal initiative as a call to overcome all heathens and chose to begin their task with an assault on the Jews.¹⁵ Both Christian and Jewish sources say that there were many massacres committed against the Jews, despite their being protected by the ecclesiastical princes and the emperor. Although the motives of the crusaders themselves are not clear, one could argue that a prominent objective of such massacres was certainly supplies and loot which were highly necessary for a large but poorly organized and unprovisioned army on the march, and another was the acquisition of money which their threats and previous deeds enabled them to extort from Jews on their route.¹⁶

E. Islam and Christianity

In spite of the undeniable dogmatic-metaphysical similarities between Islam and Christianity, the novelty that Islam brought into the range of belief systems created two clearly distinct systems of religion providing no chance to find a way in which the two beliefs could agree and exist together. Islam definitively denies the Trinity and the Incarnation.¹⁷ It accepts Jesus as a prophet, not a God; attests the virginal conception; and it confirms the reality of the miracles of Christ. In the religion of Islam, Jesus, who preached the laws that are contained in the Gospel, remains only a man. Finally, Islam rejects the notion that Jesus was crucified, a denial that amounts to negating the

¹⁵ Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade*. (Berkeley, 1987), p. 2.

¹⁶ Therefore, Moore concludes that Jews owed their persecution in the first place not to the hatred of the people, but to the decisions of princes and prelates. R.I. Moore, *The Formation of A Persecuting Society: power and deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, p. 118, 123.

¹⁷ On the issue of monotheism, see Hans Koechler, *The Concept of Monotheism in Islam and Christianity*. (Vienna, 1982).

Christian understanding of redemption.¹⁸ The struggle for the supremacy of the one religion over the other showed itself in the attempts of Christians and Muslims to convert each other during the fight in the era of crusades. The new balance of power between the Muslim and the Christian worlds culminated in Europe's counter-offensive against the realm of Islam, which brought substantial numbers of Muslims under Christian dominance. The Islamic world did not remain long indifferent to what was going on; and after recovering from the early shock of the First Crusade it took its place in the struggle of conquest and conversion with its religious enemies.

F. Western Views of Islam

The Christian community responded to the Islamic community, when it was established in the seventh century, on the basis of an already well-established tradition of thought about other religions. This tradition relied partly on the scriptures coming from the Jewish community, the Old Testament, and partly on the tradition of Christian thought and practices.¹⁹ It was only after the expansion of the Muslim community into North Africa and Spain that western Christians started to formulate their rather different interpretation of Islam. Until that time the encounter of Christians with Muslims involved only Eastern Christians.²⁰ Before the First Crusade, the Western view of Islam might almost be called a "fantasy view of Islam": "The production of this time... belongs less to the history of Western thought about Islam than to the history of the Western

¹⁸ Roger Arnaldez, *Three Messengers for One God*. (Notre Dame, 1994), pp. 16-17.

¹⁹ Hugh Goddard, *A History of Christian-Muslim Relations*. (Chicago, 2001), p. 11.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

imagination.”²¹ As it was portrayed in the *Song of Roland* and other *chansons de geste*, Muslims were idolaters who worshipped the three gods of Mahound, Apollon and Termagent, i.e. Muhammad, Apollo and a divinity whose identity is not clear at all. This image of the Muslims worshipping three idols goes as far back as John of Damascus’s *Concerning Heresy*. In this dogmatic work, John (676-749) made one of the first apologetic studies against Islam. This shows us how old the idea of the Muslims’ three gods in Christian writings was.²² In fact, such ideas of Muslim as idolaters were generally based on earlier Byzantine polemical literature such as that of Nicetas of Byzantium which had a great impact in the constitution of the early western views of Islam. He created the most influential Byzantine anti-Islamic work, i.e. *The Refutation of the Book Forged by Moamet the Arab*. Nicetas wrote in the middle of the ninth century and concluded that the religion of Muhammad is idolatrous at bottom.²³

The importance of such literature ought not to be underestimated because it was more influential in fashioning the image of the Muslims for posterity than that found in more reliable scholarly works.²⁴ About this kind of literature, Gwyn A. William argues that “the measure of the importance of medieval history, geography, myth or fabulous travelers’ tales lies not in their empirical accuracy or error but in their capacity to be acted upon as if they were real, in their capacity to set empirical events underway. The significance of myth and literature, or even of cartography and cosmology, is that they

²¹ Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, p. 29. On the other hand, Rodinson argues that the image of Islam was not drawn simply from the Crusades, as some have maintained, but rather from the Latin Christian world’s gradually developing ideological unity, which produced a sharper image of the enemy’s features and focused the energies of the West on the Crusades. For the discussion, see Maxime Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*. (Seattle, 1987), pp. 6-7.

²² See *The Song of Roland*, translated by Glyn Burgess. (Harmondsworth, 1990), p. 140.

²³ B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European approaches towards the Muslims*. (Princeton, 1984), p. 21.

²⁴ Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*, p. 11.

cannot be read solely as a store of empirical knowledge. They are also categories of thought and understanding through which empirical encounters are expressed.”²⁵

Nevertheless, this “age of ignorance” or “lack of interest”²⁶ began to be supplemented by something much more rational from the twelfth century onward. For example, Petrus Alfonsi, a Spanish Jew converted to Christianity in 1106, presents Islam as a possible choice for an uncommitted man to make. Then, as we will see in detail later, William of Malmesbury asserted that Islam was not idolatrous or pagan, but monotheistic; and also that Muhammad was not God in Islam, but the prophet of God. Finally, sometime between 1143 and 1146 Otto of Freising wrote that it is known that the whole body of Saracens worships one God and receive the Old Testament law and the rite circumcisions. Muslims were wrong in only one crucial respect, namely in their denial that Jesus Christ was God or the Son of God and in their veneration of Muhammad as the prophet of the supreme God.²⁷

The greatest contribution to this reappraisal of Islam came from Peter the Venerable (c. 1092-1156). In order to deal effectively with the enemy, he found it appropriate to study the religion of Islam comprehensively by using its own sources. Thus, for the first time he had the Quran translated into Latin in 1143. “With this translation, the West had for the first time an instrument for the serious study of Islam.”²⁸ However, it never served as a foundation for a serious, careful study of Islam,

²⁵ Quoted from Merryl Wyn Davies, Ashis Nandy and Ziauddin Sardar, *Barbaric Others: a manifesto on western racism*. (London, 1993), p. 21.

²⁶ Southern in his book *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* uses the term ignorance to depict this era but Kedar disagrees with this idea and regards Christian lack of interest on Islam as the main problem of that era. For this discussion, see Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 25-35.

²⁷ Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, pp. 35-36.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

largely due to a total lack of interest in such an enterprise at least for the time being.²⁹ On the other hand, one might argue that the work of Peter the Venerable created a new ground for the work of such later figures as Roger Bacon (c. 1214-1292) who realized that languages had to be learnt, other beliefs had to be studied, and arguments had to be formulated in order to refute them.³⁰ Goddard concludes that Peter the Venerable's attempt to produce a more subtle and reasoned interpretation of Islam undoubtedly did not come to dominate Western thinking, but it did provide an alternative view which did have some later influence.³¹

In his book *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Richard Southern generally assumes that Christendom's greatest problem at that time was Islam. The Christian response to the general threat of Islam showed itself in the fanaticism of the Crusades and in the Reconquista of that part of Spain that had come under Islamic domination; these were the two most important areas of activity for the building up of a hostile picture of the enemy. The Old French *chansons de geste* are good sources to reflect on "the western view of Islam" as the early Middle Ages conceived it. "They have adopted for everything that pertains to the customs of their adversaries (Muslims) a series of conventions so palpably false that we find difficulty in believing that they ever could have been accepted as truthful representations of the people of Islam."³² The fact remains, however, that they were occasionally so accepted by Christian chroniclers that we need to take them into account and to try to understand any subtle meanings behind their uttering.

²⁹ Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*, p. 15.

³⁰ Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, pp. 57-58.

³¹ Goddard, *A History of Christian-Muslim Relations*, p. 96.

³² C. Meredith Jones. "The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste." *Speculum* Vol. 17. (Apr. 1942), p. 201.

What is really important here is that there was a drastic change now in the understanding of Islam in the western world. The big discrepancy between oriental and occidental Christians in terms of contact with the religion of Islam had faded away by the latter part of the eleventh century.³³ Before that date, it was only the Byzantine Empire which had been relatively close to the Islamic frontier and its political and economical vigour. By initiating counter-attacks first in Sicily and then Spain and finally in the Holy Land, Western Europe now needed to face Islamic states with whom it primarily had had only a number of relatively narrow and discontinuous fronts. Proximity to the Muslim world did not necessarily guarantee a true view of Islam, because pre-existing ideas about Islam might have been more dominant factors than the opportunity for the close contact with Muslims themselves.³⁴ But, all in all, “the total amount of interest in, and knowledge about, the Saracens was undoubtedly larger in the twelfth than in any preceding century”³⁵ and the stance towards the Islamic world took a new form, not immediately but gradually thereafter.

When we take into consideration the primary sources on the western views of Islam before the European counter-attacks, we realize that “ideas about Muhammad and his teachings came more from literary sources than from the actual observations of the Muslim people.”³⁶ The historical accuracy of these literary sources is highly questionable but what is important here is that, as far as their audiences were concerned, it mattered little if the Muslims were represented in the poems accurately, since western

³³ Rodinson argues that “the image of Islam arose, not so much as some have said from the Crusades, as from the slowly welded ideological unity of the Latin Christian world, which led both to a clearer view of the enemy’s features and also to a channeling of effort towards the Crusades.” For the discussion, see Maxime Rodinson. “The Western Image and Western Studies of Islam” In *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. by Joseph Schacht and C.E. Bosworth. (Oxford, 1974), pp. 10-11.

³⁴ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 90.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

³⁶ Jones. “The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste.”, p. 202.

Christians believed them to be so. For that matter, their point of departure was not to define the Muslims for their own sake, but to depict the Muslims as an abominable people who had spent their lives in hating and mocking Christ and in destroying His churches.

This attitude in the writing of western writers changed drastically in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades because now, after all, the Western Christians had the opportunities to learn about the Muslims at the first hand. The chroniclers now living in a new environment had a new experience which allowed them to observe the Islamic world. “Since the wars were intermittent and long-drawn-out, settlers in conquered territory had peaceful contacts with the enemy: it is always an eye-opener to discover that one’s enemies are people and not devils.”³⁷ The writers of the chansons wrote in a context in which nothing prompted questioning the attitude towards Islam, which had been based on hate, a deliberately false propaganda. On the other hand, in almost all of the chronicles of the crusades, we come across the expression of admiration for Muslim bravery and fidelity. Of course, the religious difference remained. “If only they [the Muslims] stood firm in the faith of Christ and holy Christendom, and had been willing to accept One God in Three Persons, had believed rightly and faithfully that the Son of God was born of a virgin mother, that he suffered, and rose from the dead....”, They would become truly worthy with their skill, prowess and courage.³⁸ However, this did not prevent positive statements. It is a fact that the chroniclers of the crusades were more

³⁷ Beryl Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages*. (London, 1974), p. 122.

³⁸ *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*. (Oxford, 2002), p. 21.

daring, perhaps since authority functioned more weakly in a border area, which allowed them to create a better picture of Muslims.³⁹

G. The *Gesta Francorum* and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*

From such a starting point, first I would like to introduce the accounts of the First and Third Crusades that I have used. Not only are they various and multiple, but also they offer historians the opportunity to do much research on the subject of the crusades, especially when looked at in relation to their specific date of creation. While preparing this thesis, I used most of these accounts to a varying degree. However, for the sake of the brevity that is essential for a master thesis, I have had to be selective about what to concentrate on. Thus, two main sources predominate in this study, the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, the former concerning the First Crusade and the latter the Third Crusade. I have important reasons to put them in a central position. Not only were they the earliest sources of their representative crusades, but also they were two of the most elaborate sources. It is beyond doubt that the *Gesta Francorum* and *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* were the most influential sources for the events of the crusades in the years which immediately followed them. As an accepted practice of the times, and thinking to show respect to earlier authors rather than with any notion of stealing their works, chroniclers writing after these two accounts of the crusades made full use of the texts of the *Gesta*

³⁹ Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages*, p. 123.

*Francorum*⁴⁰ and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*. Although the other sources have their own interest, it is a prerequisite for understanding the intentions of later chroniclers to examine the *Gesta* and the *Itinerarium* first.

The *Gesta Francorum* begins with the Council of Clermont in November 1095 and then describes the subsequent events up to the Battle of Ascalon in August in 1099. It consists of ten books of which the first nine seem to have been written before the author whose name we do not know. In this study, I shall generally focus on these first nine books, which is believed to be written by one anonymous author. The tenth book, the longest one, which takes the story from Jerusalem up to the battle of Ascalon, does not give the same prominence to Bohemond as the earlier books do. In fact, we do not know the exact date of its production, but it seems that the *Gesta* cannot have been later than 1105 and might well have been produced very soon after the crusade came to an end.⁴¹ Its importance lies not only because it was written shortly after the events of the First Crusade, but also because it was probably the earliest produced eyewitness account of the crusade.⁴² The name of the author is unknown, but we know from what he reveals in his own book that he was a member of the crusading army under the leadership of Bohemond of Taranto and that eventually he was driven to join the forces of Count Raymond of Toulouse. What makes him more important when compared with his contemporaries, including Raymond of Agiles⁴³ and Fulcher of Chartres,⁴⁴ is his

⁴⁰ In the introduction of her book the *Gesta Francorum*, Hill supports the idea that the *Gesta* is the source from which nearly all the other historians of the First Crusade have borrowed. Rosalind Hill's translation of the *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. X.

⁴¹ Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*. (Aldershot, 2005), p. 13.

⁴² "The repeated use of the first person ("nos" and "nostri") and the details given suggest very strongly that the author was an eyewitness to the crusade." Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴³ As an eyewitness of the events of the First Crusade, he is one of the most important chroniclers of the First Crusade. It shares with the *Gesta Francorum* the privileges of being written shortly after the events of the crusade and of being a first-hand account. Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 12.

detailed account and original style.⁴⁵ Raymond of Agiles mostly describes some visions and miracles of the crusaders - for instance the discovering of the Holy Lance by Peter Bartholomew, which has induced some modern historians not to take his work very seriously. The *Gesta Francorum*, however, has a rather 'rustic and unpolished style' which has stood the test of time far better than the more complicated ones.⁴⁶ On the other hand, like Raymond of Agiles, Fulcher of Chartres was a chaplain who was closer to traditional Latin ecclesiastical historiography in many respects. But this was a time when laymen had started to compose that was not simply vernacular epic or the *chansons de geste*. As a lay history of the time by someone who did not belong to the inner circle of leaders, in my opinion, the *Gesta Francorum* deserves much more attention than the others.⁴⁷ The author of the *Gesta* was also interested in the ordering of battles and techniques of siege-craft that the average clerical writer was not, and that might be more useful for the purpose of this study, to identify Muslim groups from the crusaders' point of view.

The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* starts with the fall of the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 and continues with the subsequent expeditions to recover it, led by the Emperor Frederick I, King Philip II of France and King Richard I of England. This is not only the most comprehensive account of the Third Crusade, but also

⁴⁴ He was the best educated of the Latin chroniclers and the most reliable. Though devoted to Baldwin, his outlook was remarkably objective. Fulcher's chronicle is composed of three books, which were written in 1101, 1106 and 1124-7. His work, *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Peregrinantium*, was much used by subsequent chroniclers, including Bartolf of Nangis, William of Malmesbury, Richard of Poitiers and Sicard of Cremona. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I. (Harmondsworth, 1981), p. 329.

⁴⁵ For further information about the *Gesta Francorum*, see *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, Rosalind Hill (ed. and trans.), pp. ix-xvi.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

⁴⁷ Smalley gives a good example of this distinct trend. 'The contrast with conventional histories strikes us at the very beginning. The Anonymous dispenses with a prologue and plunges straight into his story. He did not know or chose to ignore that an author was supposed to apologize for writing at all, for writing inadequately and for giving offence by his truthfulness.' Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages*, p. 132.

much of the account is from eyewitness sources and provides vivid and colourful details of the great campaigns. Being a compilation, it is difficult to give an answer to the question of when the *Itinerarium* was written. The earliest text, called “IP1” by Hans Mayer, was probably written by an English Templar chaplain in Tyre.⁴⁸ According to Mayer, IP1 was started after 1 August 1191 but ended before the final treaty which ended the crusade on 2 September 1192, because the writer knew that the siege of Acre continued for two years, yet he did not know that the crusade would fail to take Jerusalem.⁴⁹ The book that I will mainly deal with in this study is this earliest text, IP1.

Other accounts of the Third Crusade differ in style and content from the *Itinerarium*. For example, Ambroise’s *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*,⁵⁰ which was written from the perspective of an eyewitness in a highly-polished rhetorical style, seems less valuable when compared with the *Itinerarium*, of which it makes use that provides elaborate data on the crusade. The chronicle of Richard of Devizes⁵¹ is another example having the same problem. Although he does provide details of King Richard’s arrival at Acre and the fall of the city, his account of the rest of the events of the crusade has large gaps.⁵²

⁴⁸ For further information on IP1, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum: eine zeitgenössische englische chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher gestalt*. (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 52-102.

⁴⁹ Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Ricardi*. (Aldershot, 1997), p. 9. Also for further information about the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, see pp. 1-17.

⁵⁰ One of the best-known chroniclers of the Third Crusade. Almost nothing is known about the author of the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* except for some suggestions including that he might have been a cleric, at least in minor orders, and a man of some education. The *Estoire* seems to have been written towards the end of the twelfth century. It is thought that this work must have been finished after Richard’s release from captivity in 1199. For further information on the author, see the introduction of the book *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise’s Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*. (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 1-3.

⁵¹ Richard of Devizes seems to have drawn on an eyewitness who had accompanied the crusade as far as Sicily and then returned with Queen Eleanor and the archbishop of Rouen.

⁵² For further information about the sources on the Third Crusade, See the introduction of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 2-5.

CHAPTER 1

THE TERMS USED FOR MUSLIMS

A. The Question of “Identity” and “Group Identity” in the Middle Ages

Although most people who encounter terms such as identity, group identity, ethnic, groups, nations or religious groups believe that they know, at least roughly, what these terms mean, the terms are in fact slippery and difficult to define. The confusion is not limited to the readers of the mass media: they are difficult terms for the academic world as well. Exact definition of these terms remains as elusive as ever. For example, each scholar defines an ethnic group by either emphasizing its distinct characteristic or labelling it quite differently. Farley labels an ethnic group as “a group of people who are generally recognized by themselves and/or by others as a distinct group, with such recognition based on social or cultural characteristics.”⁵³ The core of this argument relying on a social or cultural characteristic of a group obviously allows a considerable range of possibilities within it. On the other hand, some put emphasis on either culture or national origin as the essence of ethnicity, defining an ethnic group as “a group people socially distinguished or set apart, by others or by itself, primarily on the basis of cultural or national origin characteristics.”⁵⁴ Yet, again both culture and national origin are themselves slippery terms, having vague meanings that need to be expelled from the definition of ethnicity. Another scholar definition accepts combining shared history and

⁵³ John E. Farley, *Majority-Minority Relations*. (Englewood Cliffs, 1995), p. 6.

⁵⁴ Joe R. Feagin and Clairece Booth Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations*. (Englewood Cliffs, 2003), p. 11.

shared present practices as defining the characteristics of an ethnic group: “When a subpopulation of individuals reveals, or is perceived to reveal, shared historical experiences as well as unique organizational, behavioural, and cultural characteristics, it exhibits its ethnicity.”⁵⁵ Also, while distinguishing ourselves from others, what the latter thinks about us can be as important as our own classification of ourselves or others. In Zora Neale Hurston's ‘Their Eyes Were Watching God’, for example, one black child was reared by white parents and the child considered herself as white and only the outsiders’ discrimination made her feel black.⁵⁶ Therefore, “the identity that others assign to us can be a powerful force in shaping our own self-concepts.”⁵⁷ In short, as can be observed from the previous quotations, it is quite unlikely that one definition of ethnicity will please everyone without raising any doubts about such terms, or that we can escape the ambiguities that seem an unavoidable side of studying them.⁵⁸

The question of “identity” and “group identity” in the Middle Ages is even harder to define. As I pointed out above, my sources relate especially to the role of ‘defining others’ in the process of identity formation, but it is more complicated than it seems. That is, the chroniclers do not identify a single ‘other’ with the intention of defining themselves in the manner modern ethnologist or sociologist would perhaps like. After all, they discriminated between different groups in the Holy Land and even between different Muslim groups in the Holy Land, and thus the chroniclers create

⁵⁵ Adalberto Aguirre, *American Ethnicity: the dynamics and consequences of discrimination*. (New York, 1995), pp. 2-3.

⁵⁶ Quoted from John Lie, *Modern Peoplehood*. (Cambridge, 2004), p. 241.

⁵⁷ Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race: making identities in a changing world*. (London, 1998), p. 20.

⁵⁸ For further discussion on the term ethnicity, see *ibid.*, pp. 15-20.

‘multiple others’ and not a single one. Therefore, to some extent they were clearly defining the others (the Muslims) for their own sake.

The sources’ different ways of identifying groups have forced me to investigate this topic under two different categories: religious and ethnic terms. Religion as an identifier generally but not necessarily, refers to Muslims and therefore it is closer to being an identifier of a group that is not “we”, defining in a sense “what we are not”. On the other hand, ethnicity as a method of definition used by the chroniclers to a much larger degree defines the others for their own sake.

What complicates this story even further is that as historical descriptions, these terms might possess multiple meanings. Namely, people who are using identical terms in two even slightly different periods do not necessarily mean to refer to exactly the same thing or to refer to it with the same connotations, though there would frequently be some connection. For example, the term *Janissary* which was used for soldiers in an elite Ottoman guard organized in the fourteenth century and abolished in 1826 did not refer to the same group of people from the beginning to the end.⁵⁹ It was initially formed of people from non-Muslim origin, in particular Christian youths and prisoners of war, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the ranks of the Janissaries had become so swollen with Muslim-born “intruders” that frequent recruitments by *devshirme* were no longer necessary.⁶⁰ As a group it carried some similarities over time, but no one can argue that the group of people referred to by the term Janissary in the fourteenth century was the same as that of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

⁵⁹ For further information about the Janissary, see Godfrey Goodwin, *Janissaries*; and David Nicolle, *Janissary*. (London, 1994).

⁶⁰ Devshirme was the system used by the Ottoman sultans to tax newly conquered states, and build a loyal slave army and class of administrators: the Janissaries. See P. J. Bearman, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, “Devshirme”. (Leiden, 1991).

Secondly, a single group-term might be used in two different time periods for a single group, i.e. a group that is granted some genuine historical continuity, but the term might nevertheless have different connotations in the different periods. The identity of Turkmen was given to the original Ottoman family in the history of Aşık Paşazade.⁶¹ However, “Turks in standard Ottoman usage came to refer not to the Ottoman proprietors of the state, but to the Anatolian tribesmen who had to be kept out of it” and therefore the Ottomans subsequently abstained from the usage of the names of Turk and Turkmen when labelling their origin.⁶² Only after the *Tanzimat Era* did the Ottoman dynasty start to be labelled again as a Turkish dynasty, when the word Turk was no longer a derogatory term.⁶³

Lastly, two different group-terms might be used for the same group, either in the same time period or in different time periods, but the two group-terms might again have different connotations. Again in the Ottoman Empire, the terms *dhimma* and *kafir* were used for non-Muslim subjects. While the former was used to designate those with the sort of indefinitely renewed contract through which the Muslim community accorded hospitality and protection to members of *Ahl al-Kitab* (a People of the Book),⁶⁴ the latter labelled the same groups as unbelievers or infidels, sometimes heretical or even apostate.⁶⁵ On balance, as historical descriptions, such multiple meanings in the use of ethnic terms present an important issue to historians in the study of the ethnic groups,

⁶¹ While talking about the reasons for Süleymanşah’s (grandfather of Osman Gazi) immigration to Anatolia, Aşık Paşazade claims that “having fears of nomad Turks, Persians united and compelled them to migrate into Anatolia.” Paşazade goes on to claim that Süleymanşah Gazi was an important figure among these nomad Turks.’ Aşıkpaşazade, *Asikpaşaoğlu Tarihi*. (Ankara, 1985), p. 6.

⁶² M.A. Cook, *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730*. (Cambridge, 1976), p. 2.

⁶³ For further information on Turkish nationalism and the Ottoman Empire, see Charles Warren Hostler, *The Turks of Central Asia*. (Westport, 1993), pp. 76-78.

⁶⁴ P. J. Bearman, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, “Dhimma”.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, “Kafir”.

which requires us not only to be cautious about what chroniclers really refer to while using such terms in their works, but also about what these terms' special meanings might be in the time when they were used.

Despite their varied origins and connotations, the terms that I shall analyze below generally though not always, refer to people who were Muslims. However, the western crusader accounts that I use in this thesis never use the term Muslim, Mohammedan or Islam while talking about them.⁶⁶ The only account that does use the term 'Muslim' emanates not from a western writer but from a Byzantine one, though curiously there it is contrasted to Roman, not to Christian — in other words, it is stressing the political entities.⁶⁷

B. The Terms Used for Muslims

Before going into details, one should be aware of the fact that terms such as pagan, gentile, Turk, Saracen, Arab and Kurd, I employed in this study, sometimes have rather vague meanings. This becomes clear when authors start to describe Muslims using one term and then after a while, prefer to use another term for the same group of people without caring much about what this term may really refer to.

[Duke Godfrey]...looked for Saracens to fight... [Many knights and foot-soldiers summoned by Godfrey] came along the coast towards Ramleh, where they found many Arabs who had been sent as scouts before the main army. Our men chased

⁶⁶ Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: the making of image*. (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 25.

⁶⁷ After Constantine Gabras' success against the barbarians, Anna Comnena talks about a peace between the Byzantine emperor and the Sultan; and here for her father she says "...for a long time he had longed to see peace established between Roman and Muslim [Μουσουλμάνος]." Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, p. 447; for the Greek version, see Anna Comnena, *Alexiadis: libri x-xv*. (Bonn, 1839), p. 269.

them...who gave us a full report as to where their army was, and its numbers, and where it was planning to fight with the Christians.⁶⁸

The army the author mentions was the army of the Egyptians, under the command of Al-Afdal.⁶⁹ At the beginning of this quotation, it is said that Godfrey was going to fight look for an army of “Saracens” and there is no particular reason to think that the army Godfrey found was composed exclusively of Arabs. Here, however the author then used the term “Arab” instead of “Saracen” without taking into account what he had previously said about the ethnicity of this army. In the following pages, while narrating the story of the capture of the bishop of Martino by the Muslim army, the chronicler again refers to the same army as the army of Saracens; and immediately after that he talks about the Arabs, who attacked the Christians, and lost two of their men before returning to their own army. There is no reason to imagine a Muslim army whose Arab members only used to fight against the Crusaders, while the rest took no part in this struggle. Otherwise, we ought to accept that the only brave people in the Muslim army were the Arabs because whenever a skirmish took place with the Muslims this chronicler preferred the term Arab for the Muslim army. This is not a reasonable argument, because we have no other example proving that the Arabs took such a dominant part in the fighting and became a pioneer force to be used against the Christians. Thus, we can conclude that those the authors who name Arabs or Saracen in

⁶⁸ *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 93.

⁶⁹ He was a Muslim Armenian vizier of the Fatimid caliphs and commander-in-chief of the Fatimid forces in Egypt. He had profited by the diversion caused by the Frankish attack in Syria to capture Jerusalem from the Turkish house of Ortuq in July 1098. After a while, however, the city remained under the threat of capture by the crusaders. Al-Afdal marched out of Cairo to rescue Jerusalem from falling into the hands of the crusaders but he neither did not succeed in reaching Jerusalem on time nor did he win the war the Battle of Ascalon took place after the conquest of the Holy City by Godfrey of Bouillon. Even if he marched out every year to retake Jerusalem, it remained under the Crusaders' hand until the arrival of Saladin. See Seta B. Dadoyan, *The Fatimid Armenians: cultural and political interaction in the Near East*. (New York, 1997), pp. 127-143.

the army of the Egyptians were referring to one and the same, and they used the terms without much caring to whom they might refer.

There are other examples of this confusion in the accounts of the Third Crusade, too. For instance, while mentioning King Richard's persistence in killing Turks, the author of the *Itinerarium* states that Richard pursued the Turks tirelessly and persistently and he succeeded in carrying back many heads of his enemies and bringing back captives alive. But then, the author concludes by stating "never in Christian times were so many Saracens destroyed by one person."⁷⁰ Again in the same chronicle, the people who kept watch from the mountains on all the Christian movements were referred as the "Turkish race"; yet when the Christian army came to a narrow place, the chronicler says "Saracens suddenly rushed down on the carter and loaded carts, taking the people unawares, killing them and their horses and plundering a great deal of the baggage."⁷¹ There is no reason to suppose here that while the "Turkish race" kept watch over the Christians, the "Saracens" only fought with them when the Christians were spread out in a thin line and in disorder.

Sometimes even the chroniclers can use one term in a meaning which is either completely distorted or given quite a different sense from reality. This ambiguity in the use of the terms sometimes can be seen in a rather different manner from the previous examples. In answer to the crusaders' attempts to Christianize Muslims, Kerbogha, identified as a Turk, says intentionally that "Do you want to know our answer? Then go back as fast as you [Christian envoys] can, and tell your leaders that if they will all become Turks and renounce the god whom you worship on bended knee...we will give

⁷⁰ Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 309.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.

them this land...”⁷² The word Turk is used here in the general sense of being rather than specifically Turkish Muslim.

As we see here and in other examples, these terms were used in a rather vague manner without paying much attention to the reality, a tendency I shall identify throughout this thesis. However, it is an obvious fact that the chronicles approached the in a changing manner, using different terms in different ways at different times and here I will try to show these differences, with the possible reasons behind them. Therefore, in my opinion, a single example that may be extracted from the sources I have used or those in other sources does not change the general picture of my conclusion. Some terms referring to particular groups of people living in the Muslim society either lost their previous meanings or gained a different sense between the First and Third Crusades. By taking this into consideration, I shall attempt to understand the chroniclers’ way of thinking about Muslims.

Before going into the details of this study, I think it is necessary to give the terms current for groups of Muslims used by the western chroniclers when they created their accounts of them. There are quite a variety of terms presented in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades, such as “Saracens”, “gentiles”, “heretics”, “Turks”, “Mamluks”, “enemies of Christ”, “Medes”,⁷³ “Bedouins”, “Turcopoli”,⁷⁴ “abominable men”, “Agulani”,⁷⁵ “heathen barbarian”, “Assyrians”, “Azymites”,⁷⁶ “pagans”, “Arabs”,

⁷² *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 67.

⁷³ A member of an Iranian people closely related to the Persians, inhabiting ancient Media.

⁷⁴ Professional Turkish mercenaries recruited by the Emperor Alexius at the time of the First Crusade.

⁷⁵ Unexplained, put possibly the Caucasian Albanians (Aghovanians). The anonymous writer of the *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* shows in the part of “Kerbogha’s Attack” how they were recruited by Kherbogha and how they were unique in their fighting style from the rest of Muslim groups. “The Agulani were three thousand in number and feared neither lances, arrows, nor any kind of arms, because they and all their horses were fitted with iron all around, and they refused to carry any arms except swords into battle. All of these came to the siege of Antioch to disperse the gathering of Franks.”

“hated people”, “Kurds”, “Negroes”, “Parthian”,⁷⁷ “Persian”, “Pecheneg”,⁷⁸ and “Egyptian”.

We can roughly classify these terms into two different groups. Firstly, there are those which emphasize religious or moral components: “gentiles”, “pagans”, “heretics”, “enemies of Christ”, “hated people”, “abominable men”, “heathen” and “barbarian”. Secondly, there are those that have some ethnic component: “Turks”, “Arabs”, “Kurds”, “Saracens”, “Bedouins”, “Negroes”, “Persians”, “Mamluks”, “Assyrians”, “Turcoples”, “Pechenegs”, “Agulanes”, “Medes”, “Parthians”, and “Egyptians”. The first group might say more about how the chroniclers saw Muslims as a religious group. The second group can be thought of as a classification of the Muslims based on ‘ethnicity.’ What this might mean in accounts of the crusade will be discussed later in detail. In this study, on the one hand I shall investigate particularly the terms pagan and gentile, and on the one hand and Turk, Saracen, Arab, and Kurd.⁷⁹ This is partly for the

August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: the accounts of eyewitnesses and participants*. (Princeton, 1921), p. 163. I suppose, the term Agulani might be a corruption of “al- Guhlami” means boy slave.

⁷⁶ It should be written as Azymites a word coming from Greek: a privative, and zyme, leaven. It is a term of reproach used by the Orthodox churches since the eleventh century against the Latin churches, who, together with the Armenians and the Maronites, celebrate the Eucharist with unleavened bread. Interestingly enough, this term here was used neither for Latins nor any other Christians, but for Muslims in order just to give voice to the chroniclers’ indignation against Muslims. As it occur in *Gesta Francorum*, it was sometimes used to refer to the Armenians, but the importance of using this term here is to show how they were like Muslims because they helped Muslims in their fight against Christendom, as far as the chroniclers were concerned. Therefore, either for the terms Publicans or Azymites, we can not always say which ethnic groups they particularly referred to; neither did they intend to say who Publicans or Azymites really are. They were just Muslim supporters or the people (who one way or another helped them) they loathed.

⁷⁷ Another terms used for the Persians.

⁷⁸ Pechenegs or Patzinaks, also known as Besenyök, were a semi-nomadic steppe people of Central Asia who spoke a Turkic language. The Pechenegs, who settled between the Dnieper and the Don, were kept as allies by Byzantium who used them to fend off the more dangerous tribes like the Varangian Rus and Magyars. By the end of the eleventh century, they had been Christianized. For more information, see Hüseyin Namık Orkun, *Peçenekler*. (Istanbul, 1933).

⁷⁹ The ethnic groups in Muslim army were so various that even the chroniclers refrained from giving their names. “[Saladin’s] army contained such a number of people, such dissimilar races with such diverse religious observances that if we were to describe them as fully as the law of history demands the length of the description would defeat our intention of brevity.” Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 30. On the other hand, we should bear in mind that such kind of expression often

sake of brevity but also because these are the more important terms, both to the chroniclers and also because my sources do not allow me to investigate all the terms separately in a comprehensible manner.⁸⁰ The other terms that I have mentioned above will not be central to my study, though some may deserve further attention, and they may be used sometimes to supplement my arguments.

encountered in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades is a way of expressing the innumerable size of the enemies.

⁸⁰ The crusade accounts made such a distinction in terms of the most important group-names. ‘When our men saw the enemy army face-to-face, they wondered where in the world such an infinite number of people had come from. Turks, Arabs and Saracens stood out among the others, both in number and in nobility; there was a smaller number of auxiliaries and people from less illustrious nations.’ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*. (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 66.

CHAPTER 2

RELIGIOUS TERMS

A. The Question of Religion as an Identifier

My first classification of the terms used for Muslims by the western writers contains terms that have religious or moral components. Under this classification, I shall not investigate all of the terms having such meanings, but I chose only two terms, i.e. pagan and gentile. Before talking about them in detail, it is worth raising more general question about religion as an identifier during the First and Third Crusades. What might religion as an identifier of others tell us about the religious identity of the chroniclers and to what extent do religious identifiers point to “peoples” or “ethnicities”?

The Western world cannot be regarded as a unified entity under terms such as “Europe” or “European” in the medieval period.⁸¹ What distinguished the Middle Ages in the West from earlier and later periods of history was the identification of the church with the whole of organized society.⁸² Bartlett concludes that the vast majority of Europeans in the thirteenth century thought of themselves as Christians: “Medieval Europe was thus a society of the baptized.”⁸³ After claiming how much the crusaders were divided in terms of their distinct languages, Fulcher of Chartres supports this idea

⁸¹ For the discussion about the “identity of Europe” in the medieval world, see Robert Bartlett. “Patterns of Unity and Diversity in Medieval Europe” In *The Birth of Identities: Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages*. (Copenhagen, 1996), pp. 29-42.

⁸² R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*. (London, 1970), p. 16.

⁸³ Bartlett. “Patterns of Unity and Diversity in Medieval Europe”, p. 36.

by saying that “But we who were diverse in languages, nevertheless seemed to be brothers in the love of God and very close to being one mind.”⁸⁴ Such arguments indicate that western Christians in the medieval period regarded religion as an identifier of themselves. It was a society where the religion played such an important role, which accented the unity of the people and therefore which must have accented the divergence of the others, Muslims. If this is the case, can we assert the same for the others, i.e. the Muslims?

To depict the existence of two divided and fighting worlds, the cross and the crescent, at the time of the crusades was a very common tendency in the minds of people. “Each faith sees the other as militant, somewhat barbaric and fanatical in its religious zeal, determined to conquer, convert or eradicate the other, and thus an obstacle and threat to the realization of God’s will.”⁸⁵ After all, at Clermont in 1095 Urban II encouraged his people to offer their powerful aid to their Byzantine brethren in the name of Christ.

However, this was a fictional unity rather than a real one, because neither the Muslims nor the Christians succeeded in uniting themselves under single respective doctrines in the medieval period. To take one example, the Islamic world was already divided between two struggling sects, Sunni and Shiite. In spite of both being very tolerant of non-Muslims, whether Christians or Jews, neither Sunni Muslims nor Shiites could tolerate one another in the crusading period.⁸⁶ On the other hand, several viziers in the Fatimid State were Christians, or former Christians (notably Armenians) who had

⁸⁴ Edward Peters, *The First Crusade: the Chronicle Of Fulcher of Chartres and other source materials.* (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 49.

⁸⁵ John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: myth or reality?* (Oxford, 1992), P. 42.

⁸⁶ Robert Mantran. “Islam Dethroned” In *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Middle Ages II, 950-1250.* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 453.

converted to Islam. “There were opportunities of certain sectors of the Egyptian population other than Sunni Muslims to work with government authorities.”⁸⁷ Furthermore, the crusades proved that Egyptians were ready to ally with anyone including Christians, against their Sunni rivals. By the same token, the Seljuks, who were Sunni Muslims, conceived of Orthodox Islam as a fundamental element of the state and fought hard against the Shiites throughout its history.

This lack of harmony in belief system was not unfamiliar to the Christian world. The Latins’ encounter with the Byzantines aroused both political and cultural hostility on each side, which had already worsened with the Great Schism in 1054 and, when the Latin states, were created, the Christian Arabs, who were treated without respect by the Latin Church, showed no loyalty towards Franks.⁸⁸

If we cannot claim the existence of a united religion as an identifier either for Christians or for Muslims, to what extent should Islam or Christianity be seen as an identifier of “peoples” or “ethnicities” in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades? By looking at the terms that have religious or moral components, it seems hardly possible to determine who these terms really referred to. The chroniclers did not make a distinction between the Sunni or the Shiite Muslims in their use of such terms. For example, in one account of the Third Crusade the author used the term pagan for both Sunni and Shiite members of the Islamic faith without making any distinction among them.⁸⁹ “Saladin thereupon sent throughout his kingdom of Egypt and Damascus and all

⁸⁷ Mantran, “Islam Dethroned,” p. 452.

⁸⁸ Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*. (London, 1979), p. 116.

⁸⁹ See also *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, pp. 49, 95.

the other parts of the pagan world commanding his men to come to him.”⁹⁰ On the other hand, the relation between the crusaders and the Assassins denies also the assumption that the chroniclers thought of Muslims as a whole.⁹¹ The important thing here is that religion as an identifier does not go beyond describing an enemy by means of labelling them inferior, heretical, fanatical or irrational. For that matter, the terms that have religious or moral components could refer to any one, even an adherent of Christianity, as we shall see in the following pages.

B. Pagan

The word pagan comes from the Latin word *paganus-paganum*, in classical Latin meaning “villager, rustic, civilian,” from *pagus* meaning “rural district.” The religious sense of the word is often said to derive from conservative rural adherence to the old gods after the Christianization of Roman towns and cities, but its meaning evolved by the fourth century to include all non-Christians.⁹² There are many definitions of the term pagan throughout history. For the time period I am dealing with, the chroniclers sometimes intended to use it as indicating followers of a polytheistic religion, even while referring to Muslims, because of the common Christian misconception of, or slur

⁹⁰ William of Tyre “The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1099-1187” In *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade : sources in translation* collected by Peter W. Edbury, p. 81.

⁹¹ The German chronicler Arnold of Lübeck, for example, says that ‘this Old Man has by his witchcraft so bemused the men of his country that they neither worship nor believe in any God but himself.’ Quoted from Bernard Lewis, *The Assassin: a radical sect in Islam*. (London, 1985), p. 4. Their strange belief, their terrible methods, and their redoubtable chief compel the chroniclers to think of them as a separate entity among Muslims.

⁹² Marcel Le Glay, Jean-Louis Voisin and Yann Le Bohec, *A History of Rome*. (Malden, 2001), pp. 457-460.

on, Islam as a polytheistic religion.⁹³ We have seen above, the “western imagination of Islam” accepted that Muslims were idolaters who worshipped the three gods.⁹⁴

This supposition of idolatry in Islam showed itself clearly in many accounts of the First Crusade. For example, the anonymous author of the *Gesta* always assumes the followers of the Islam to be polytheists, as when he claims that “[Kerbogha]⁹⁵ swears to [the khalif our pope and the lord sultan our king and that most valiant warrior, and to all the most gallant knights of Khorosan] by Mohammad and by all the names of our gods, I will not appear again before your face until I have conquered.” The author claims again that after the defeat at Antioch, Kerbogha said “I swear by Mohammed and by the glory of all the gods that I will never raise another army, because I have been defeated by a strange people [Christians].”⁹⁶ Furthermore, the author of the *Historia Peregrinorum* recounted how the First Crusade had found an idol of Mohammed at the Dome of the Rock after capturing Jerusalem. In Raymond d’Aguliers’ version of the siege of Jerusalem, Christians saw their success in Jerusalem as a victory against pagans. “This, I say, marks justification of all Christianity, the humiliation of paganism and the justification of all Christianity, the humiliation of paganism and the renewal of our faith.”⁹⁷

⁹³ Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 40.

⁹⁴ See pp. 9-10.

⁹⁵ As the Atabeg of Mosul during the First Crusade, Kerbogha gathered his troops and marched to relieve Antioch after hearing of the siege of the city by the Crusaders. He was the first commander to be sent by the sultan in an attempt to stamp out the crusade. His intervention was therefore far more dangerous than anything the crusaders had experienced hitherto, because it was backed up by the sultanate and caliphate. By the time he arrived on July 7, however, the Crusaders had already been in possession of the city for four days and Kerbogha could not succeed in restoring the city to Muslims. For an account of Kerbogha and his expedition, see *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, Rosalind Hill (ed. and trans.), pp. xxxi-xxxiv; and Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* Vol. I, pp. 230-233, 246-249.

⁹⁶ *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, pp. 52. 96-97.

⁹⁷ Peters, *The First Crusade*, p. 214.

On the other hand, the term pagan does not allow us to identify which particular group(s) the chroniclers were talking about. To take an example, we come across passages in the *Deeds of God Through the Franks* where the term pagan is used interchangeably with other terms such as Turk and Saracen. “The Turks who were guarding the citadel made a sudden attack on our men, trapping three of our knights...Then the pagans [the Turks] stormed out of the citadel against our men with such force that they were unable to resist...while the Turks themselves had shattered three spears in their hands.” By the same token, Guibert of Nogent says that “When the Saracens saw the Franks breaching the walls, they quickly fled over the walls and through the city...The Franks chased the fleeing pagans [the Saracens] fiercely, killing everyone they came upon...”⁹⁸ The point that needs to be made here is that the term pagan was used to describe Muslims including Turks, Saracens and Arabs. Moreover, it is difficult to make a distinction between Muslims, Jacobites, Armenians, Copts etc. by just looking at the term pagan, as it was from time to time used to refer to all these different groups. “...So Karbuqa collected an immense force of pagans, Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Paulicians,⁹⁹ Azymites, Kurds, Persians, Agulani and many other people who

⁹⁸ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, pp. 102, 130.

⁹⁹ The word Paulician or Publican does not necessarily refer to a particular ethnic group in this case. The name Publican is derived from the Latin word *publicanus* a man who did public duty, especially someone who collected tax. People detested these publicans not only on account of their frequent abuses and tyrannical spirit, but because the very taxes they were forced to collect. Then, the word was associated with the idea of oppression and injustice and the publicans were classed by the people with harlots, usurers, gamblers, thieves, and dishonest herdsmen, who lived hard, lawless lives. They were just "licensed robbers" and "beasts in human shape." The idea here comes from the Biblical exegesis. See the call of Matthew (Levi) and his reception in honor of Jesus (Mark 2:13-17; Matt. 9:9-13; Luke 5:27-37). On the other hand, this word also expressed in the *Gesta Francorum* where it should correctly mean followers of the heresiarch Paul of Samosata. But it is fact that the anonymous author of *Gesta* had no specialized knowledge of heresies, and the words to denote heretics in general. Therefore, for the sake of my study we can say that the chroniclers used this term just to show their hate of these people who were possibly Christian heretics, and surely more important was that they were fighting on the Muslim side. For further information about Paulicianism, see Harry J. Magoulias, *Byzantine Christianity: emperor, church and the west*. (Chicago, 1970), pp. 57-58.

could not be counted.”¹⁰⁰ Some of these terms, the anonymous author of the *Gesta* mentions, were not pagans in the sense of idolatrous polytheists, but they were heretics according to the Latin Church. This proves Munro’s case: that is, “[the crusaders] made little distinction between the Christian heretics and the Muslims.”¹⁰¹ Or rather, perhaps it proves that the crusaders made little distinction between enemies on the grounds of religion. Only Jewish people and of course the Latins were not seen as pagans (idolaters) perhaps because, as Southern put it, the former were so feeble to resist Franks. While talking about the Jews, the chronicler states that “For [Jewish people], whose only virtue perhaps was that they were not idolaters, every thing went well.”¹⁰² These all demonstrate how it is hard to attribute a particular meaning to the term pagan when used for a particular group of people.

Despite the common view of a polytheistic Muslim religion I have mentioned above, the essential message of Islam (the unity of God) was from time to time understood by educated medieval writers from the First Crusade onward,¹⁰³ which might be argued as a consequence of the change that took place by the Third Crusade. William of Tyre, for example, never used the term pagan in his chronicle with reference to the Muslims.¹⁰⁴ Even earlier, William of Malmesbury makes a clear distinction between the monotheist Muslims and Slav idolaters.¹⁰⁵ This does not mean, however, that they all

¹⁰⁰ *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 49.

¹⁰¹ Dana Carleton Munro “The Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades.” *Speculum*, Vol. 6. (July, 1932), p. 335.

¹⁰² Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 107. For the inferiority of Jews against Christians, see Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, p. 5.

¹⁰³ For the change in western view of Islam, see Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, pp. 14-16, 27-33.

¹⁰⁴ B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European approaches toward the Muslims*, p. 89 William preferred to use other common terms such as Saracens, Turks, Arabs etc.

¹⁰⁵ “Nam Saraceni et Turchi deum creatorem colunt, Mahumet non deum sed dei prophetam aestimantes. Vindelici uero Fortunam adorant, cuius idolum loco nominatissimo ponentes, cornu dextrae illius

followed the same pattern. Even William of Malmesbury, for instance, did not succeed in maintaining consistency that Muslims are not idolaters.¹⁰⁶ There were also poets who spoke of the worship of Muhammad and of other idols, probably because of the fact that they were not interested in facts at all.¹⁰⁷

When dealing with an enemy, it was useful propaganda to encourage the belief that Muslims were polytheists and idolaters and therefore there were occasionally repeated false or exaggerated statements concerning the Islamic faith by some serious writers, who should probably have known better. For example, Ambroise, an educated man in his time, says “Those with red caps [Turks] had a standard to which they all rallied; this was the standard of Mohammed, whose image was there in chief and in whose name they came to fight, to defeat Christianity.”¹⁰⁸ As an eyewitness account, Ambroise’s attempt to create such an episode is very like the style as the epic *chansons de geste* mentioned above.

In fact, this writing style about Islam was a long lasting problem going beyond the crusading period. “One is forced also to concede that Oriental studies in the West have not always been inspired by the purest spirit of scholarly impartiality, and it is hard to deny that some Islamicists and Arabists have worked with the clear intention of

componunt plenum potu ill quid Greco cocobolo, ex aqua et mille, idlromellum uocamus.” William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 338-340.

¹⁰⁶ “Ibi templum Domini et templum quod dicunt Salomonis, quibus incertum auctoribus edificata, Turchorum celebri frequentia colebantur, templum presertim Domini, quod cotidianis uenerabantur excubiis Christianosque ingressu arcebant, simulacro Mahumet ibidem collocata.” William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. (Oxford, 1998-1999), pp. 642-643.

¹⁰⁷For example, the German poet Wolfram of Eschenbach (c.1170–c.1220) distinguished by its moral elevation and his imaginative power in the literary works of the Middle Ages says about Muslims that “Ich diene der künsteclichen hant; für der heiden got Tervigant; ir kraft hat mich von Mahumeten; unders toufes zil geben.” Wolfram of Eschenbach. *Wilehalm: Die Toleranzrede der Gyburc*. Quoted from Ulrich Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*. (Niemeyer, 1985), p. 67. Daniel argues that “In the Middle Ages, Islam was always related to the effective exposition and defence of the faith of Christ. There was little academic interest in (Islam) for its own sake; and the ecumenical urge to understand the doctrine and to love the persons of those in error was rare.” Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 193.

¹⁰⁸ Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War : Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, p. 80.

belittling Islam and its adherents.”¹⁰⁹ As long as this ‘impressive collection of false notions about Islam’¹¹⁰ served the purpose of the chroniclers, who cared what the facts were, so to speak? This attitude, even when expressed by those who knew that Muslims believe that Muhammad was sent primarily to call the Arabs from polytheism, did not find it necessary to stress inconvenient facts.

The polytheism of pagans was not always stressed, however. We can say for the use of the term pagan in crusader chronicles and other Christian sources that it was also a word used to refer to cultures or religions that were very different from that of the western writers. It can be seen to be directed at any religious or cultural group that the writer thought of as the enemies of Frank — here, Muslims as far as my study is concerned.

In the *Gesta*, we come across the statement that “This castle [Arqa]¹¹¹ was full of an immense horde of pagans, Turks, Saracens, Arabs and Paulicians, who had made its fortification exceedingly strong and defended themselves bravely.”¹¹² Here, if the term pagan did not refer to the Turks, Saracens, Arabs and Paulicians (who were probably Armenian Christians), what the author might have meant by saying “full of an immense horde of pagans” is that, I think, it simply referred to anyone who could be seen as the enemy of the Franks, whether Muslim or Christian. Then, in the following paragraph, the author mentions that Raymond Pilet and Raymond vicomte of Turenne attacked the city of Tortosa,¹¹³ which was garrisoned by the “pagans”.¹¹⁴ Arqa and Tortosa were two ports very close to each other, and there is no reason to think that they were protected by

¹⁰⁹ Roger Du Pasquier, *Unveiling Islam*. (Cambridge, 1994), p. 6.

¹¹⁰ Maurice Bucaille, *The Bible, the Qur'an, and Science*. (Karachi, 1979), p. 118.

¹¹¹ This place lies near the coast, north-east of Tripoli.

¹¹² Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 83.

¹¹³ A port lying north of Tripoli.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

different people. The point that needs to be made here is that the author used the term “pagan” as a catch-all instead of repeating all the other specific terms (Turks, Saracens, Arabs and Paulicians) mentioned in the previous paragraph. This proves the point that the term pagan was sometimes used with a different meanings the word does not include previously.

The question that should be asked here is whether pagan always necessarily indicated polytheism or idolatry? Also, was the term pagan necessarily derogatory? As we have seen in the previous quotations, there are times where the term pagan is used to describe Muslims as idolaters, for added insult. To give another example, in the *Itinerarium* it is claimed that “As a standard [Black Muslims] carried a carved effigy of Mohammad.”¹¹⁵ Again in the *Deeds of God Through the Franks*, Guibert of Nogent sets up a similarity between Muslims, the Turks in this case, and ancient pagans by saying that “Like the ancient pagans, the Turks were tormented more by unburied bodies than any Christian seems to be concerned with his soul or fears damnations.”¹¹⁶

However, such quotations extracted from the accounts of the First and Third Crusades do not adduce adequate evidence to conclude that the term pagan was used only to suggest Muslims polytheism and necessarily to belittle them. Most of the time, the term pagan was just used as a term referring to Muslims. For instance, in one account it is said that “Saladin thereupon sent throughout his kingdom of Egypt and Damascus and all the other parts of the pagan world commanding his men to come to him.”¹¹⁷ Here, pagan was used just to mean the Muslim world. Again, the statement

¹¹⁵ Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 90.

¹¹⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 146.

¹¹⁷ William of Tyre “The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1099-1187” In *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade : sources in translation* edited by Peter W. Edbury, p. 81.

“there were three hundred and sixty thousand Turks, Persians, Paulicans, Agulani with other pagans...”¹¹⁸ shows the term pagan may include any body in the Muslim army without highlighting that they were idolaters or polytheists, or necessarily Muslims. But, there are many other examples in the *Gesta Francorum*, which show that the anonymous author used this term just to mean Muslims. “The pagans, for their part, stood ready for battle” and again “when the pagans saw this, they began to flee at once.”¹¹⁹ In these quotations too, there is no indication or sign, before or after the use of the term pagan that the chronicler intended to depict Muslims as polytheists or idolaters. The author just used this term in the meaning of their enemy, Muslims or sometimes Christians. Taken all together, we can conclude that the chroniclers of the First and Third Crusades did not think much about the original meanings of the term pagan or whether it was appropriate to use this term for Muslims, who were the most strictly monotheists. Sometimes it was used just as an insult to the faith of Islam, but most of the time the western authors used this term in the meaning of the Muslims or the others without added insult.¹²⁰

C. Gentile

Even at the time of the First Crusade, it was possible to use gentile (*gentilis-gentilis* in Latin texts) to mean Muslim. It could be a general term used for the whole of

¹¹⁸ *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 120. Again the *Gesta* says that “the Armenians and Syrians who were under the command of Turkish leaders had to shoot us, whether they liked it or not.” p. 41 and also “a very large number of Armenians and Syrians came confidently down from the mountains, carrying provisions for the Turks...” p. 43.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹²⁰ Bernard Hamilton says that some accounts written after the preaching of the First Crusade in 1095 “intended in part to inflame hostility to Islam at a time of war, should not be taken seriously as evidence of what the West knew about Islam. Bernard Hamilton “Knowing the Enemy: western understanding of Islam at time of the crusades” In *Crusaders, Cathars and the Holy Places*. (Aldershot, 1999), p. 374.

society under Muslim rule. "...an army of our enemy, Turks, Publicani, Agulani, Azimites and very many other gentile nations."¹²¹ Originally a gentile was someone who was not Jewish. The word stems from the Hebrew term *goy*, which means a "nation," and was applied both to the Hebrews and to any other nation. The plural, *goyim*, especially with the definite article, *ha-goyim*, "the nations," meant the nations of the world that were not Hebrew. But the word comes from the Latin translation of *ha-goyim*, rather than the Hebrew itself, i.e. from *gens* (*gentis*) – "people" or "nation" in Latin. What ought to be pointed out is that we come across a similar use of *gens* as, for instance in the *Lex Gentium*, "the Law of the Nations" referring to the part of Roman Law which dealt with people who were not Romans, both in relation to each other and in relation to Roman citizens. The Christians came to imitate this Jewish and Roman usage of the term gentile, except that it was normally used to indicate nations who were neither Jew nor Christian. The term gentile in crusader accounts is used in this way, indicating a person who did not acknowledge either the Christian or Jewish faiths.

D. Pagan and Gentile

The use of these terms, pagan and gentile, changed between the First and Third Crusades. We are not able to see many examples of the use of the term gentile for the period of the First Crusade. All in all, the early chroniclers preferred to use the term pagan in order to signify the Muslims.¹²² This is directly related to the general western

¹²¹ Peters, *The First Crusade*, p. 164. Azymites, Publicani and possibly Agulani were Christians, though perhaps under Muslim leadership.

¹²² See the charts in the Appendix: *the Itinerarium Peregrinorium* and the last chart *Terminology used for the Muslims in Gesta Francorum*.

approach to Islam at that time. This was a time when the Christians preferred to learn about Islam from the scanty Latin sources, rather than from the sources of their Muslim contemporaries or from observation. On the other hand, it is a fact that the First Crusade and its outcome changed the western view of Islam in the long run. It required a substantial time to have its full effect, because the early successes of the crusaders did not encourage any immediate reaction except for triumph and contempt.¹²³ Until the achievements of Saladin there had been no adequately serious challenge to make Christians to reconsider the whole position of contempt towards their enemy. The manifold and divergent impulses of the crusades had been held together in a single purpose which was simple, and above all, victorious. “To win Jerusalem had proved amazingly easy: to hold it at first seemed equally simple — a mere matter of applying the formula of feudal government. Then suddenly, inexplicably, the whole structure collapsed. The kingdom was blown away in a single battle.”¹²⁴ The Battle of Hittin in 1187 certainly changed this optimistic picture within the Christian world. The Third Crusade did not succeed in restoring the old position, which was both disheartening and bewildering. Then, the crusaders were obliged to reconsider their assessment of their enemies, who had now gained the upper hand in the Holy Land.

Under these circumstances, the usage of the term pagan was gradually abandoned in favour of the term gentile in the accounts of the Third Crusade. Thus, one of the most important chronicles of this Crusade, the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* prefers the term gentile to pagan. While in the First Crusade’s *Gesta*

¹²³ Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, pp. 27-28.

¹²⁴ R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*. (New Haven, 1953), p. 56.

Francorum, the term gentile is never used,¹²⁵ the same term constituted 23% of all terms for Muslims in the *Itinerarium*.¹²⁶ This does not mean that the word pagan disappeared in the writings of the Third Crusade, nor that the term gentile was not seen in those of the First Crusade. Their frequency in the chronicles substantially changed in favour of the term gentile between the First and the Third Crusade.

This can be attributed to the greater knowledge about Islam available in the West as the twelfth century progressed. As discussed in the introduction, a modified view of Islam came into being in the period between the First and Third Crusades, allowing the chronicles of the Third Crusade to choose more appropriate words to refer to the Islamic faith and its followers. When we look at the use of the term gentile in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, we can realize that the change in the use of the terms is not just putting one word in place of the other, but also to some extent it reveals a change in the chroniclers' approach towards Muslims.

As in the case of the term pagan, the term gentile was also used to refer to Muslims in the meaning of the "others," without added insult. Their interchangeable use in the *Itinerarium* bolsters this argument. To take an example, while talking about Reginald de Chatillon, who broke the truce between Franks and Saladin, the *Itinerarium* used the terms pagan and gentile interchangeably without attributing any distinct meaning between these terms: "[Reginald de Chatillon] broke the truce by killing pagans who were travelling outside his frontier." After giving this title, the author continues by giving a detailed account. "On one occasion, a very numerous and opulent company of

¹²⁵ See the chart in the Appendix, entitled *Terminology used for the Muslims in the Gesta Francorum*, p. 113.

¹²⁶ Only 2% of the all terms in the *Itinerarium* are composed of pagan. See the chart in the Appendix, entitled *the Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, p. 116.

Gentiles was crossing from Damascus to Egypt. They were not afraid to travel past the frontier with the Christians' lands because of the truce...¹²⁷ The pagans and the gentiles in this passage refer to the same people, the same Muslims.

Nevertheless, when we scrutinize the whole *Itinerarium*, we can realize the distinction in the use of these two terms during the First and Third Crusades. In the *Itinerarium* the term gentile is never used in order to insinuate a polytheistic character of Islam as with the term pagan in the accounts of the First Crusade. This does not mean that the author of the *Itinerarium* approached Muslims without disparaging them. While disclosing his feelings about the capture of the Holy Cross in 1187, for instance, the chronicler says "the Cross which had absolved us from the ancient yoke of captivity to sin was led a captive for us, and dishonoured by the hands of godless Gentiles."¹²⁸ The fact remains, however, that the term gentile was not used to suggest that Muslims were polytheists or idolaters. After all, to call someone a gentile, as being neither Jew nor Christian, has a better connotation than calling someone a pagan, with its optional inferred meanings of polytheistic belief and idolatry. This does not mean that insulting expressions against the Muslims came to an end by the end of twelfth century, but that, consciously or unconsciously, this change in favour of the word gentile reflects a new and more reasonable understanding of the Muslims, which crystallized from the era of Saladin onwards. It is sufficient to say that there was a notable change in the writings of the chroniclers from the First to the Third Crusades and the change in the usages of the

¹²⁷ Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 29.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

terms pagan and gentile exemplifies this new style, which gained popularity while talking about Saladin and the Muslims in the Third Crusade.¹²⁹

While studying these terms with religious components, one always should keep in mind that once the identification of Muslims as pagans or gentiles was made, these terms in some contexts needs not imply much more than Muslims. That is to say, the use of this term does not necessarily mean that a particular chronicler is really making an argument about the nature of Islam. We can speculate about the term pagan and even about that of gentile that not only are they pejorative terms for the enemy, but they also were used to belittle Muslims by looking at the original connotations of such terms. However, as I have tried to show above, finding such terms in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades does not necessarily mean that they were used in their full original meanings. As usual, people create their own vocabularies in the time they are living without necessarily caring what these words' etymological meanings are. The terms pagan and gentile were no exceptions in this context. Moreover, neither of the terms, pagan and gentile, defines a particular ethnic group, but were terms that can be used for any people, who were either adherents of "unorthodox" Christianity or of a different religion, i.e. Islam. Therefore, we need to take into account other terms used for the Muslims in order not to confuse which particular group of people the chroniclers are really talking about. This shall be discussed in the following pages.

¹²⁹ For further information about how Saladin was admired in the west, see Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*, pp. 22-23.

CHAPTER 3

ETHNIC TERMS

A. The Question of Ethnic Identity

Before discussing the terms used in the account of the First and Third Crusades that have ethnic components, it is essential to establish what “ethnicity” might have meant for those writing these accounts in order not to confuse the scope of terms such as Turks, Kurds, Arabs, and to some extent Saracens, with that of contemporary usages. What we mean today by the term Turk does not make much sense for the people living in the era of crusade. Therefore, we should draw the possible boundaries of these terms for the crusaders. However, to define, either for the period I am dealing with or in the present, ethnic groups, which are “socially constructed, flexible and subject to change over time”, is not an easy task.¹³⁰

First and foremost, we should be very careful about terms such as people, race or nation for the crusading period. Though in the early eighth century the terms *gens*, which might be translated as either people or race, and to a lesser degree *natio*, were used at the time in order to “denote political groups as groups by tradition and a distinct type of group”,¹³¹ they do not serve our goal of analyzing the terminology used for

¹³⁰ Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: ethnic hostility, assimilation and identity 1066-c. 1220*. (Oxford, 2003), p. 5.

¹³¹ Harald Kleinschmidt, *Understanding the Middle Ages: the transformation of ideas and attitudes in the medieval world*. (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 109.

Muslims in the accounts of the First and Third Crusade. In the *Gesta Francorum*, for example, the term *gens* could be used to mean Count Roger's army, clearly something very different from what we would normally mean now by a people or race.¹³² Likewise the term could be used for Bohemond's men.¹³³ The term *gens* could also be used for different components of Muslim armies, where translating it literally as "people" creates problems.¹³⁴ However, while these terms have a similar etymology, i.e., the both derive from the notion of "birth," the term "nation" was never used in the *Gesta Francorum*. One can argue that there are some differences between the emphases of these two terms. Perhaps the term "gens" comes with a stronger connotation of common ancestry than "natio," but it is not clear that the terms were always used differently or really with different emphasis. For the sake of my study, we can say that they can be used for almost any kind of group without making any clear distinction.

The use of the term "natio" does, however, raise a question whether one can speak of a "nation" in the modern sense in the pre-modern world. Although the term is sometimes used by the chroniclers, for us to give it a set meaning, for example as indicating a large group of people with a common ancestry or a common history, or indeed those coming from a particular political unit, is likely to be dangerous. Translating it as 'nation' is problematic, when we consider certain norms and significations that have usually been attributed to this term in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The idea that a nation should speak a distinct and common language does not fit the accounts of the First and Third Crusades. For instance, Bedouins and

¹³² "...Coepit tunc ad eum uehementer concurrere maxima pars militum qui errant in obsidione illa, adeo ut Rogerius comes pene solus remanserit, reuersusque Siciliam dolebat et merebat quandoque gentem amittere suam." *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 7.

¹³³ "Tunc Boamundus ordinauit concilium cum gente sua..." *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹³⁴ "...Idem Curbaram congregauit innumeras gentes paganorum, uidelicet Turcos, Arabas, Saracenos, Publicanos, Azimitas, Curtos, Persas, Agulanos, et alias multas gentes innumerabiles. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Muslim Negroes may have spoken no other language than Arabic, but they were still seen as distinct groups among Muslims.

Race too, with its biological connotations, is also extremely problematic as far as my study is concerned. The most widely observed races are those based on skin colour, facial features, ancestry, genetics, but also “national origin”.¹³⁵ Defining the Muslims based on these criteria neither seems possible for my period nor appropriate to the chroniclers’ understanding of the Muslims, because of reasons I shall discuss in this chapter.

The word “ethnic” likewise causes problems. It is a derivative of the Greek world *ethos*, meaning a band of people living together, a nation, a people etc. In its original meaning, it suffers the same problems as *gens* and *natio*, though the stress was the unity of persons of common blood or descent rather than political unity. *Ethnicos* as the adjectival form, eventually entered Latin as *ethnicus*, referring to those ‘others’ who did not share the dominant faith, “heathens” perhaps. It is apparent that “ethnic” referred to those who were not “us”, those who were “others”.¹³⁶ In modern usage, however, the meaning of the word has become somewhat deliberately less committal, and while the idea that “ethnic” referred only to others has perhaps never completely disappeared — as in the notion of “ethnic cuisines” or “ethnic fashion” — more and more, ethnicity has referred to a way of defining not only others but also ourselves.¹³⁷

Farley’s description of an ethnic group as “a group of people who are generally recognized by themselves and/or by others as a distinct group, with such recognition

¹³⁵ See the definition of race by Stephen Cornell and Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race*, pp. 21-25.

¹³⁶ Roger Just, “Triumph of the Ethnos” In *History and Ethnicity*, edited by Elizabeth Tonkin, Maryon McDonald, and Malcolm Chapman. (New York, 1989), pp. 71-88.

¹³⁷ Cornell and Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race*, p. 16.

based on social or cultural characteristics”¹³⁸ is a good way of defining the modern term. Ethnicity can thereby include many factors such as cultural, linguistic, economic, religious, political etc. and makes the fewest possible assumptions about the nature of the differences between one group and another. This makes the term ‘ethnic group’ the most appropriate for this study, because it leaves the sources to tell us what the differences are, unlike the terms nation, people or race. Also, as Eugen Roosens states in his book, while ethnic identity is carried in all circumstances of life, no one can sustain, or has to sustain, that ethnic identity is decided by genes or by ‘the blood’.¹³⁹ One does not have to agree with those, who label ethnicity as a euphemism for race.¹⁴⁰ In this context, I think, the term ‘ethnic group’ is more useful and less misleading for the sake of the crusading period.

Of course, the terms ethnicity or ethnic group do not solve all the problems faced in this study. The modern concept only began to emerge with regularity in the mid-1970s in the context of debates about race, nationalism, multi-culturalism and social conflict, and therefore one might argue that this term is far from a good one with which to define people who lived in the crusading era.¹⁴¹ We must be careful not to define ethnicity solely by the cultural characteristics that connect a particular group or groups of people. Cultural and ethnic groups might represent different phenomena. One group with a distinct cultural origin can pertain to the same ethnic group, and distinct ethnic groups can share similar cultures. We must also be aware that what defines one ethnic group might fall into a different category from that which defines another. We cannot

¹³⁸ Farley, *Majority-Minority Relations*, p. 6.

¹³⁹ Eugen Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity: the process of ethnogenesis*. (Newbury Park, 1989), p. 16.

¹⁴⁰ Quoted from Lie, *Modern Peoplehood*, p. 73.

¹⁴¹ Helen Watson and Jack Boag, “Religion and Ethnicity as Causes of Conflict” In *Pugwash: occasional papers*, Vol. II. (September, 2001), p. 41.

create a formula that is applicable to all groups. Therefore, at the start, we should accept that there are difficulties in clarifying these terms used for the Muslims in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades. The first step is to investigate what might be the defining factors of ethnic groups at the time that are relevant to the crusade accounts' understanding or the understandings of ethnic groups in the oriental world.

We might suggest some phenomena such as language, customs (habitual ways of living) or physical features that the chroniclers could use in order to define ethnic groups while writing their accounts concerning Muslims. However, as we shall see, such distinctions are often insufficient to explain the identification. We must stress that the specific phenomena that unite and give cohesion to an ethnic group change from one group to another; and those that differentiate and divide one group from another also change similarly. The factors that the chroniclers might use to define ethnic groups are not unchangeable facts even for one ethnic group at different times.

Before talking about these factors that might be used to define ethnic groups, there is something else that deserves to be mentioned. Differentiation by some objective criteria such as language, appearance, customs etc. that we shall discuss later in detail might be a reason for the classification of the chroniclers, but we cannot claim that each ethnic term that the chroniclers used in their writings always came from what the chroniclers saw. Some of them stemmed from what they heard from others. In this category of ethnic groups, the writers of western accounts did not create the ethnic terms they used after encountering groups of people they had never met before, but sometimes simply accepted the terms they encountered in an unfamiliar environment where they had hardly enough time to observe everything using their own experience, especially in the time of the First Crusade.

There might be several reasons for such a classification used for Muslims. A group's self-identity is one of them. If an ethnic group identifies itself by drawing a boundary between themselves and others on the basis of claiming that they share something that the others do not, such an attitude can provide the necessary grounds for the chroniclers to define the group as a distinct entity. This relates to the 'social identity theory' defined by Tajfel and Turner. According to this theory, group members will generally try to seek group distinctiveness by viewing the "ingroup" as different from and better than other groups.¹⁴² This attempt to create distinctiveness by differentiating themselves from others is not only relevant for defining Muslims, but for the Christians themselves as well.

Lastly, a group's identification by its neighbours might also be a factor for the chroniclers in their attempt to identify different groups of Muslims as having ethnic or religious components. To illustrate this, the chroniclers continued to use many ethnic names without taking the trouble to create their own terminology to replace them, as in the case of Pecheneg and Turcopole¹⁴³ that had already become established in Byzantine

¹⁴² Quoted from Johanda Jetten, Russell Spears and Antony S.R. Manstead "Group Distinctiveness and Intergroup Discrimination" In *Social Identity Context, Commitment, Content* edited by Naomi Ellemers, Russell Spears and Bertjan Doosje. (Oxford, 1999), p. 109.

¹⁴³ Generally, the term Turcoples was used for soldiers on the Christian side. During the Crusades, turcoples or turcopoliers (Greek: "sons of Turks") were mounted archers. Many would be mixed race Christians recruited from Christianized Seljuqs, but mounted Frankish sergeants were also later included. There were also Turcoples of the military religious order. It is not clear whether Turcoples who were commanded by *Turcopolier* were knights or sergeants, but they were certainly important figures. We shall shortly see that Turcoples were a part of the garrison of a major Templar cast. Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291*. (Cambridge, 1992). pp. 58-59. In the Holy Land, Turcoples should have been lightly armored than knights and been armed with lances and bows to help combat the more mobile Muslim forces, because the main reasons for their use in Christian army was to counterbalance the Franks' inexperience in fighting with the Muslims. Raymond d'Aguiliers proves their resemblance to the Turks by saying that they are called Turcoples for they were either reared among Turks, or were born of a Turkish father and a Christian mother. August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The accounts of eyewitnesses and participants*, pp. 140-141. For the discussion of the role of Turcoples in the Latin army, see also R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*. (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 111-112.

terminology, though these Byzantine terms were used for ethnic groups are beyond the scope of this work.

In spite of possible similarities between Byzantine and Western writers in their classification of ethnic groups, I shall not deal with the former, so that I might concentrate on the main subject of this study. However, to ignore totally the Byzantine origin of some terms is not reasonable. For instance, Urban II's reference to the Turks as a "race of Persians" probably reflects Byzantine influence on the thinking of the west about the people living in the orient, because the Byzantines had already referred to the Turks as Persians. For example, Anna Comnena sometimes uses the term Persian to refer to the Seljukid Turks: "Although [Alexius Comnenus] was only fourteen years old, he wanted to serve on campaign under Diogenes, who was leading an expedition against the Persians..."¹⁴⁴

On the other hand, it does not necessarily mean that the chroniclers used such terms in exactly the way the Byzantines had used them before. The term Turcopole is a good example of this. The Turcopoles of the Latin Kingdom were not the groups of often Christianized Seljuk Turks that were referred to by the Byzantines, or at least not exclusively so. Although the term perhaps never loses the sense of there being a native, non-Frankish element amongst such troops, they do not seem to have been necessarily Turkish. Rather the term becomes one that describes military function and equipment rather than ethnicity, while perhaps retaining a sense of ethnic mixture.¹⁴⁵ Thus, the crusaders came to redefine the term according to their own usage and it is a good

¹⁴⁴ Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, p. 31. Romanus IV Diogenes set out on his expedition in 1070 against the Seljuks, led by Alp Arslan, until his defeat and capture at Manzikert in 1071.

¹⁴⁵ For information on the role of Turcopoles in Latin army, see R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*, pp. 111-112.

example of a term that could refer to a different group in a different time and period, even while there was some connection between the different usages.

For example, in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* the author mentions that King Richard did not consider that complete trust could be placed in a spy who had advised the King to capture a caravan because he was a native of that country. Therefore “[the King] at once sent a Bedouin and two very prudent native Turcoples to look at the matter and investigate the truth, and he made them swathe themselves up like Bedouins, so that they would look like Saracens.”¹⁴⁶ The fact that native Turcoples are specified indicates that there might be non-native Turcoples. The point that I want to make here is that this study does not allow me to deal with the Byzantine terminology as a whole, but where that terminology is relevant to my study I shall mention it.

B. Language

Not surprisingly, language is generally held up as an important and natural factor in classifying ethnic groups, because “as *homo loquens*, any social solidarity would be difficult to imagine or sustain without linguistic communication.”¹⁴⁷ As a Greek term, the word *barbaros* was originally applied to anyone who spoke a different language, or at least who did not speak Greek, though even by the time of St. Paul in the New Testament, the meaning was changing away from a purely linguistic sense.¹⁴⁸ Even

¹⁴⁶ Ricardus, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: a translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 339.

¹⁴⁷ Lie, *Modern Peoplehood*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁸ “...I am under obligation both to Greeks and to barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish: so I am eager to preach the gospel to you also who are in Rome.” (Romans 1:14). “...Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all.” (Colossians 3:11). In the first case ‘barbarians’ have already become “foolish” and the Romans are neither Greek nor Barbarian. In the second case, both Jews and Scythians are distinguished from Greeks and Barbarians. *The Holy Bible* designed and illustrated by Barry Moser. (New York, 1999).

among Christian groups in the crusading period, linguistic difference created a significant barrier among people and this is clearly stated by Fulcher of Chartres. He says that “Whoever heard of such a mixture of languages in one army, since there were French, Flemings, Frisians, Gauls, Allobroges, Lotharingians, Allemani, Bavarians, Normans, English, Scots, Aquitanians, Italians, Dacians, Apulians, Iberians, Bretons, Greeks, and Armenians? If any Breton or Teuton wished to question me, I could neither understand nor answer.”¹⁴⁹ Yet today, while some people living in Québec province in Canada can claim their distinct identity on the basis of the French language, the distinction between different ethnic groups in the Balkans does not always depend on the degree of language difference. For instance, Albanian is a very different language from the other Balkan languages, but Macedonian is very close to Bulgarian. Similarly, there were many people either in Anatolia and Iran or the Balkans in the crusading period who spoke a similar language, but who are mentioned with different names in the sources, such as Pechenegs, Cumans,¹⁵⁰ Turcopoles, Turcoman etc. “...the wretched Emperor Alexius ordered his Turcopuli and Pechenegs to attack and kill [the squires of Duke Godfrey].”¹⁵¹ This clearly shows that language is not the only term that distinguishes ethnic groups.

¹⁴⁹ Peters, *The First Crusade*, p. 49. In spite of Fulcher’s intention to emphasize linguistic differences among the crusaders, his list is far from purely a linguistic one and gives many hints about the criteria the western writers used to define groups, particularly historical-geographical factors. This will be discussed at length below.

¹⁵⁰ The Cumans, also known as Polovtsy (Slavic for yellowish) were a nomadic West Turkic tribe living on the north of the Black Sea along the Volga. They are identified with the Western branch of the Kipchaks. By the thirteenth century, the Cumans left their early pagan religion and the western Cumans became Catholic Christians, while the Eastern assumed Islam. For further information, see Mustafa Safran, *Yaşadıkları Sahalarda Yazılan Lugatlara Göre Kuman/Kıpçaklarda Siyasi, İktisadi, Sosyal ve Kültürel Yaşayış*. (Ankara, 1993).

¹⁵¹ *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 6.

C. Culture and Customs

Culture and customs might be another factor defining ethnic groups, used by either the members of the groups themselves or by the chroniclers. Customs, which indicate habitual group patterns of behaviour, transmitted from one generation to another and not biologically determined, might also be presented as having a strong potential effect on ethnic classification. Similar habitual ways of living among a particular group might be seen as a reasonable thing by which to define it under a particular ethnic name. The question that should be asked here is whether cultural boundaries were often the same as ethnic boundaries in the Near East. The history of large, but fluctuating empires in the Near East, together with the spread by other means of cultural attributes often over wide areas means it is frequently unlikely that we can make a distinction between ethnic groups in terms of their custom, culture, the way of living etc.

The movement of Arab culture at its apogee was demonstrable in the reign of the Abbasids of Baghdad, where the outlook was possibly more Persian than Arab; and yet it was here also that the miracle of the Greek mind and of Greek culture was transmitted to future generations. In reality, Arab culture became the meeting place of the two great ancient streams of thought which had been developing quite independently throughout ancient times- the Greek, or, if we go deeper into antiquity, the Egyptian and the Greek on the one side; and the Sumerian, Persian, and Indian on the other.¹⁵²

In an environment like the Holy Land which contained a combination of different cultures and customs alongside each other, it is uncertain how one can claim to differentiate one group of people from another by culture and customs, and even if one claims to do so, how far can the results of such a study be reliable from an academic point of view? The word custom can encompass many things that are not only beyond

¹⁵² Aziz S. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*. (Bloomington, 1962), p. 209.

our consideration, but also those which cannot be observed due to insufficient sources in my period.

From the crusaders' point of view, what they, at first sight, often must have observed when they saw ethnic groups in the Orient was not the practice of their daily life, but the way they fought. In this connection, differences in military equipment, technology and technique may have created a good reason for defining a group, according to the chroniclers of the time. "In a society dominated by warriors, even minor differences in arms could matter in ethnic relations and differences in fighting styles must have been even more important."¹⁵³

We know from Seljuk accounts that many old Turkish traditions and customs continued to be used. In the Seljuk army, the creation of a massive cavalry class, the division into right and left wings, and steppe battle tactics, the so-called *Turan tactic*, which was still employed in the major battles, were alive at the time of the Seljuks.¹⁵⁴ These were some distinguishing peculiarities of the Turkish armies, which might have been observed by the chroniclers. For example, the chroniclers occasionally admired the fighting skill of their enemies and defined some of them by their distinguished competence in warfare, for example the Turks, the Agulani and Muslim Negroes.¹⁵⁵ To take an example, Guibert of Nogent describes Turks in the following way:

The enemy, screaming like madmen, rushed to meet [the forces of Duke Godfrey, the Count of Normandy, and Hugh the Great]. For it was their custom when they entered battle to make a constant, terrible noise with the metal shafts they used as spears, as well as with cymbals and with their own horrifying voices, so that horse and men could scarcely check their terror of such sound.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 52.

¹⁵⁴ İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *A History of the Seljuks: İbrahim Kafesoglu's interpretation and the resulting controversy*, pp. 85-86.

¹⁵⁵ The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* defines them almost exclusively by their military characteristics. See the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 90.

¹⁵⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 111.

It might be argued that this and similar statements that can be found in other sources represent as important criteria that shaped the crusader accounts' understanding of ethnic groups. For instance, "the Arabs fought on horseback, but they were not, like the Turks, horsemen who made full use of their mobility. Their equipment seems to have resembled that of the Franks and, like them, they fought at close quarters with lance and swords."¹⁵⁷ After all, the style of Turkish fighting was an obvious difference between Christians and at least some of "the others", who the former had not been familiar with. "The Turks, with clashing of weapons and shrieking fiercely let loose a shower of arrows. Stunned and almost dead and with many injured, we straightly turned our back in flight. Nor is this to be wondered at since such fighting was unknown to any of us."¹⁵⁸

Therefore, difference in fighting styles might have served as a marker of ethnicity for the chroniclers, since sometimes there was a clear distinction in the particular way of fighting between two Muslim ethnic groups. We can assert that the crusaders who came across these people for the first time might have made their distinction among the Muslims according to this criterion. The fact remains, however, that this falls short as an explanation of all the identified Muslim ethnic groups. Suppose, for example, that the writers of western accounts attributed the term Arab to a particular group owing to its members' distinct way of fighting on the battlefield. One does not expect to find so much difference in the fighting style of the Arabs and that of the Muslim Negroes or Bedouins, but still we see the crusaders make a clear distinction

¹⁵⁷ Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*, p. 85. For further information on the warfare, see Peter Edbury. "Warfare in the Latin East" In *Medieval Warfare: a history*, edited by Maurice Keen. (Oxford, 1997), pp. 89-112.

¹⁵⁸ Peters, *The First Crusade*, p. 46.

between these groups of people.¹⁵⁹ “It is said that [Baldwin’s] first expeditions were undertaken against the Arabs when he reached the slopes of Mount Sinai, he found a barbaric group of people, who resembled the Ethiopians. He spared their lives because of their untamed behaviour and ugliness.”¹⁶⁰

D. Visual Distinctions

Thus, we need something more than the military aspects of custom. This compels us to take into account physical features and appearance. Like differences of fighting style, those of physical appearance were easy to observe for the chroniclers in their meeting with the Muslims. The apparent distinction between the Muslim Negroes and the rest of the Muslim population continued to be made in the crusading accounts of the Third Crusade, as well. “There was there in great number and full of evil intent hideous black people, against God and against nature, with redhead-dresses on their head – never did God make uglier creature. There were great numbers of them, all turned towards evil.”¹⁶¹

But we should not depend too much on appearance, because it was sometimes rather unreliable even to make a distinction between Muslims and Christians. For example, the bishop of Le Puy¹⁶² noticed this and it is claimed that, to prevent mutual

¹⁵⁹ The infantry was composed of Negroes who carried large bows. They were placed ahead of their cavalry while the cavalry prepared to attack. David Nicolle, “Medieval Warfare: the unfriendly interface.” *Journal of Military History* 63, (1999), p. 588.

¹⁶⁰ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 160.

¹⁶¹ Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, p. 79.

¹⁶² Known also as Adhemar of Le Puy. He was one of the principal personages of the First Crusade who was appointed to lead the First Crusade by Pope Urban II. We know from the Pope’s letter to the crusaders that Adhemar was the main figure in the eyes of clergymen. “We solemnly enjoined upon them at the council of Auvergne (the accomplishment of) such an undertaking, as a preparation for the remission of all their sins. And we have constituted our most beloved son, Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, leader of this expedition and undertaking in our stead, so that those who, perchance, may wish to undertake this journey should comply With his commands, as if they were our own, and submit fully to his loosings or bindings,

slaughter in case they confronted each other in battle (each thinking the other a Turk because of the beard), Adhemar ordered the Christians “to shave often, and to hang on their necks crosses made of silver or of some other material, so that no one, mistaken for a foreigner, would be struck down by a comrade.”¹⁶³ This quotation shows clearly how little it is possible to rely on visual appearance to distinguish an enemy, even in the time of the First Crusade when one might expect to see two substantially distinct groups of people according to their dress.

As Hugh Thomas argues in the context of the British Isles, clothes, hairstyles and many other minor differences in appearance could form particularly important ethnic markers, since they could be so obvious.¹⁶⁴ But it is not an easy task to find evidence of these differences by looking at the accounts of the First and Third Crusades. The chroniclers did not often make the effort to explain why they gave a particular ethnic group with a particular name. Accepting the argument that people tend to rely more on stereotypes than on reality, we should also concede the existence of many other factors that at first sight we cannot observe from the western crusade accounts: but their existence in the mind of the chroniclers, whose knowledge generally relied upon what they saw or heard rather than what they found at the end of elaborate research about the Muslims, is unquestionable. We should admit the possibility of already existing stereotypes in the chronicler accounts which had started to take shape long before the crusade came into existence.

as far as shall seem to belong to such an office. If, moreover, there are any of your people whom God has inspired to this vow, let them know that he (Adhemar) will set out with the aid of God on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, and that they can then attach themselves to his following.” Krey. *The First Crusade: the accounts of eyewitnesses and participants*, pp. 42-43.

¹⁶³ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 93.

¹⁶⁴ Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 50- 51, 55.

An ethnic stereotype may be either an overly-simplified representation of the typical characteristics of members of an ethnic group, or a falsehood that has been repeated so many times that is accepted by many people as generally true. For example, for the Turks it was believed that they had a homosexual tendency or inclination and not only this was accepted by Christian writers long before the crusades, but we see it reported in the crusade accounts, too.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, as mentioned above, we should bear in mind that the criteria that the chroniclers used while defining ethnic groups could change between the First and Third Crusades. Therefore, we should discuss the reliability and validity of the defining characteristics of ethnic groups at these two different times.

At least, it might be argued that after the First Crusade had ended successfully, some assimilation among different ethnic groups who started to live together was unavoidable. As Fulcher of Chartres, who participated in the First Crusade and finished his account around 1127, mentions that integration or assimilation becomes apparent in the crusader states even at such an early date.

We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already they have become unknown to many of us, or, at least, are unmentioned. Some already possess here homes and servants which they have received through inheritance. Some have taken wives not merely of their own people, but Syrians, or Armenians, or even Saracens who have received the grace of baptism. Some have with them father-in-law, or daughter-in-law, or son-in-law, or stepson, or step-father. There are here, too, grandchildren and great-grandchildren...The one and the other use mutually the speech and the idioms of the different languages. Different languages, now made common, become known to both races, and faith unites those whose forefathers were strangers. As it is written, "The lion and the ox

¹⁶⁵ The Version of Albert of Aix, the author claims "And so the Turks, rejoicing in the pleasing success of victory... they destroyed with the sword whomever they found, the weak and the feeble, clerics, monks, old women, nursing children, persons of every age. But they led away young girls whose face and form was pleasing in their eyes, and beardless youths of comely countenance..." Krey, *The First Crusade: the accounts of eyewitnesses and participants*, pp. 73-76.

shall eat straw together." Those who were strangers are now natives; and he who was a sojourner now has become a resident...¹⁶⁶

Even if we ought not to read this as the whole truth, the fact remains that the factors that I have enumerated above as possible elements in the crusade accounts' classification of the Muslims had changed by the time of the Third Crusade.¹⁶⁷ Both the Christians and the Muslims willy-nilly started to know each other better compared with preceding decades. As a result, much more familiarity was established by the time of the Third Crusade. The crusader kingdom's enforcement of dress regulations, to some extent, supports this fact. That is, as early as 1120, the Council of Nablus threatened that any Muslim wearing Frankish dress would be at the mercy of the king.¹⁶⁸ Such a regulation demonstrates that there was a need to distinguish Muslim and Christian because they were so similar to one another.

At first sight, the assimilation which should have taken place between the First and Third Crusades make the criteria of dress and everyday habit, even more difficult to apply by the time of the Third Crusade. One expects to find that there was even no clear distinction between the Muslims and the Christians at the time of the Third Crusade in terms of their outward appearance on account of long contact in the sphere of material culture, which required the westerners to adopt the superiority of comfort and adaptation

¹⁶⁶ Peters, *The First Crusade*, p. 220.

¹⁶⁷ In spite of using more or less the same sources, the most prominent scholars of the crusading period created two opposed interpretations. Smail accepts, for example, that Franks employed Syrian doctors and cooks; they clothed themselves in eastern garments; they had glass in their windows, mosaics on their floors; they had dancing girls at their entertainments and so forth. However, according to Smail, all these habits were not indicative of cultural assimilation and did not bear witness to anything more than accommodation to external life. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*, pp. 43-44. For the discussion on a segregated or an integrated society, see Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 3-11.

¹⁶⁸ Taken from Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European colonialism in the middle ages*. (London, 1972), p. 519.

to an oriental way of living.¹⁶⁹ “Like the pagans, [Baldwin I] went about in a toga, let his beard grow, accepted bows from his worshippers, and ate on rugs laid on the ground. If he entered one of his towns or cities, two knights blew two trumpets before his chariot.”¹⁷⁰ This does not mean, of course, that they become one and the same ethnic group, but one way or another the earlier definitions of ethnic groups must have changed by the time of the accounts of the later crusaders, even though the crusader accounts are written by newcomers to the Holy Land.

There might be reasons for change stemming from the Muslims themselves. The First Crusade had achieved its object not so much because of the power of the crusaders but because of the disunity of the Muslim world.¹⁷¹ The jealousies of the Muslim leaders and their refusal to work together against the Christians were replaced with a more united Muslim power under the leadership of Saladin whose ‘generosity and clemency made an excellent impression’ on the westerners by the time of the Third Crusade.¹⁷² As a dedicated champion of Jihad, as an empire builder, and as a charismatic leader,¹⁷³ Saladin had, in political terms at least, united the Turks and Saracens, and the Sunnis and Shiites, excepting the Assassins.¹⁷⁴ Some of the criteria which the chroniclers saw as dividing factors between the Muslim ethnic groups at the time of the First Crusade should not be thought to have worked in the time of the Third Crusade. This either could

¹⁶⁹ Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 514.

¹⁷⁰ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, pp. 159-160.

¹⁷¹ Steven Runciman, *A History of Crusades*. (Hardmondsworth, 1981), Vol. II, p. 8.

¹⁷² Runciman, *A History of Crusades*, Vol. II, p. 409.

¹⁷³ Saladin succeeded in having these three functions in himself which is required to cope with international problems, as far as Aharon is concerned. See Aharon Ben-Ami, *Social Change in a Hostile Environment*. (Princeton, 1969), pp. 118-147.

¹⁷⁴ “The revolution in the balance of power, which began with the conquest of Egypt by a Syrian army in 1169, was carried one step further with the liquidation of the Fatimid caliphate by Salah-ad-Din in 1171. It opened the way for Islamic unity from Cairo to Baghdad.” Ben-Ami, *Social Change in a Hostile Environment*, p. 150, see also pp. 150-158.

decrease the number of the ethnic groups that the chroniclers defined or it could expand the scope of terms used earlier for a particular group of people.

E. Differentiation by Sects

One of the points made by Thomas in his book is that political and religious institutions may also be important in defining an ethnic group. The Hashshashin can be given as a good example of this kind of classification.¹⁷⁵ The term originally referred to a Shiite Islamic order, which was more often mentioned under the leadership of Rashid ad-Din Sinan (d. 1193 or 1194), who was also known as the *Old Man of the Mountain* by the chroniclers. Due to the fact that many of the most important Frankish castles were situated very close to the Isma'ili fortresses, the crusaders got a good chance to know about the Hashshashin. Not counting the struggle with the two Frankish Military Religious Orders, especially with the Templars,¹⁷⁶ the relations between the crusaders and Sinan were good enough for the former to identify and delineate this branch of Islam as a separate entity;¹⁷⁷ and their main criterion for doing so was based on the difference

¹⁷⁵ The Hashshashin (also Hashshishim), or Assassins were a religious group (some would say, a cult) of Ismaili Muslims with a militant basis. They were thought to be active between the eighth and fourteenth centuries as a group of brigands on the medieval Silk Road. Their own name for the sect was al-da'wa al-jadīda (الدعوة الجديدة) which means the new doctrine and they called themselves fedayeen from the Arabic fidā'ī which means one who is ready to sacrifice their life for a cause. As time went on, that term started to be also used for what have come to be called "suicide bombers". For further information about the Assassins see, Bernard Lewis's book *The Assassins: a radical sect in Islam*.

¹⁷⁶ The first of the military orders (the Poor Knights of Christ and the Temple of Solomon) was widely known as the Knights Templar. In the aftermath of the First Crusade, it was founded in 1118 in order to help the new Kingdom of Jerusalem and to ensure the safety of the large numbers of European pilgrims who flowed towards Jerusalem after its conquest. For further information, see Edward Burman, *The Templars: knights of God*. (Wellingborough, 1986).

¹⁷⁷ Even the chronicler William of Tyre states that Sinan's embassy proposed to embrace Christianity, while attempting to blame the Templars for depriving the Franks of a strong ally: Anthony Campbell, *The Assassins of Alamut The Assassins of Alamut*, 2004. [Online] available from <http://www.accampbell.uklinux.net/assassins/assassins-pdf/assassinbook.pdf> [Accessed 30 July 2005], pp. 2, 51. We should be really careful about the accounts of William of Tyre. First and foremost, William is not a crusader account. He was well familiar with both the Holy Land and people around it. Also, he was

of the Hashshashin religious understanding of Islam and that of a political institution, which sometimes found it appropriate to ally with the crusaders.¹⁷⁸ We can say that the chroniclers saw the Hashshashin as a different group.

By the same token, we can argue that William of Tyre, admittedly a resident rather than a crusader, made a clear distinction between the Sunni and Shiite branches of Islam. By mentioning the differences in dogma between the Fatimid and Abbasid caliphates, he tried to explain why the Egyptians were happy at the defeat of the Seljuks, the protectors of the Abbasid caliphate at that time.¹⁷⁹ The differences between the Sunnis and the Shiites were explained by William in detail, acknowledging that “the Egyptians adopted the doctrine of Shiism, which according to him ‘inclines more towards Christianity’ and the Seljuks (Persians), who followed the orthodox Muslims, were called Sunnites.”¹⁸⁰ In spite of some confusing information about Shiism provided by William of Tyre, we can still accept his classification as being based on the political and religious institutions in the Muslim world. On the other hand, this is not sufficient to explain, for example, the classification of ethnic groups within the Sunni branch of the Muslims, which the chroniclers made without bothering to explain their reasons for such

well educated at Antioch and in Europe, which made him a leading scholar of the time. Therefore, he should be thought separately, as far as my study is concerned.

¹⁷⁸ When in 1152 the Assassins murdered Raymond, Comte de Tripoli, the Templars entered their territory and forced them to sign a treaty by which they were to pay a yearly tribute of 12,000 gold pieces in expiation of the crime. Some years later the Old Man of the Mountain sent an ambassador to Amaury, King of Jerusalem, to tell him privately that if the Templars would forgo the payment of this tribute he and his followers would embrace the Christian faith. Amaury accepted, offering at the same time to compensate the Templars: Jules Loiseleur, *La Doctrine Secrète des Templier*. (Paris, 1982), p. 89. One might argue that this quotation and William of Tyre’s claim that “Shiism inclines more towards Christianity” show that though the conversion did not take effect, Isma’ilis and the crusaders knew each other well at least in terms of their religion which should have brought many other things beside in an age where religion was the core of the way of thinking.

¹⁷⁹ Mona Joma Hammad, *Latin and Muslim Historiography of the Crusades: a comparative study*. (Ann Arbor, 1987), p. 97.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

classification and I shall attempt to show the possible reasons for this throughout this study.

F. Differentiation by Geography

We can assert another possible way for the chroniclers to define ethnic groups in Muslim society: a geographical classification where people are identified according to the place. For instance, Pope Urban defined the Turks as “a race of Persians,”¹⁸¹ not because they are similar to Persians, but because they came out of the place where the Persians had already lived.¹⁸² One might claim that there were other factors, coming either from the Byzantine legacy or other similarities between Seljuks and Persians, such as the former using Persian in their writings and following identical practices in art, beliefs, institutions etc.¹⁸³ After the success of the Turks against the People’s Crusade of Peter the Hermit, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* says “some of the Turks took their prisoners home to *Khorosan*.”¹⁸⁴ These quotations show a definition of the Turkish ethnic group made by the chroniclers according to geography.

By looking at the *Gesta*, we can assert a similar and a rough definition for the Saracens, who lived generally around the Holy Land from the chronicler’s point of view. The lands that the crusaders of the First Crusade went through during and after the siege

¹⁸¹ Peters, *The First Crusade*, p. 30.

¹⁸² There might also be an element here of the Byzantine tendency to call their eastern enemies Persian owing to their classical history. After all, Urban II heard about the Turks from the Byzantines. On the other hand, the political centre of Turkish power was in Persia and observing the similarities in their fighting styles between the Turks and Persians might have caused this confusion. Whatever its reason, the fact remains that geography worked as another factor for the crusaders to define ethnic groups among Muslims.

¹⁸³ İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *A History of the Seljuks: İbrahim Kafesoglu's interpretation and the resulting controversy*. (Canbondale, 1988), pp. 124-132.

¹⁸⁴ The place name *Khorosan*, a literally descriptive of the north-eastern part of the modern Iran, is used by the author to denote Persia in general. *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, Rosalind Hill (ed. and trans.), p. 4.

of Antioch such as Tripoli, Beirut and Tyre to Jerusalem, were very often given no other ethnic or religious terms than *Saracenorum terram* or very rarely as *terrarium paganorum*.¹⁸⁵ To be exact, 83% of the times term Saracen used in the *Gesta* was expressed from Antioch onwards, and only 17% was used before Antioch.¹⁸⁶ Similar classification of land attributed to particular groups or terms can be found in many other crusading accounts, but the Holy Land was a place where the term Saracen was most often used in order to refer to Muslims.

By the same token, Anatolia, where the crusaders' first encounter with the Muslims took place was attributed to the Turks: 87% of the reference to Turks are found north and west of Antioch, and only 13% occur with regard to the Holy Land.¹⁸⁷ The lands the crusaders of the First Crusade passed through after Antioch, including Shaizar, Homs, Tripoli, Beirut, Acre and Ramleh, were also seen as lands of Arabs rather than Turkish because only 12% of the instances of the term Arab are found before the capture of Nicæa, and 34% was used after the capture of Nicæa. The reason why the term Arab was so often used before Antioch should be that somewhere after the capture of Nicæa, the chronicler starts to talk about the establishment of the Latin State of Edessa where Muslim Arabs had lived.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ This might raise some questions because Antioch at that time was in the hand of the Seljuks and only the lands after Antioch were ruled by Arab dynasties either under the Seljuks or under the Egyptians. It might come from the fact that Arabs conquered Antioch in 636 and kept it in their hands until 969, when it was recovered by Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas. The Seljuk Turks took the control of the city in 1085 and it remained in Seljuk hands for thirteen years before it was captured by the crusaders. Therefore, the long Arab hegemony in Antioch gained the upper hand in the writings of the chroniclers and they imagined this city and its surrounding areas as Saracen lands.

¹⁸⁶ See the graph in the Appendix showing the terms used for Muslims in the *Gesta Francorum* and the chart on *Saracen in the Gesta Francorum*, pp. 113, 111.

¹⁸⁷ See the chart in the Appendix, entitled *Turk in Gesta Francorum*, p. 111.

¹⁸⁸ See the chart in the Appendix, entitled *Arab in the Gesta Francorum*, p. 112.

The place where Muslim Negroes lived in the eyes of the chroniclers was also defined. “It is said that [Baldwin’s] first expeditions were undertaken against the Arabs when he reached the slopes of Mount Sinai, he found a barbaric group of people, who resembled the Ethiopians. He spared their lives because of their untamed behaviour and ugliness.”¹⁸⁹ If we scrutinize this quotation, we can see that Baldwin’s men had not encountered people like this before. The place where the Black Muslims and the crusaders met for the first time can, to some extent, be interpreted as the lands where the Black Muslims had lived. The chronicler might have thought that the lands around the slopes of Mount Sinai belonged to the Black Muslims. Yet of all these ethnic groups, we see that the term Saracen had geographic boundaries much wider than the rest.

It is difficult to draw such a clear picture for the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, because the way the crusaders followed in the Third Crusade encompasses only the Holy Land. However, when we look how often these terms were used in the *Itinerarium*, we can still define an ethnic geography. Unlike the *Gesta*, the *Itinerarium* preferred to use more general terms, such as gentile, pagan, Saracen which might refer to anyone in the Muslim society. One ought to bear in mind that this time the crusaders mainly encountered a united Muslim army which was generally composed of Turks, Saracens and Egyptians.

This reason why the chroniclers most often used the term Turk might be that the Turks were the most formidable enemies of Christendom, and the crusaders were not as successful as before: imagining their enemy to be mostly composed of Turks might help

¹⁸⁹ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 93.

to explain their failure.¹⁹⁰ When we look at other sources, we can realize that the geography of the term did not change. After leaving Constantinople, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I, for example, commanded with threats that “when they entered ‘Turkish territory’¹⁹¹ no one was to plunder anything, but were studiously to observe the peace which had been agreed with the sultan.”¹⁹² One should keep in mind that such geographic boundaries drawn in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades were not stable or fixed but flimsy, changing according to the time, place and accepted belief. Despite such deficiencies, one can argue that geography was one of the defining criteria of the chroniclers’ classification of ethnic groups.

At this point, I should say for this study of the ethnic groups that it does not matter how hard we try to refrain from making the mistake of offering a criterion valid under any circumstance, we one way or another limit the scope of the chroniclers’ way of defining Muslim ethnic groups. Although we can accept some of these ways as workable in the case of particular ethnic groups, there is always the possibility of finding ethnic groups which can hardly be explained by means of these markers of ethnicity. For example, as we shall see in detail later, the term Saracen, which was one of the most often used terms in order to refer to the Muslims, does not fit very well with the explanations that I have given above. Although there is some geographical content, neither language nor custom nor physical features nor appearance seems enough to explain why the crusaders identified a discrete group of people among the Muslims as

¹⁹⁰ Trying to justify why the King Richard had to make a treaty with Saladin, the author of the *Itinerarium* clearly shows Christian regret. “[The King’s] astute mind considered many options but his preferred choice, the least disagreeable, was to demand a truce...He certainly could not hope for anything better since he was sick and had so little assistance and had gone no further than two miles from the enemy’s position.” Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 370-372.

¹⁹¹ “...ne fines Turcorum ingressi quicquam raperent...” Hans Mayer, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, p. 295.

¹⁹² Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 59.

Saracens. On balance, we can conclude that none of these criteria seems to work in every case, and even if we take every thing into account, there might be still many other minor things, such as the way of life of ethnic groups, including essential work which shaped the functioning of society, the ritual of birth, marriage and death etc. that we are not able to take into account because of the scanty sources¹⁹³ or distortion of the terms by the chroniclers.¹⁹⁴ After all, the sources that we can use in such a study do not allow us to find out all criteria that might have affected the western writers' ways of classification among the Muslims.

Another thing that deserves to be discussed here is the difference between "ethnic" and other kinds of terms emphasizing religious or moral components. First of all, as I have attempted to show above, ethnic terms in one way or another express something that already existed for a particular group of people. For example, when we use the term Kurd for a group of people, this is not something that might be applied to other groups. Although the boundaries were not as strict as one is accustomed to see in the present day, these ethnic terms had a long history in the orient and one can roughly imagine what kind of people the chroniclers were talking about. On the other hand, non-ethnic terms had rather vaguer meanings. "Hated people", for example, could be any group among Muslim society that the crusaders did not like or Muslims as a whole.

¹⁹³ As Hugh Thomas did in the case of the English and the Normans, it should be asked here how and by what standards one might measure one ethnic group as different from another, especially in the light of the scanty sources coming from the crusading period. Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 54. After all, the question of what ethnicity meant for the crusading period is something not only beyond the scope of this work, but also it is not at the core of this study of the terminology used for the Muslims at the time of the crusades.

¹⁹⁴ The term Babylon is good examples of this trend. In the accounts of the First and Third Crusades, Egypt was referred to as "Babylon" the ancient Memphis. Thus, as a term having been used before the crusades for the enemy of Judaism, the term Babylon was sometimes distorted in meaning by being applied to the Muslim enemies of the crusaders in the crusading accounts. However, the main point that I try to make here is that there might be other subtle distortions made by the chroniclers, which we have not discovered yet.

Occasionally, such terms were even used in such vague meanings that we cannot make a clear distinction between Muslims and Christians by just taking into account these terms, because the western writers sometimes found the eastern Christians as their foes.¹⁹⁵

Heretic is prime example. The chroniclers had no hesitation in using terms with religious or moral components against their religious brethren.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, the religious or moral terms could be used more interchangeably compared to the ethnic terms. There is no specific rule for using particular religious terms for a particular group, but they were used quite arbitrarily, and these terms often were used to elucidate the ethnic terms. For instance, in the *Gesta* version of the defeat of Kerbogha, the author says "...all our leaders decided upon the plan of sending a messenger to the Turks, enemies of Christ..."¹⁹⁷ Again, "the Turks who were guarding the citadel made a sudden attack on our men...Then the pagans stormed the citadel against our men with such force that they were unable to resist...while the Turks themselves had shattered three spears in their hands."¹⁹⁸ Such attempts to use religious or moral terms in place of the ethnic terms are very common in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades and this supports our claim that they were chosen according to the chroniclers' attitude towards enemies, which makes it quite difficult to draw a commonly accepted way of using religious or moral terms among the western writers.

¹⁹⁵ "The Armenians and Syrian, although they were Christian, were compelled to fire arrow to us; and some even did willingly..."; "The same punishment inflicted upon the hordes of pagans was justly meted out to the treacherous Armenians and Syrians, who, with the aid of the Turks, had eagerly and diligently pursued the destruction of our men and our men were, in turn, unwilling to spare them painful punishment." Guibert continues by saying "And yet if I say that they would have spared many of them, had they known how to make a distinction between the native pagans and those of our own faith." Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 86, 93.

¹⁹⁶ See previous quotation and that about Azymites.

¹⁹⁷ Peters, *The First Crusade*, p. 185.

¹⁹⁸ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 102.

CHAPTER 4

ETHNIC TERMS IN THE *GESTA* AND THE *ITINERARIUM*

A. Turk

After examining the problem of how ethnic groups were distinguished and making some distinction between ethnic and other kinds of terms, I would like to start with one of the most often used ethnic terms: Turk (*Turcus-Turcum* in Latin texts). When the Turks first used this name to describe themselves is uncertain. Although the earliest known writing in a Turkic language dates from the eighth century A.D., Byzantine records of two centuries earlier refer to Turks and Chinese chronicles even mention them in 1300 B.C. Also, it is not clear whether the word Turk first designated one tribe or a group of tribes. But, we see the term Turk for the first time in the Islamic sources by the late seventh and early eighth centuries in the meaning of a group of tribes.¹⁹⁹

By means of military contact, trade and the proselytism of itinerant holy men and dervishes, the Turks came to know Islam and gradually adopted it. After entering the classical world of Islam, some groups of Turks were employed as slave fighters and the guards of the caliph of Baghdad. Then, the Seljuk Turks struck out on their own, taking control of eastern districts of the caliphate. Finally, as we see later in detail, in 1055, Tuğrul, a grandson of Seljuk, captured the seat of the caliph himself in Baghdad. After that, while the Seljuk Turks exercised political and military control, the caliph remained

¹⁹⁹ Roderic H. Davison. "The Turks in History" In *Turkish Art*, edited by Esin Atil. (Washington, 1980), p. 19.

the religious head of the Islamic community. The Seljuks now appeared as strong defenders of Orthodox Islam against the heterodoxies of the Shiites and later against the crusaders.²⁰⁰

In the accounts of the First and Third Crusades, when the writers use the term Turk, we are inclined to think that they generally mean Seljukid Turks, the main opponents of Byzantine Empire. There were other political groups in the region, including the Danishmend²⁰¹ and Ortoqid²⁰² dynasties which the chroniclers might have called Turks indiscriminately. To take an example, in spite of the constant rivalry with the Seljuks, the Danishmends sometimes allied with the Seljuks against the crusaders with little success.²⁰³ These alliances continued until the time when the Danishmends were eventually defeated and incorporated into Seljuk territory circa 1178. Therefore, the Danishmends, one way or another, had to come up against the crusaders. To give an example, it was the Danishmends who captured Bohemond in 1101. In the accounts of the First Crusade, however, no distinction is made among these people and they are just called Turks, without saying whether Seljuk or Danishmend Turks.²⁰⁴ In a similar vein, in spite of declaring that Kerbogha's army was composed of 'Turks, Arabs, Saracens,

²⁰⁰ Davison, "The Turks in History", p. 20

²⁰¹ The Danishmend dynasty ruled in eastern Anatolia and northern Syria, in particular in Sivas and Malatya. It was the chief rival of the Seljukid Empire in Konya and Baghdad in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

²⁰² As an Oğuz Turk dynasty, the Ortoqid dynasty became a dominant power in the Jezirah (northern Iraq) between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. We know of them from Muslim sources, including Ibn ul-Esir *Tarih Aabekkiye*, Ibn ul-Azrak *Tarih Meyyafarkin*, Ibn ul-Kalanisi *Zeyl Tarih Dimusk* and so forth. For further information, see Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: the early Artuqid State*. (Istanbul, 1990); and Osman Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi: Saltuklular, Mengüçükler, Sökmenliler, Dilmaç Oğulları ve Artukluların siyasi tarihi ve medeniyetleri*. (Istanbul, 1973).

²⁰³ Kafesoğlu, *A History of the Seljuks*, p. 68.

²⁰⁴ In many studies, no attempt has been made to distinguish between Turks who formed the bulk of the "enemies of the Frankish Kingdom" and the other ethnic groups, despite the decisive role played by the Turkicization process in the ethnic and cultural metamorphosis of the Levant in this period. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 27.

Paulicans, Azymites, Kurds, Persians, Agulani and many other people', the chronicler of the *Gesta* often calls this army "the Turkish army" in his record.²⁰⁵

One can also expect to see more Turks fighting against the crusaders by the time of the Third Crusade, since now the Muslims were more united and able to assemble more Turkish people than before. The chart extracted from the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* supports this argument, because the term Turk is the most often used term in the *Itinerarium* to refer to the Muslims (63%).²⁰⁶ Yet, the chroniclers still continue to call them all Turks without making any political division among them. Thus, it is reasonable to think of the term Turk encompassing a wider geography and more people rather than limiting it to the immediate enemies of Byzantium, the Seljuks of Anatolia.

Koestler argues that the term Turk, in the sense in which it was used by mediaeval writers, refers primarily to language and not to race.²⁰⁷ If this is so, we should think of a very large group of people addressed by the term Turk, since the Turks were one of the strongest political powers of the crusading period and therefore those who could speak the Turkish language would have included more than members of the Turkish ethnic groups. There are some documents supporting this argument. One of them is *Diwan Lughat at-Turk*, written in 1074 in Baghdad by the Turkish lexicographer Mahmud Kashghari. The reason for creating this dictionary, he claims, was to meet the needs of non-Turks who wanted to learn Turkish. He also places emphasis on the *hadith* transmitted by the two scholars Bukhari and Nishapuri, where the Prophet was supposed

²⁰⁵ See, for example, Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 49, 57. We also know from the Arab historian. Ibn Al-Athir that "when Kerbogha...mustered his army and advanced into Syria...all the Turkish and Arab forces in Syria rallied to him except for the army from Aleppo." *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, translated by Francesco Gabrieli. (New York, 1989), p. 7. This quotation shows that Kerbogha's army was composed of various people who cannot be described as Turkish.

²⁰⁶ See the chart in the Appendix, named the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*.

²⁰⁷ Arthur Koestler, *The Thirteenth Tribe: the Khazar empire and its heritage*. (New York, 1976), p. 3.

to have said that “Learn the language of the Turks for they have had a long rule.”²⁰⁸ Even if we accept such arguments as a proof showing that there might have been more people speaking Turkish than the Turks themselves, we should ask the question whether these people thereby became Turks and were identified as Turks by the chroniclers. Unfortunately, however, the accounts of the First and Third Crusades do not allow us to answer such questions.

B. Saracen

An interconnected term used for the Muslims which is of concern to my study was the term Saracen (*Saracenus-Saracenum* in Latin texts), which is highly problematic to define. We can identify this term in many respects, but are still not be able to clarify it in a precise manner for the period. Etymologically, the term Saracen comes from the Greek *sarakenoi*, usually said to be from the Arabic word شرقيين *sharqiyyin* ("easterners"). However, a Greek/Nabataean bilingual inscription from Rawwafa in the Hejaz, dated to 166-169 refers to the Thamudic Arabs of the region as “ethnos” in the Greek text, and as *sirkat* in Nabataean.²⁰⁹ The term *sirkat* is apparently related to the Arabic *sarika* (to share, participate). Thus a *sarik* is a partner, associate or colleague. Since the Rawwafa usage is contemporaneous with these occurrences, it may be postulated that the classical terms *Sarakenoi* and *Saraceni* are derived from a pre-Islamic cognate to classical Arabic *sirkat* (confederation), loaned to Nabataean Aramaic. Rawwafa indicates, the tribes of the Hejaz represented themselves as a *sirkat*, and must

²⁰⁸ Cited from Kafesoğlu, *A History of the Seljuks*, p. 85.

²⁰⁹ See David F. Graf. “The Saracens and the Defense of the Arabian Frontier.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 229. (Atlanta, 1978), pp. 10-12.

have considered the term equivalent to the Greek ethnos “people” or “nation”.²¹⁰ As a result, the term was communicated to the Roman envoys, transliterated into Greek and Latin, and later popularized as *Sarakenoi* and *Saraceni*. The first specific reference to the *Saraceni*, in the sense of desert dwellers, is in the context of Diocletian's campaign of 290.²¹¹ Ammianus Marcellinus says that the *Saraceni* were the same people known in earlier times as the *Skenitai barbaroi* - a term meaning “barbarian tent dwellers”. i.e., desert nomads.²¹² Later, the Greek-speaking subjects of the Empire applied it to the Arabs.²¹³ After the rise of Islam, the usage of the term *Saraceni* was extended to all Muslims, particularly those in Sicily, southern Italy and Spain.

The name was also associated in the west with that of the Biblical *Sarah*. Biblical exegesis on *Sarah* discussed the origin of *Saraceni* as descendants of Hagar, the Egyptian wife of Abraham, while Christians were the descendants of *Sarah* who had a son named Isaac, who prefigured Christ. Ishmael, son of Hagar, and his descendants were identified with the *Saraceni*. Confusingly enough in Christian writing against Islam, the name was made to mean ‘those empty of *Sarah*’ or ‘not from *Sarah*’, as Arabs were descended from Hagar.²¹⁴ Ishmaelite was a name formerly given particularly by Jews to Arabs, as descendants of Ishmael. In part from the Arabic *Ismailiy*, it became a name of a Shiite sect after 765 A.D. that followed the Imamship through descendants of Ismail, eldest son of Jafar, the sixth Imam. The *Ismailite* were not numerous, but among them were the powerful Fatimid dynasty in Egypt and the Assassins, both of whom loomed large in European imagination at the time of the crusades. All these explain why

²¹⁰ Graf, “The *Saraceni* and the Defense of the Arabian Frontier”, pp. 11-12.

²¹¹ *The XII Panegyrici Latini*, 11.5.4.

²¹² Ammianus Marcellinus, *Das Römische Weltreich vor dem Untergang*. (Zürich, 1997), pp. 373, 406.

²¹³ *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. X. (Chicago, 1977), p. 445.

²¹⁴ Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, p. 17.

the term Ishmaelites was sometimes used for the Muslims, though not by crusader sources.²¹⁵

In Christian theological tracts and chronicles, especially those of the time of the Crusades, the term Saracen consistently refers to Muslims, even though the word itself originally had geographic and ethnic origins rather than religious. Taken altogether, in my period we can summarize the scope of this term as being used in three ways. First, it was used for members of the nomadic peoples of the Syrian and Arabian deserts at the time of the Roman Empire. In this respect, perhaps the modern term Bedouin is a good equivalent of the term Saracen in meaning.

The second meaning of Saracen was a relatively generalized one used for Muslims. It was not necessary for them to be Arabized, because the only reason they were called Saracens was for being members of the Islamic faith and therefore, they did not have to speak Arabic or have a similar appearance to Semitic people, or be familiar with Arabic culture, which might include art, knowledge, law, morals, custom, and any other skills and habits acquired by man as a member of an ethnic group. For instance, in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, the chronicler describes both Mamluks and Kurds as Saracen. “A crooked type of Saracen people called “Mamluks” of Aleppo and “Kurds”, who were lively young warriors, assembled together to discuss what should be done in the present situation.”²¹⁶

Lastly, a Saracen was one who was closer to the Semitic areas, and in fact, to some extent, likely to be a Semitic person; and one who was also of course Muslim. Saracens either spoke Arabic or were very close to Arabic culture; and we can generally

²¹⁵ Southern mentions several ways in which the character of the Saracens could be understood in the light of this identification with the children of Ismael. See *ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

²¹⁶ Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 359.

assert that this meaning of Saracen indicated someone who would have lived in the area around the Holy Land or Egypt.²¹⁷ For instance, when talking about the Muslims' attempt to seize King Richard, the chronicler of the *Itinerarium* says that "one of the king's companions named William des Préaux shouted out loudly in the Saracen language that he was the *melech!* – which means king." This quotation proves, at least for this occasion, that the Saracens the chronicler described should have spoken Arabic.

We do not have to pay much attention to the term Saracen in the meaning of nomadic desert-dweller, because the chroniclers did not give these much importance, nor did they have an important role as far as the crusades were concerned. Bedouin, derived from the Arabic *badawi* بدوي, a generic name for a desert-dweller, is a term generally applied to Arab nomadic groups, who are found throughout most of the desert belt. In fact, the chronicler of the *Itinerarium* tried to define these people and it seems that the meaning of Bedouin was quite close to what we imagine today as Bedouins. "Also there were the Saracens who travel about in the desert, popularly called "Bedouins": savage and darker than soot, the most redoubtable infantrymen, carrying bows and quivers and round shields. They were very energetic and agile race."²¹⁸ However, this is all we can extract from the chroniclers about the Bedouins and we cannot always assume that they are distinguished from Saracens or Arabs.

The essence of the problem for the second meaning of the term Saracen where the reason for their membership came from the Islamic faith is that many ethnic groups can be subsumed under that term and in many cases we are not able to discover which ethnic group(s) that the chroniclers were talking about. The term Saracen is one of the

²¹⁷ See the diagram in the Appendix, where we can observe how many times the term Saracen was used and where it was more often used; and the chart named *Saracen in Gesta Francorum*.

²¹⁸ Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 247.

best examples to show how it is not an easy task to define the ethnic groups in the periods I am dealing with. We should always take into account the deficiencies of such classifications when judging the terminology used by the accounts of the First and Third Crusades.

C. Turk and Saracen

As being the two of the most frequently used terms in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades, Turk and Saracen should be investigated in tandem. It seems obvious in crusader accounts that the Turks are generally, though not always, differentiated from the Saracens or other ethnic groups. That is to say, the chroniclers generally find it necessary to use the term Turk separately when mentioning adherents of Islam. The crusader accounts lay emphasis on these two terms by repeating them with many other terms which were also used to refer to Muslims. “They killed the Turks and Saracens whom they found there”²¹⁹; “...where [the count of Saint-Gilles] found Turks and Saracens with whom he fought”²²⁰; “[a village called Marrah] attracted Saracens and Turks from nearby town”²²¹ and so on. Similar statements can be found in other crusader sources, too.²²²

One could conclude that the crusader accounts draw a fairly clear distinction between Turks and Saracens by mentioning each term in tandem. On the other hand, however, one could also argue that they used these two terms together for an

²¹⁹ Peters, *The First Crusade*, p. 166.

²²⁰ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 74.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²²² See how many times the chroniclers used the terms Turk and Saracen (and Arab) together by looking at the diagram in the Appendix.

undifferentiated group — as in the English phrase “the laws of the Medes and Persians”. So although originally, perhaps, the terms might distinguish between two groups, it does not necessarily always do so. Suppose, for example, that one crusader asks another “who are they?” The other says “Turks and Saracens”. A third crusader (assume that he is a chronicler) asks the same question to the first person and he tells him “They are Turks and Saracens”. In this case, neither the first person nor the chronicler himself has any idea of the difference between a Turk and a Saracen.

Nevertheless, the distinction between Turks and Saracens becomes, at least in particular chronicles, apparent. For example, in one of the letters of the First Crusade, the author lays a particular emphasis on the Turks while the Saracens are relegated to a minor role in terms of importance. “More than 5,000 bold Turkish soldiers had entered the city, not counting the Saracens, Publicans, Arabs, Turcopolitans, Syrians, Armenians and other different races of whom an infinite multitude gathered together there.”²²³ In the crusading accounts, not only do the Turks seem to be more ferocious in arms and in spirit, but also they were announced to be the only important threat for Christendom at that time. The term Saracen was used in a different manner than the term Turk in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades. What were the differences? What might be reason for such differences? And what do these terms really mean for the chroniclers? These are some questions that I shall try to answer in the following paragraphs.

At first glance, from the chroniclers’ point of view the term Turk was often used for someone who was quite dangerous for the Christian world and the Turks were the first and foremost of the declared reasons for the First Crusade. In other words, after inflicting a devastating defeat on Byzantium in 1071, they were the men who started to

²²³ Peters, *The First Crusade*, p. 226.

occupy Anatolia as far west as Nicæa, apart from the regions of Mesopotamia, Syria and Iran where they also lived. The term Turk had a rather different subtext than that of Saracen, particularly at the time of the First Crusade. In 1094 or 1095, the Byzantine emperor, Alexius I Comnenus, sent to the pope, Urban II, and asked for aid from the west against the Seljuk Turks, who had taken nearly all of Asia Minor from him. At the council of Clermont, Urban addressed a large number of people and urged all to go to the help of the Greeks and to regain the Holy Land from the rule of the Muslims. In the version of Balderic of Dol, for example, he recorded Urban's speech which used the Turks as the reason for the crusaders' future departure for Palestine in the following way:

Of holy Jerusalem, brethren, we dare not speak, for we are exceedingly afraid and ashamed to speak of it. This very city, in which, as you all know, Christ Himself suffered for us, because our sins demanded it, has been reduced to the pollution of paganism...The Turks violently took from it the offerings which you brought there for alms in such vast amounts, and, in addition, they scoffed much and often at Your religion...Under Jesus Christ, our Leader, may you struggle for your Jerusalem...struggle, that you may assail and drive out the Turks....who are in this land.²²⁴

In Fulcher of Chartres's version of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont, this same fact, that is it was neither the Saracens nor any other ethnic groups, but the Turks who were seen as the main target of the First Crusade was repeated.

For, as most of you have been told, the Turks, a race of Persians, who have penetrated within the boundaries of Romania [the Anatolia as well as to the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire] even to the Mediterranean to that point which they call the Arm of Saint George, in occupying more and more of the lands of the Christians...If you permit this supinely for very long, God's faithful ones will be still further subjected.²²⁵

²²⁴ Peters, *The First Crusade*, pp. 6-10. Balderic who wrote in the early twelfth century was archbishop of Dol. His most valuable work is his *Historiae Hierosolymitanae libri IV* based in part on the testimony of eyewitnesses.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In the version of the Robert of Reims (the Monk), Robert also calls them “the race of Persians” which is none other than the Turks.

Frenchmen and men from across the mountains...We want you to know...Disturbing news has emerged from Jerusalem and the city of Constantinople...namely that the race of Persians, a foreign people and a people rejected by God...has invaded the lands of those Christians...So to whom should the task fall of taking vengeance and wresting [the Turks’] conquests from [Greeks]...²²⁶

During the second half of the eleventh century, the lands of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad including its western provinces were overrun by Turkish peoples migrating from Central Asia. In 1076, the Turks took Jerusalem from representatives of the Fatimid caliphate situated in Cairo. From the 1050s onwards, these Turks started to dominate the Islamic lands of Persia, Syria, and Antioch. Their military leader, the Sultan, and their religious leader the Sunni Muslim Caliph, ruled hand in hand and members of these two branches of Muslim society generally intermarried.²²⁷ Still the Turks, who had been shamanists at first and had converted to Islam fairly recently, were not much welcomed among all Arabs, who were contemptuous towards these strangers. The fact remained that the Turks embraced the Muslim faith with all the fervour of new converts at a time when the Muslims were in a very uncertain and dangerous situation.

²²⁶ Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 79-80. The acts of the council have not been preserved, but we have five accounts of the speech of Urban which were written by men who were present and heard him. As I have declared above, three of them including this version of Balderic of Dol, that of Fulcher of Chartres and that of Robert the Monk clearly regard the Turks as the main target of the First Crusade. The versions of the *Gesta Francorum* and Guibert of Nogent, however, did not mention the Turks but presented the Holy Sepulcher as the main target of the crusade army. *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, pp. 1-2 and Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, pp. 42-43.

²²⁷ In 1062, Tuğrul Beg and the Caliph’ daughter married; Alp Arslan’s heir apparent and the Caliph’ daughter married in 1070; and lastly Melikshah’s daughter and Caliph Muktedi married in 1087. See Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Selçukluların Dini Siyaseti (1040-1092)*. (Istanbul, 2002), pp. 351-360, 369, 376-378.

When the Byzantines had lost almost the whole of Anatolia to the Seljuk Turks after the battle of Manzikert, the image of the formidable Turk was spread throughout Europe. Gregory VII's following letter shows what he had in mind in 1074, when he intended to initiate something like a crusading movement against the Turks, though he does not name them.

...we have learned that a people of the pagans have been pressing hard upon the Christian empire, have cruelly laid waste the country almost to the walls of Constantinople and slaughtered like sheep many thousand Christians...The example of our Redeemer and the duty of brotherly love demand of us that we should set our hearts upon the deliverance of our brethren. For as he offered his life for us, so ought we to offer our lives for our brothers. Be it known, therefore, that we...are preparing in every possible way to carry aid to the Christian empire as soon as may be, by God's help. We adjure you...to be stirred with compassion by the wounds and the blood of your brethren and the peril of the empire and willingly to offer your powerful aid to your brethren in the name of Christ.²²⁸

The author of the *Gesta Francorum* helps us to understand how Europe imagined the Turks at the time of the First Crusade. "What man...experienced and learned would dare to write of the skill and prowess and courage of the Turks, who thought that they would strike terror into the Franks, as they had done into the Arabs and Saracens, Armenians, Syrians and Greeks, by the menace of their arrow?"²²⁹ Although the Turks caused Alexius to appeal for help to Urban II, it can be argued that Urban overestimated the potential of the Turkish army at that time. After the death of Sultan Malikshah in 1092, a disputed succession between his sons Barkyaruq and Tutush created a chaotic atmosphere and a state of disunity. However, Urban II did consciously seek to exaggerate the problems that beset the eastern fringes of Christendom, vilifying

²²⁸ Ephraim Emerton, *The correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: selected letters from the Registrum*. (New York, 1969), p. 25. Gregory VII known also as Hildebrand was one of the greatest popes, 1073 and 1085. His reform became a turning point in the history of the church and he conceived one of the earliest plans for the crusade against the Turks. For further information, see *the Modern Catholic Encyclopedia* Michael edited by Glazier and Monika K. Hellwig, "Pope St. Gregory VII". (Macmillan, 1994).

²²⁹ *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 21.

the character of the murdering, pillaging Turk. He mentioned that churches and holy places had been desecrated and defiled, and that Antioch had fallen to the unbelievers, though he did not say that these events had taken place over twenty years earlier.

Regardless of all the scare-mongering at Clermont, by 1098 the Turks had lost control of Jerusalem to the Fatimid Egyptians. It was still the Turks who continued to be regarded as the most formidable power in the region as far as the chroniclers were concerned. For instance, in the *Gesta* version of the siege of Antioch, the terms the anonymous author used for the Turks showed the Christian appreciation of these powerful enemies. “The Turks (enemies of God and holy Christendom) came boldly to fight with our men...those wretched barbarians came up craftily and made a sudden attack upon us, killing many knights and foot soldiers who were off their guard.”²³⁰ Even in the crusade accounts written longer after the success of the First Crusade, we can observe something similar.

Among all the Eastern kingdoms, the Babylonian empire was from ancient times the most powerful, and ruled over many kingdoms. However, the kingdom of the Parthians, whom we, because of the changes in the language, call the Turks, is pre-eminent in military matters, in horsemanship and in courage, although it is a very small country. And so the Babylonian emperor occupied the areas we just mentioned with a large army, but in the course of time he lost them, as the Turks grew in number, and the Assyrians were defeated. More energetic, and in command of an astute boldness, they were attacking the empire of Constantinople and seemed about to besiege the city, when the Emperor of the Greeks, frightened by their frequent and relentless incursions, sent a letter to France, written to the elder Robert, Count of Flanders, offering him reasons that might urge him to defend endangered Greece...²³¹

²³⁰ *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 32.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36. The Babylonian Empire here is both the ancient one and the Iraq in the hand of caliphate, i.e. we see two distinct histories. Guibert saw the Turkish conquest of the caliphate as a repeat of the Persian conquest of the Babylonian.

To give another example from the First Crusade, Guibert tries to show how wonderful the Christians' success against the enemy was given the competence of their enemies as warriors.

But perhaps someone may object, arguing that the enemy forces were merely peasants, scum herded together from everywhere. Certainly the Franks themselves, who had undergone such great danger, testified that they could have known of no race comparable to the Turks, either in the liveliness of spirit, or energy in battle. When the Turks initiated a battle, our men were almost reduced to despair by the novelty of their tactics in battle; they were not accustomed to their speed on horseback, or to their ability to avoid our frontal assaults. We had particular difficulty with the fact that they fired their arrows only when fleeing from the battle.²³²

Maybe a little bit less often, we still meet with the same usage of the term Turk in the accounts of the Third Crusade. There are many examples of this tendency in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*. The author asserts, for example, that “[The Turks] were truly the most pre-eminent men chosen from all Paganism to hold Acre against the Christians, fit and ready for anything; certainly not inferior to our people.”²³³ Referring to the Turks, Richard of Devizes states that “virtue/courage is praiseworthy even in an enemy.”²³⁴ Again, in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* the author says that “The Turks...tried with all their strength to resist the attacking sailors...the sailors...drove the Turks back into the prow of the ship, but other Turks burst out of the ship's hold and resisted in a body, choosing either to die bravely or manfully to repel their enemy.”²³⁵ The *Itinerarium* makes a conclusion about the attitude of the Christians towards the Turks: “[Christians] admired these outstanding and memorable warriors, who were men

²³² *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 68.

²³³ Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 75.

²³⁴ “quia virtus et in hoste laudatur”: *ibid.*, pp. 75-76, 364.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

of admirable prowess, exceptional valour, very energetic in the practice of war and renowned for their great deeds.”²³⁶

In both the accounts of the First Crusade and those of the Third Crusades then, we see signs of the differentiation of the Turks and, to some extent, admiration for them among other ethnic groups. With the term Saracen, however, we see differences between the First and Third Crusade accounts. In the First Crusade, I came across only one example, from the siege and capture of Jerusalem, in which one could argue that the term Saracen was used to refer to those who were good at fighting.

...what best showed the vehement commitment of the Saracens was the fact that when one of them was struck by one of our men, the shield of the man who had been struck was snatched up, quicker than speech, by another man, who took up the place from which the first had fallen, so that none of our men could have known that his blows had wounded any of them.²³⁷

In general, Turks were seen as the more formidable foe. The quotation referring to the Saracens above is still far from being equivalent to the term Turk, since the chronicler may have just wanted to show how they tried to deceive the Christians standing in front of Jerusalem. If we accept this as an example of Saracen prowess, it was an unusual use of the term Saracen, because there is no other example in the First Crusade accounts.

As for the chronicles of the Third Crusade, however, we see a picture somewhat distinct from the previous one. As I said, the use of the term Turk with the subtext of a formidable enemy continues to be used in the Third Crusade. For the term Saracen, however, we see important changes. The western writers of the Third Crusade started to admire the Saracens, owing to their good treatment of Christians during the struggle

²³⁶ Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 220.

²³⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 158.

between Islam and Christendom. For instance, after the Christians evacuated Jerusalem with a safe contact from Saladin, the term Saracen was used in order to show that the Muslims treated Christian folks better than Christians themselves after the recapture of Jerusalem on October 2, 1187. “The people of Neplin and Tripoli treated [Christians] worse than the Saracens. For, the Saracens...escorted them to safety and provided them with food in plenty, but they robbed them and refused to let them find refuge.”²³⁸ And this is not an individual act of a group of people, as we see in the following part of this chronicle.

The governor [of Egypt], who was a wise man and who feared God, even though he was a Saracen, said to the master and the navigators of the ships, ‘come forward and swear to me on your gospels that you will bring [these Christians] properly and in good faith to a port of safety in Christendom, and just because I have forced you to take them, be sure to convey them to the same place as you take the rich people and do not do them any evil or harm. If I find out at some time, that you have treated them badly or shamefully, I shall seize the merchants of your land who come to this country.’ So it was that the Christians who had spent the winter in Alexandria went away in safety from the land of Egypt.²³⁹

One might ask who these Saracens really were in origin and what the crusader accounts meant while saying Saracens here (Egyptians, Turks, Assyrians, Arabs, Kurds etc). As I mentioned before, it is not an easy task to say who they exactly were, but still we can argue that at the time of Saladin’s Empire, the Muslim army could no longer be seen as purely or predominantly Turk even in the northern Holy Land.²⁴⁰ The use of Saracen is not only closer to the second meaning of the term Saracen, where it was a relatively generalized one used for the Muslims, but also the Saracens were undoubtedly

²³⁸ William of Tyre “The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1984-97” In *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade : sources in translation* collected by Peter W. Edbury, p. 65.

²³⁹ William of Tyre “The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1984-97”, p. 66.

²⁴⁰ In the *Continuation of William of Tyre*, the author describes the components of Saladin’s army as “Parthians, Bedouins, Arabs, Medes, Kurds and Egyptians without citing Turks. Quoted from Malcolm Cameron Lyons, *Saladin: the politics of the holy war*. (Cambridge, 1982), p. 252.

as formidable enemies as the Turks were described about hundred years before. On the other hand, this does not mean that the usage of the term Saracen, as a term closer to the Semitic world, disappeared in the accounts of the Third Crusade. That is to say, from the chroniclers' point of view, whoever they meant by saying Saracen did not change much between the First and Third Crusades. What is different here is that, at the time of the Third Crusade, the term Saracen began to be used to refer to the groups of people that were no longer much different in esteem from the Turk in the eyes of the chroniclers. It is enough to say that the connotations of the words used in order to refer to the Muslims between the First and Third Crusades seems to have changed more in favour of the term Saracen.

What is particularly important here as compared with the use of the term Turk is that the new meaning of Saracen was not so much related to their skill in warfare or fighting, but to their good treatment of the Christians. It can be interpreted in two ways. Either the group of people called Saracen by the chroniclers changed their attitude toward their Christian enemies at the time of the Third Crusade or the western chroniclers started to be better acquainted with their enemies and realized that they had good features and agreeable countenances. As we can see in the previous quotation taken from William of Tyre, the Muslim governor in Egypt was referred to as a man "who feared God, even though he was a Saracen". Here the chronicler might think in two ways. One is that the Saracen fears a God who is none other than the same God to whom Christians pray. In this connection, the Saracens were never seen as pagans, but they had some peculiarities which were against Christian doctrine. One might argue also that the chronicler saw them as having a different religion which, however, was not so abominable as we are accustomed to see in the accounts of the First Crusade. In either

case, this is a reflection of the change in the ideas of the chroniclers that we should take into account. Yet, whatever the reasons for such a change, this new tendency shows how one word can gain a different connotation for the people meant by it between two time periods. However, this is not the only way to show the change in the depiction of their Muslim enemies as we shall illustrate.

D. Arab

From the modern point of view, the term Arab (*Arabs-Arabem* in Latin texts) has a direct ethnic connotation. At first sight, the term Arab used for Muslims is not so difficult to understand. It was from the Arabic ‘Arab’, the indigenous name of the people, perhaps literally ‘inhabitant of the desert’ (related to the Classical Hebrew *arabha* "desert"). An Arab was simply a member of a Semitic people, speaking Arabic and inhabiting the desert or near-desert areas of Arabia, Egypt, Syria and Iraq. As with the case of the term Turk, it does not necessarily mean that the ethnic aspect is referred to strongly in the crusader sources. It may refer just to a member of an Arabic-speaking people who were not necessarily Arab in origin. The Arabs spread the religion of Islam and the Arabic language (the language of the Qur'an) and to some extent Arabic culture through conversion and assimilation. Many groups came to be known as ‘Arabs’ not through descent but through Arabization. A long time had passed after the early Islamic expansion finished and Islam had ruled the Holy Land for about four hundred years. During this time, the Arabic language was spoken by many people living around this

region.²⁴¹ By the period I am dealing with, therefore, the chroniclers may have used the term Arab for people of many different origins, since they spoke also Arabic, which had become a lingua franca by that time especially in the Holy Land.

On the other hand, the term Arab used for the people living around the Holy Land and Egypt in the crusader accounts did not necessarily mean one who was a follower of the Islamic faith. There were still many people from Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and other places who were Arab in origin and appearance or language, but Christian in terms of their religion. Ibn Jubayr, for example, reports that:

...we came to the city of Acre - may God destroy it. We were taken to the custom-house, which is a khan prepared to accommodate the caravan. Before the doors are stone benches, spread with carpets, where are the Christian clerks of the Customs with their ebony ink-stands ornamented with gold. They write Arabic, which they also speak.²⁴²

We cannot be sure which particular groups the chroniclers talked about when they used the word Arab, because over time, the term Arab came to carry a broader meaning than the original ethnic term. One can argue that this was not so different from the modern use of the term Arab. In the chronicle writings, therefore, we expect to find many people, who were not Muslims, were called Arab because of using this language in their daily life. For example, the *Suriani*, a generic name for those who followed the Byzantine rite and used Greek in their liturgy, but they used Arabic in their everyday life. Also, in spite of continuing to use Syriac the Jacobites accepted the influence of the conquerors by adopting Arabic as their everyday language.²⁴³

²⁴¹ For further information on the question of Arabization, see Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 8-9, 26-28.

²⁴² Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*. (London, 1952), p. 317. Ibn Jubayr was Spanish Moslem who passed through Palestine on his pilgrimage to Mecca and wrote a memoir in 1184.

²⁴³ Praver, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 53-54.

There were reasons for Syrian Christians, Orthodox and Monophysite to be seen as Arabs by the Latins. The occasional tendency of the Oriental Christians to cooperate with the Muslims seems undeniable. The native Christian population had lived as subjects of the Muslim rule since the middle of the seventh century which one way or another had brought about a process of assimilation which either led the Christian to be converted or at least to adopt the Arab-Muslim culture and as, I declared before, the use of the Arab language. Smail states well the dilemma the Syrian Christians had encountered in the time of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. He argues that they had lived for centuries under the generally tolerant Muslim rule; and during the Latin occupation, they felt that “both in time and space they were part of the Muslim, as well as the Frankish world.” Having a common faith bound the Syrian Christians and Latins together, but the Syrian Christians were also tied to the Muslims by history, language, and habits. So, they could regard the prospect of Muslim domination with equanimity. Smail concludes by saying that “the native Christians provided no firm basis for Latin rule, and that they increased rather than alleviated the Franks’ problems.”²⁴⁴

We have substantial numbers of examples showing that the Eastern Christians’ alleged lack of loyalty to the Frankish regime, blaming them for cooperating with the Muslims.²⁴⁵ As Smail argues, the local Christians had no reason to prefer the Franks over the Muslims. “They had, after all, enjoyed toleration and the protection of the Byzantine emperor in the days of Muslim rule and they had little incentive to help

²⁴⁴ Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*, p. 52.

²⁴⁵ “...So Karbuqa collected an immense force of pagans – Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Paulicians, Azymites, Kurds, Persians, Agulani and many other people who could not be counted.” *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 49. (Azymites here are none other than the Armenians). By the same token, there was a tendency to use the Oriental Christians as scapegoats for Muslim victory. For example, the chroniclers accused the Syrian of treachery in the time of the Second Crusade. Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading: 1095-1217*. (Oxford, 1985), pp. 77, 200.

maintain the domination of the Franks.”²⁴⁶ Moreover, from the beginning the years of conquest were a period of extensive suffering for the Eastern sects. They looked like the Muslims, spoke Arabic, wore beards, and dressed in the Muslim fashion that all made them very often the victims of war and plundering.²⁴⁷ Perhaps because of this, even after learning to distinguish between them and the Muslims, the Franks continued to suspect the ‘Syrians.’²⁴⁸ On the other hand, in spite of partly accepting the Arabization of the local Christians, Ellenblum disagrees with the idea that the local Christians were totally Arabized and bound to the Muslims by history, language and social connection, because he claims that this assumption ignores the possibility that the enemies of the Franks might have been Turkish tribes which had not yet absorbed the Arabic culture which was widespread among the local inhabitants of the Kingdom.²⁴⁹ The fact remains, however, that “the crusaders missed the right hour or the right occasion and the oriental Christians never became their allies.” We can sum up the Syrian Christians’ attitudes by using Vitry’s phrases. “They are more than half on the side of the Saracens” or, more freely, “being Arabs, they are more than half on the side of their Muslim fellows.”²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*, p. 51. However, the protection of the Byzantine emperor in the days of Muslim rule might only apply to the Orthodox. There is abundant evidence of the goodwill of the Islamic authorities, caliphs or regional governors, towards the *dhimmi*. See Bat Ye’or, *The Decline of Eastern Christianity under Islam: from Jihad to Dhimmi*. (Madison, 1996), pp. 126-128.

²⁴⁷ Jacques de Vitry adds that they keep their women shut up at home, like Arabs, and they veil them, lest they be seen involuntarily. Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, p. 208.

²⁴⁸ Prawer, *The Crusaders’ Kingdom*, p. 218; see also p. 520. As a reflection of this mistrust, according to Matthew of Edessa, even the Syrian Christians who remained after the capture of the Jerusalem by the crusaders emigrated, as the Latins distrusted them and suspected them of being in league with the Muslims. Quoted from Joshua Prawer. “The Settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem.” *Speculum* Vol. 27. (October, 1952), pp. 493-494. Also Mathew of Edessa occasionally blames the Latins for the ruin and destruction of all the Christians of the East. For example, he accuses them of converting a Syrian to the Catholic faith and of ordering the (Syriac) Christian Gospels burned. Mathew of Edessa, *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*. (Lanham, 1993), p. 84.

²⁴⁹ Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 20.

²⁵⁰ Quoted from Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, p. 208.

Whatever the reason for this lack of cooperation between the Syrian Christians and Franks, one might argue by looking at this atmosphere in the Kingdom of Jerusalem that no clear effort had been made to distinguish between the Muslim Arabs and the Christian Arabs, as far as the Latins were concerned. However, in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades, we do not come across any phrase describing the Syrian Christians as Arabs. On balance, one might argue that Suriani and Arabs had a great deal in common culturally, but the terms and the people were distinguished by religion.

My argument that Syrian Christians are seen as Arabs in crusading accounts relies on the fact that the chroniclers speak very frequently of Arabs and of their lack of skill in fighting. Referring to the Syrian Christians and many other people, for that matter as Arabs might explain why the chroniclers saw the Arabs as numerous. In this connection, my following arguments concerning the features of Arabs in the eyes of the chroniclers shall complete or supplement the argument made about the Syrian Christians.

What is important in the use of the term Arab is that the chroniclers did not see the people they called Arabs as significant competitors. “The number of enemy defeated is said to have been 460,000 not counting the Arabs, whose number was too great to be counted...From the third until the night hour the destruction, or rather Arabian slaughter, of this battle raged.”²⁵¹ As we can see, the people they called Arab were not good at fighting and neither did the chroniclers care much about the numbers of their deaths, nor did they find Arab at all courageous, so to speak. To take an example, “Ramleh, where they found many Arabs...sent as scouts before the main army. Our men chased them and captured several, who gave us a full report as to where their army was, and its numbers,

²⁵¹ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, pp. 67-68.

and where it was planning to fight with the Christians.”²⁵² There is no occasion in which the chroniclers stress the importance of Arabs as manful men.

The claim that the western writers of the crusade accounts regarded each man who could speak Arabic as Arab should gain more ground if we try to find reasons for the question why Arabs might have been so numerous according to the chronicles? We have already seen that some Christian people including Syrians, Jacobites, and Armenians from time to time fought for the Muslims and we also know that substantial amounts of them knew how to speak Arabic. Most probably the language that provided communication between Muslims and their Christian allies was Arabic. As observers of these people from Christian side, the chroniclers might have just called them Arabs, which in a sense explains why they put emphasis on the numbers of the Arabs in the Muslim army.

On the other hand, we have no evidence in the accounts of the Third Crusade that shows Arabs were as more numerous as before. One might argue that by the Third Crusade some Latin people had learned to speak Arabic, and being in closer contact with Muslim society, therefore they had a better chance to differentiate the ethnic groups among the Muslims and Christians in the Muslim army.²⁵³ By looking at the structure of my argument in this issue, we can assume, therefore, that a clearer picture of the term Arab in the crusade accounts came into existence by the time of the Third Crusade. The reason behind that is obvious. Now, the chroniclers must have known at least that one who can speak Arabic does not necessarily mean that he is Muslim or Arab.

²⁵² *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 93.

²⁵³ In order to see how much the Christians resembled the Muslims by the time of the Third Crusade, see Ben-Ami, *Social Change in a Hostile Environment*, p. 123.

Consequently, the chronicler should have limited the scale of this term with the people who are closer to the identity of the term Arab, i.e. associated with Islamic culture or religion. But still the accounts of the Third Crusade do not allow us to draw such a clear picture and to present a more reasonable argument proving clearly that the crusaders had started to use the term Arab only for those who were Muslims and perhaps Semitic in his origin. Then, one might also argue that dearth of such evidence might indicate that their understanding of the Muslims between the First and Third Crusades did not change as one expects to see in a Christian society that had started to live together with its enemies in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Future researches on the segregated or integrated society in the Kingdom of Jerusalem might draw a brighter picture than what we have today.²⁵⁴

E. Kurd

It is not clear when precisely a distinct Kurdish identity emerged. The name Kurd (*Curtus-Curtum* in Latin texts) was established by the third century A.D. when a Persian King mentioned a name “King of the Kurds” among his rivals.²⁵⁵ In Arabic sources, it was first encountered from the first centuries of the Islamic era where it had seemed to refer to a specific variety of pastoral nomads and possibly to a set of political units, rather than to a linguistic one. The term appeared to denote nomadic groups speaking an Iranian language by the tenth century. Kurds are not only ethnically close to the Persians, but the Kurdish dialects and Persian belong to the northwestern branch of

²⁵⁴ See the argument on the Arabization and Islamization, Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 3-11, 20-22, 26-28.

²⁵⁵ John Bulloch and Harvey Morris, *No Friends but the Mountains: tragic history of the Kurds*. (New York, 1992), p. 57.

the Iranian language group. Both Christians and subjected Muslim peasants were sometimes recruited into these tribes.²⁵⁶ Nonetheless, from the western writers' point of view, the Kurds were just one of the many ethnic branches of Muslims. From where their differences came was not clearly explained. Most likely, as the crusaders did not often come across or notice Iranians, the language difference would be the most likely marker. As a matter of fact, the Kurds did not attract so much attention of the crusade accounts of that time as compared with other ethnic classifications of the Muslims. For example, Guibert of Nogent says that

The pagans recruited by the infidel prince, in addition to the Turks, Saracens, and Persians (who are already familiar to historians), bore new names: they were the Publicans, the Kurds, the Azimites and the Agulani, together with innumerable others, who were by no means human, but monsters.²⁵⁷

In the early eleventh century, Kurdish leaders had some practical independent power, but after the Turks came into the picture by the eleventh century, the Kurds lost their independent political power in particular on account of the Seljuk invasions and the reassertion of the power of Baghdad.²⁵⁸ However, Turkish reluctance to infiltrate the inhospitable mountains, inhabited by Kurdish tribes, explains the continuance of an independent Kurdish identity as a distinct group. As Arfa states, "They have always been free without knowing political independence, and so, remaining ignorant of the

²⁵⁶ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kurdish Ethno-nationalism versus Nation-building States*. (Istanbul, 2000), p. 16.

²⁵⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds Of God through the Franks*, p. 94.

²⁵⁸ Abu Nasr (a Kurdish leader) who ruled from 1010 to 1061 kept relations with all the great powers good and established a Kurdish court at Diyar A'Bakir. Later, the caliph gave him a charter which made Abu Nasr master of all the towns and fortifications of the province of Diyar A'Bakir. This era came into an end with the Seljuk entrance to Baghdad in the role of protector of a powerless Caliph in 1055. See Bulloch and Morris, *No Friends but the Mountains: tragic history of the Kurds*, pp. 62-63. In 1071 Abu Nasr's son Nasr, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Seljuk Alp Arslan. In 1085, Nasr's son Mansur had to yield his kingdom to Alp Arslan's son Malik Shah, whose general, Ibn Jabir, occupied Diyar A'Bakir. Hassan Arfa, *The Kurds: an historical and political study*. (London, 1966), p. 8.

rules and details of administrative and political responsibility, they acquired a reputation of lawlessness.”²⁵⁹ As a military power they continued to be used in the armies of various Turkish rulers. They became more prominent in the time of Shirkuh who had risen to prominence under Nur ad-Din, which prepared the way for his nephew, Saladin. Under Saladin’s leadership, the Kurds succeeded in holding a better military and civil position.²⁶⁰

In my opinion, the reasons for the crusaders to mention the term Kurd separately came not from, or not only from, their own classification but from the Muslims themselves. The Muslims had already defined the Kurds as a distinct entity either by virtue of their language and appearance or by virtue of their way of living etc. and the chroniclers just incorporated this term into their own accounts. For instance, one of the most significant Muslim fortifications of the coastal region was the Hisn al-Akrad, which was known the Citadel of the Kurds. The crusaders took it and made it their headquarters in 1099. On the same site, they erected the Crak des Chevaliers - *crak* being a corruption of the Arabic word for Kurd.²⁶¹

The reason why I have given the term Kurd specific importance is that one of the most important figures of the Third Crusade, Saladin, was of Kurdish origin.²⁶² Therefore, we can expect to see something particularly emphasized about the term Kurd at least in the crusade accounts of the Third Crusade. First and foremost, the effect of

²⁵⁹ Arfa, *The Kurds*, p. 9.

²⁶⁰ For a concise history of the Kurds see, *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, “Kurd,” pp. 447-455.

²⁶¹ Bulloch and Morris, *No Friends but the Mountains: tragic history of the Kurds*, p. 64.

²⁶² In fact, in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* the author does not say that Saladin was Kurd in origin. *Fuit itaque de genere Mirmuraeni* is the phrase used for his origin. Mayer in his translation of *Itinerarium* states that this is a corrupted form of Amir al-Muminin, i.e. leader of the Believers, which was used as a caliph’s title. Hans Mayer, *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, p. 250, n. 1.

Saladin's character on the chronicles is beyond doubt. As a member of this group of people how do the crusader accounts reflect the term Kurd?

The only part where the crusader accounts mention Kurds, except for Saladin's origin, is the description of the Muslims' attempt to capture King Richard unawares while he was asleep in his tent. "The Mamluks of Saladin, those of Aleppo and the Kurds, the light division of the hated pagan race, gathered together for a discussion."²⁶³ It can be interpreted in such a way that Saladin chose some of these people as coming from his own origin to perform such an important task. Also by saying 'the light division of the hated pagan race', the chroniclers to some extent describe their military features, which seemed not much different from the Turkish style. The accounts of the First and Third Crusades do not allow us to make further assumptions other than these.

Nevertheless, the term Kurd prevents us from misunderstanding the real intention of the western writers while putting ethnic terms in their writings. That is to say, the usage of ethnic terms at the First and Third Crusades was different from that of modern ones. In response to the expression of the great Mufti of Jerusalem, i.e. 'Kurdish swords which defeated the Crusaders and liberated the Holy Land',²⁶⁴ Saladin "replied by stressing, not his Kurdishness, but his devotion to Islam."²⁶⁵ Therefore, in spite of being

²⁶³ Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, p.181.

²⁶⁴ It should be accepted at least for the time of the Third Crusade, Saladin's rise to the power indicates the importance of Kurdish power in the early Middle Ages, an era in which the Kurds rivaled the Turks, the Persians and the Arabs in terms of culture and military prowess in the Muslim world. John Bulloch and Harvey Morris, *No Friends but the Mountains: tragic history of the Kurds*, p. 68.

²⁶⁵ Quoted from Kendal Nezan, "The Kurds: current position and historical background" In *Kurdish Culture and Identity* ed. by Philip Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, p. 10. As Lyons and Jackson discuss in their book, Saladin was trying to use the Holy War to unite the Muslim world under his leadership and to build his own empire that would be ruled by his family. For further information, see Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin: the politics of the Holy War*. It would be helpful to understand that what was important was in the eyes of the people at that time. Saladin just wanted to use the power of religion in his favor. As a matter of fact, for Saladin being a Kurd in descent was always a problem. This, in a sense, explains why he tried to present himself as a defender of religion, which had been more important bonding element at that time than an ethnic identity was one of the most reasonable ways to remain at his post in

a Kurd in origin, Saladin did not put great stress on his Kurdishness.²⁶⁶ After all, he was not primarily at least a leader of a Kurdish ethnic group but of the armies which predominantly consisted of Turks, Arabs, Saracens and Egyptians.

I am just trying to draw the possible boundaries between the ethnic terms that we use today and those the chroniclers meant. What we refer to by using the ethnic terms I have investigated in this study is different from that of the people living in the era of crusade. We should always keep in mind that each word gains special meanings in the time it was used, and the crusading era was not an epoch of nationalistic sensitiveness nor very strong racial feeling, though some ethnic feeling surely existed. There might be some relations between nationalistic and ethnic feelings, but they are still too distinct to be used interchangeably. In brief, the terms the chroniclers used while referring to the Muslims had no nationalistic connotations in modern sense and this is something that did not change between the First and the Third Crusades. For each ethnic term, the western writers created their own definition, which may or may not overlap with their modern usages.

such a society of Islam. "Turks looked down on [Kurds] in this way rather as a Norman might look down on a Scottish Highlander. Even after [Saladin] had been established himself as a great fighter for Islam Saladin was often at odds with the ruler (in name at least) of all Moslems, the Caliph in Baghdad, who thought him too ambitious, an adventurer who was also an outsider. Supposedly, Saladin was rallying Moslems against the infidels but this was a cloak; his real aim, his enemies said, was to establish a dynasty and even, some extremists suggested, topple the Caliph himself. What else could be expected of a man who had come to power not by inheritance or the will of the Caliph but by seizing the territories and possessions of the very family who had shown him favor?" P.H. Newby, *Saladin in His Time*. (London, 1983), p. 14.

²⁶⁶ "It is important to note...that Salah-ed-din did not rule over or control the major part of what is today Kurdistan, nor did he claim to be a warrior for the Kurds. He was first and foremost an Islamic leader and not a Kurdish nationalist." Philip G. Kreyenbroek, *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. (London, 1996), p. 3.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, I have tried to observe the concepts of “identity” and “otherness” by looking at the way chroniclers identify Muslims during the First and Third Crusades. I have mainly focused on the terms including pagan and gentile on the one hand, and Turk, Saracen, Arab and Kurd on the other hand, which are used for Muslims in these two periods by the crusade chroniclers of the time. My point of departure in this study is to understand the contemporary meanings of these terms in order to analyze what did change during these two periods I have dealt with.

After talking about the Christian-Muslim relations and “western views of Islam” throughout the history relevant to my subject, I have introduced the sources that I have used in this study. Then, for the sake of my arguments I have tried to define “identity” and “group identity” in the Middle Ages. Having done such an introduction necessary for terms which are slippery and difficult to define, I have concentrated on the terms used for Muslims in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades.

I have generally classified these terms into two different groups and used them to a varying degree in order to reach my goal of analyzing the terminology used for Muslims in the western sources. The terms that have religious or moral components have formed my first classification. Under this classification, I have investigated the terms pagan and gentile as identifiers of “others,” the Muslims. After defining the original meanings of each term, I have made an effort to answer the question what the chroniclers thought of when they talked about these terms during the First and Third

Crusades. The change in the usage of the term pagan in favour of the term gentile in the accounts of the Third Crusade formed the last part of my study concerning the religious terms.

As for the terms that have ethnic components, I started by discussing the question of ethnic identity in order not to confuse the scope of the ethnic terms with that of contemporary usages. Instead of the terms “nation” and “race”, when I have investigated the terms “Turk,” “Saracen,” “Arab” and “Kurd,” I have preferred to use the term ethnicity which makes the fewer assumptions about the nature of the differences between one group and another and which leaves the sources to describe my terms. We cannot create a formula that is applicable to all groups. In this connection, I have suggested some phenomena such as language, customs, physical features, a group-self identity and a group’s identification by its neighbours that the chroniclers might have used to define groups. Furthermore, I have tried to define ethnic groups relying on geographical classifications, especially by looking at the place of the terms in the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*. In spite of all these criteria made to define ethnicity, one ought to accept that there are factors that we are not able to take into account and that might influence on defining the ethnic groups by the chroniclers. Thereby, we can draw at least a rough picture showing how the chroniclers might have approached each ethnic term.

I have focused on the ethnic terms, Turk, Saracen, Arab and Kurd. I have always started by giving the short histories of these ethnic groups up to the crusading era that I have dealt with in order to make their earlier usages familiar to readers. What the chroniclers say in their accounts of the First and Third Crusades has constituted the primary areas of my concern in this classification. I have also investigated the terms

Turk and Saracen both separately and in tandem, which also exemplified the change in the usage of the terms in the crusading era. Studying the term Arab has also a particular importance to show the line between Muslims and Christians. The term Kurd, on the other hand, reminds us how much location, language, military rule, association with an important figure etc. might have important in the eyes of both the chroniclers and the Muslims.

The term Arab was used in order to analyze the possible changes in usage between the First and Third Crusades, the questions of integration and assimilation and the change in the Muslim world that took place by the Third Crusade have also been superficially discussed in this study, leaving the main debate to the distinguished crusade historians. The point need to be rewritten here is that although Arabs and *Suriani* had a great deal in common culturally, the terms and the peoples were distinguished by religion. The terms Arabs and *Suriani*, which have a clear ethnic connotation today, clearly prove the fact that even we are not able to make a clear distinction between the religious and ethnic terms for the crusading era.

This study aimed to reveal how the crusader accounts differ from the other “western view of Islam”. After all, it was a time when both the Christians and the Muslims willy-nilly started to know each other better compared with preceding decades and the chroniclers wrote stories between Christians and Muslims without imagining the latter as fictitious figure as it had done in the *chansons de geste*. The big discrepancy between orient and occident in terms of the religion had faded away by the latter part of the eleventh century, and this new atmosphere was, one way or another, reflected in the accounts of the First and Third Crusades, as I have attempted to show throughout this thesis.

We see important changes between the First and Third Crusades. The change in the usage of the term Saracen exemplifies a new tendency showing how one word can gain a different connotation for the people meant by it between two time periods. That is, the western writers of the Third Crusade started to admire the Saracens who were not as abominable as we are accustomed to see in the accounts of the First Crusade. We also observed this new trend in general western approach to Islam at that time by looking at the change in the usage of the term pagan in favour of the term gentile in the accounts of the Third Crusade.

With this thesis, by looking at Latin Christian attitudes to Muslims, I hope to bring a different approach to the “western views of Islam”, which might provide an already investigated topic with a distinct, new perspective. My arguments about “identity”, and particularly “group identity” in the Middle Ages lend also a fresh perspective to the subject. That is to say, language, culture and customs, visual distinctions, differentiation by sects and by geography show how it is unreasonable to create a formula that is applicable to all groups while defining them. It is not sufficient for a historian to use the terms used in his or her sources without explaining their earlier meanings for the people who had used them, and in that connection I have attempted to show how historians should approach the terms with the original meanings in the times they were used.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Chronicles are listed under author where author is known, and under the first word of the title (excluding the article) where they are anonymous. Collections of sources by different authors are listed under the editor's name.

Ambroise. *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, edited by Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber. Woodbridge, 2003.

Ammianus Marcellinus. *Das Römische Weltreich vor dem Untergang*. Zürich, 1997.

Anna Comnena. *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, translated by E.R.A. Sewter. London, 1969.

Annae Comnenae. *Alexiadis Libri XV*, Vol. II. Bonnae, 1839.

Aşıkpaşazade. *Aşıkpaşaoğlu Tarihi*, edited by H. Nihal Atsız. Ankara, 1985.

Arab Historians of the Crusades, translated sources by Francesco Gabrieli. New York, 1989.

Edbury, Peter W. *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: sources in translation*. Brookfield, 1998.

Emerton, Ephraim. *The correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: selected letters from the Registrum*. New York, 1969.

Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, edited with and introduction by Rosalind Hill. Oxford, 2002.

Guibert of Nogent. *A Monk's Confession: the memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, translated by Paul J. Archambault. Pennsylvania, 1996.

Guibert of Nogent. *The Deeds of God Through the Franks*, edited and translated with an introduction by Robert Levine. Woodbridge, 1997.

Holy Bible designed and illustrated by Barry Moser. New York, 1999.

Krey, August C. *The First Crusade: the accounts of eyewitnesses and participants*. Princeton, 1921.

Matthew of Edessa. *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Edmond Dostourian. Lanham, 1993.

Mayer, Hans Eberhard. *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum: eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*. Stuttgart, 1962.

Muhammad Ibn Ahmad (Ibn Jubair). *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*. London, 1952.

Peters, Edward. *The First Crusade: the Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and other source materials*. Philadelphia, 1971.

Ricardus. *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, translated by Helen J. Nicholson, Aldershot, 1997.

Robert of Reims. *Historia Iherosolimitana*, translated by Carol Sweetenham. Aldershot, 2005.

Song of Roland, translated by Glyn Burgess. Harmondsworth, 1990.

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, edited and translated by R.A.B. Mynors. Oxford, 1998-1999.

Wolfram von Eschenbach. "Wilehalm: Die Toleranzrede der Gyburc" In *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, edited by Ulrich Müller. Niemeyer, 1985.

Secondary Sources

Aguirre, Adalberto. *American Ethnicity: the dynamics and consequences of discrimination*. New York, 1995.

Arfa, Hassan. *The Kurds: an historical and political study*. London, 1966.

Arnaldez, Roger. *Three Messengers for One God*. Notre Dame, 1994.

Atiya, Aziz S. *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*. Bloomington, 1962.

Bartlett, Robert. "Patterns of Unity and Diversity in Medieval Europe" In *The Birth of Identities: Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages*, edited by Brian Patrick McGuire, 29-42. Copenhagen, 1996.

- Ben-Ami, Aharon. *Social Change in a Hostile Environment*. Princeton, 1969.
- Bearman, P. J. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden, 1991.
- Bongars, “Gesta Dei per Francos” In *A Source Book for Medieval History*, edited by Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal. New York, 1905.
- Boyle, J.A. *The Cambridge History of Iran: the Saljuq and Mongol periods*. Vol. V. Cambridge, 1968.
- Brentjes, Burchard. *The Armenians, Assyrians and Kurds: three nations, one fate?* Campbell, 1997.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. *Kurdish Ethno-nationalism versus Nation-building States*. Istanbul, 2000.
- Bucaille, Maurice. *The Bible, the Qur'an, and Science*. Karachi, 1979.
- Bulloch, John and Morris, Harvey. *No Friends but the Mountains: tragic history of the Kurds*. New York, 1992.
- Burman, Edward. *The Templars: knights of God*. Wellingborough, 1986.
- Campbell, Anthony. *The Assassins of Alamut*, 2004. [Online] available from <http://www.accampbell.uklinux.net/assassins/assassins-pdf/assassinbook.pdf> [Accessed 30 July 2005].
- Chazan, Robert. *European Jewry and the First Crusade*. Berkeley, 1987.
- Cook, M.A. *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730*. Cambridge, 1976.
- Cornell, Stephen and Hartmann, Douglas. *Ethnicity and Race: making identities in a changing world*. London, 1998.
- Dadoyan, Seta B. *The Fatimid Armenians: cultural and political interaction in the Near East*. New York, 1997.
- Daniel, Norman. *Islam and the West: the making of image*. Edinburgh, 1980.
- Daniel, Norman. *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*. London, 1979.
- Davies, Meryll Wyn. *Barbaric Others: a manifesto on western racism*. London, 1993.
- Davison, Roderic H. “The Turks in History” In *Turkish Art*, edited by Esin Atil. Washington, 1980.

- Du Pasquier, Roger. *Unveiling Islam*. Cambridge, 1994.
- Edbury, Peter. "Warfare in the Latin East" In *Medieval Warfare: a history*, edited by Maurice Keen. Oxford, 1999.
- Ellemers, Naomi, Spears, Russell, and Doosje, Bertjan. *Social Identity Context, Commitment, Content*. Oxford, 1999.
- Ellenblum, Ronnie. *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Cambridge, 1998.
- Erdmann, Carl. *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*. Princeton, 1977.
- Esposito, John L. *The Islamic Threat: myth or reality?* Oxford, 1992.
- Farley, John E. *Majority-Minority Relations*. Englewood Cliffs, 1995.
- Feagin, Joe R. and Feagin, Clairece Booth. *Racial and Ethnic Relations*. Englewood Cliffs, 2003.
- Goddard, Hugh. *A History of Christian-Muslim Relations*. Chicago, 2001.
- Goddard, Hugh. *Christians and Muslims: from double standards to mutual understanding*. Surrey, 1995.
- Goodwin, Godfrey. *The Janissaries*. London, 1994.
- Graf, David F. "The Saracens and the Defense of the Arabian Frontier." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 229. (Atlanta, 1978): 1-26.
- Hallam, Elizabeth and Brian, V. Street. *Cultural Encounters: representing 'otherness'*. London, 2000.
- Hamilton, Bernard. "Knowing the Enemy: western understanding of Islam at time of the crusades" In *Crusaders, Cathars and the Holy Places* ed. Bernard Hamilton, 373-387. Aldershot, 1999.
- Hammad, Mona Joma. *Latin and Muslim Historiography of the Crusades: a comparative study*. Ann Arbor, 1987.
- Hillenbrand, Carole. *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: the early Artuqid State*. Istanbul, 1990.
- Hostler, Charles Warren. *The Turks of Central Asia*. Westport, 1993.

Jetten, Johanda, Russell Spears and Antony S.R. Manstead. "Group Distinctiveness and Intergroup Discrimination" In *Social Identity Context, Commitment, Content*, edited by Naomi Ellemers, Russell Spears and Bertjan Doosje, 107-126. Oxford, 1999.

Jones, C. Meredith. "The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste." *Speculum* Vol. 17 (April, 1942): 201-225.

Just, Roger. "Triumph of the Ethnos" In *History and Ethnicity*, edited by Elizabeth Tonkin, Maryon McDonald, and Malcolm Chapman, 71-88. New York, 1989.

Kafesoğlu, İbrahim. *A History of the Seljuks: Ibrahim Kafesoglu's interpretation and the resulting controversy*. Carbondale, 1988.

Kedar, B. Z. *Crusade and Mission: European approaches towards the Muslims*. Princeton, 1984.

Kleinschmidt, Harald. *Understanding the Middle Ages: the transformation of ideas and attitudes in the medieval world*. Woodbridge, 2000.

Koehler, Hans. *The Concept of Monotheism in Islam and Christianity*. Vienna, 1982.

Koestler, Arthur. *The Thirteenth Tribe: the Khazar empire and its heritage*. New York, 1976.

Kreyenbroek, Philip G. *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. London, 1996.

Le Glay, Marcel, Jean-Louis Voisin and Yann Le Bohec. *A History of Rome*. Malden, 2001.

Lewis, Bernard. *The Assassins: a radical sect in Islam*. London, 1985.

Lewis, Bernard. *The Middle East: 2000 years of history from the rise of Christianity*. London, 1995.

Lie, John. *Modern Peoplehood*. Cambridge, 2004.

Loiseleur, Jules. *La Doctrine Secrète des Templiers*. Paris, 1982.

Lyons, Malcolm Cameron, Jackson, D. E. P. *Saladin: the politics of the holy war*. Cambridge, 1982.

Magoulias, Harry J. *Byzantine Christianity: emperor, church and the west*. Chicago, 1970.

Mantran, Robert. "Islam Dethroned" In *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Middle Ages II, 950-1250*, edited by Robert Fossier, 449-488. Cambridge, 1997.

- Marshall, Christopher. *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291*. Cambridge, 1992.
- Mayer, Hans Eberhard. *The Crusades*. Oxford, 1988.
- Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Michael Glazier and Monika K. Hellwig. Macmillan, 1994.
- Moore, R. I. *The Formation of A Persecuting Society: power and deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*. Oxford, 1987.
- Munro, Dana Carleton. "The Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades." *Speculum*, Vol. 6 (July, 1932): 329-343.
- New Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Chicago, 1977.
- Newby, P. H. *Saladin in His Time*. London, 1983.
- Nezan, Kendal. "The Kurds: current position and historical background" In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*, edited by Philip Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison. London, 1996.
- Nicolle, David. *Janissary*. London, 1995.
- Nicolle, David. "Medieval Warfare: the unfriendly interface." *Journal of Military History*, 63 (1999): 579-599.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. *Selçukluların Dini Siyaseti (1040-1092)*. Istanbul, 2002.
- Orkun, Hüseyin Namık. *Peçenekler*. Istanbul, 1933.
- Partner, Peter. *God of Battles: holy wars of Christianity and Islam*. Princeton, 1998.
- Powel, James. *Muslims under Latin Rule 1100-1300*. Princeton, 1990.
- Prawer, Joshua. "The Settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem." *Speculum* Vol. 27 (October, 1952): 490-503.
- Prawer, Joshua. *The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem: European colonialism in the middle ages*. London, 1972.
- Rodinson, Maxime. "The Western Image and Western Studies of Islam" In *The Legacy of Islam*, edited by Joseph Schacht and C.E. Bosworth, 9-61. Oxford, 1974.
- Rodinson, Maxime. *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*. Seattle, 1987.
- Roosens, Eugeen. *Creating Ethnicity: the process of ethnogenesis*. Newbury Park, 1989.
- Runciman, Steven. *A History of Crusades*, 3 Volumes. Harmondsworth, 1981.

Safran, Mustafa *Yaşadıkları Sahalarda Yazılan Lugatlara Göre Kuman/Kıpçaklarda Siyasi, İktisadi, Sosyal ve Kültürel Yaşayış*. Ankara, 1993.

Scales, Peter C. *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba: Berbers and Andalusis in conflict*. Leiden, 1994.

Siberry, Elizabeth. *Criticism of Crusading: 1095-1274*. Oxford, 1985.

Smail, R. C. *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*. Cambridge, 1995.

Smalley, Beryl. *Historians in the Middle Ages*. London, 1974.

Southern, R. W. *The Making of the Middle Ages*. New Haven, 1953.

Southern, R. W. *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*. London, 1970.

Southern, R. W. *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, 1962.

Thomas, Hugh M. *The English and the Normans: ethnic hostility, assimilation and identity 1066-c. 1220*. Oxford, 2003.

Tonkin, Elizabeth, Maryon McDonald and Malcolm Chapman. *History and Ethnicity*. New York, 1989.

Watson, Helen and Jack Boag. "Religion and Ethnicity as Causes of Conflict" In *Pugwash: occasional papers*, Vol. II. (September, 2001): 38-61.

Ye'or, Bat. *The Decline of Eastern Christianity under Islam: from Jihad to Dhimmi*. Madison, 1996.

Turan, Osman. *Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi: Saltuklular, Mengüçükler, Sökmenliler, Dilmaç Oğulları ve Artukluların siyasi tarihi ve medeniyetleri*. Istanbul, 1973.

Volf, Miroslav. *The Role of the Other*, 2001. [Online] available from <http://www.globalengagement.org/issues/2001/09/mvolf-bwf-other-p.htm> [Accessed 22 July 2005]

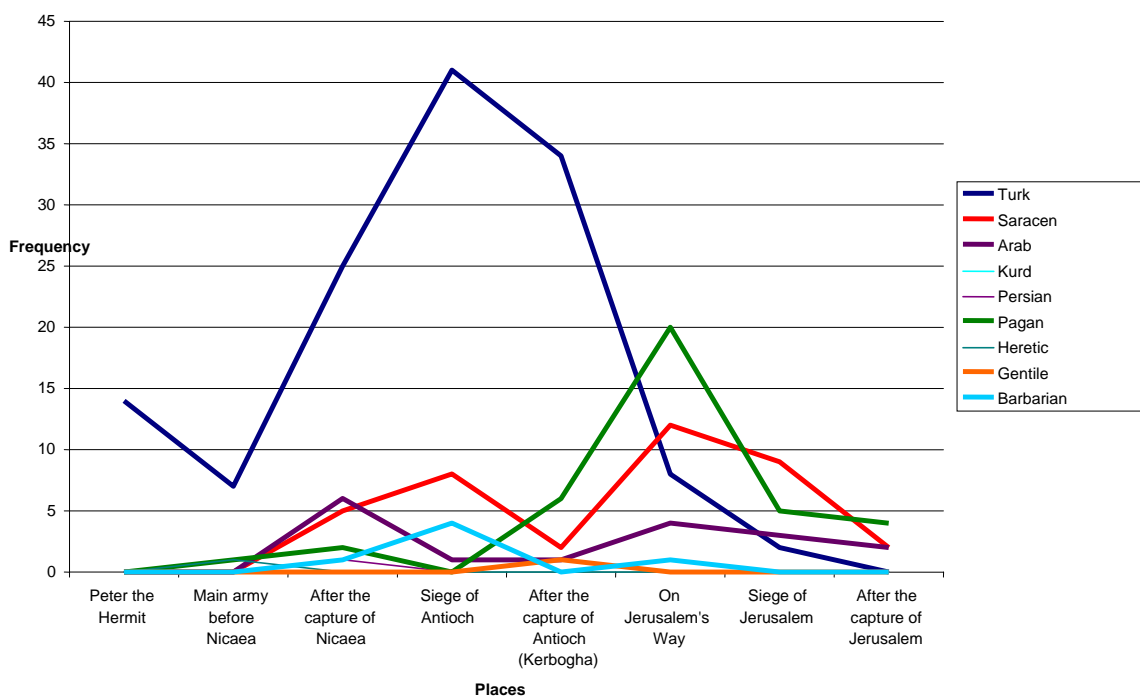
Zebiri, Kate. *Muslims and Christians Face to Face*. Oxford, 1997.

APPENDIX

I shall show some statistics taken from the most significant accounts of the First and Third Crusades, the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*. My point of departure here is to understand if some of my arguments are applicable to what we see in these two sources in terms of the numbers. The reason why I chose these two accounts is obvious. As mentioned in the introduction, these were two substantial documents for studying the history of the First and Third Crusades not only on account of being the earliest ones²⁶⁷ on whom many other chronicles relied, but also because they included large amount of information, which would make such study workable as far as an academic writing is concerned. However, we should always keep in mind the deficiencies of such statistics extracted from only two chronicles. First of all, as we saw before, the terms used by the chroniclers do not necessarily have very logical grounds for their use. Occasionally, they used these terms in a rather random way without having much a reason to prefer one term over others. Moreover, what we can extract from these two documents does not necessarily mean it works for other crusading accounts. There might be some degree of diversity. Despite all these deficiencies, the statistical data extracted from the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* can still serve our goal of discovering the western writers' intentions while creating their accounts of the First and Third Crusades.

²⁶⁷ The *Gesta Francorum* was thought to have been written before the end of 1101; and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* was completed before the final treaty made between Saladin and Richard on 2 September 1192.

The terms used for the Muslims in *Gesta Francorum*

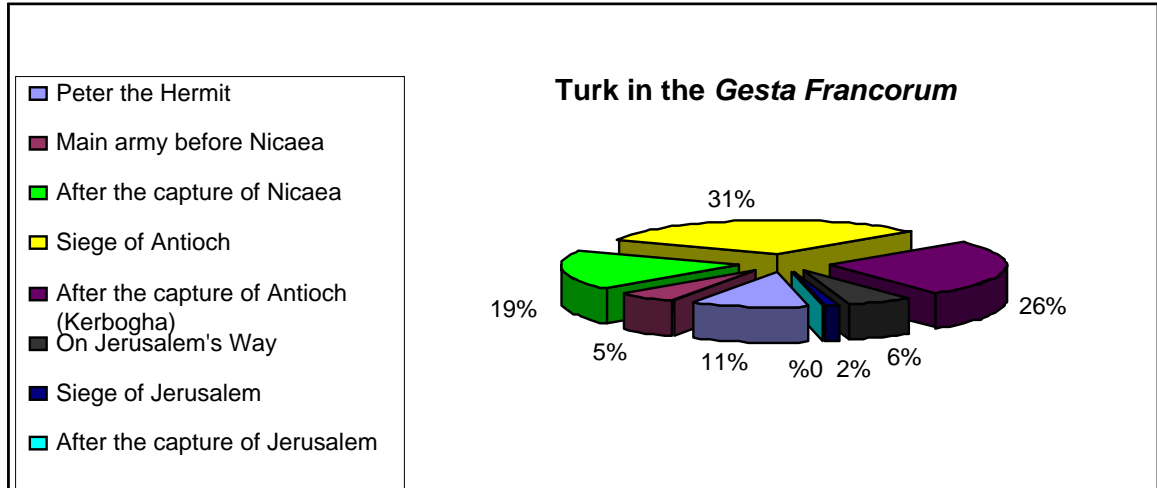


268

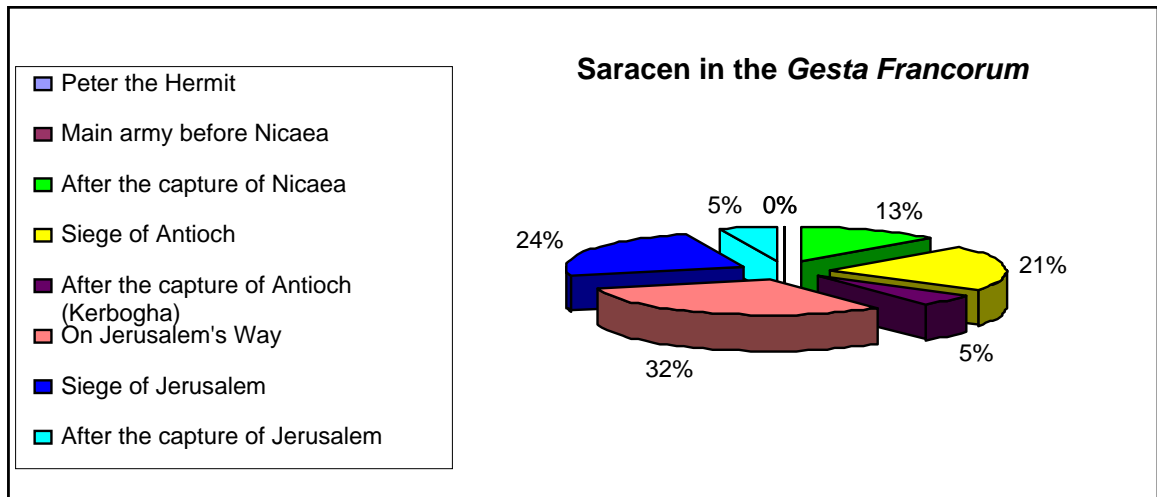
These graph shows how many times the terms I have dealt in this study are used by the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*. There were many reasons for the author to prefer one term over others, but sometimes it may be nothing more than a random predilection. In spite of this, we can interpret this graph as reflection of the western view of Muslims according to the terminology we have mentioned in this chapter. I have divided the *Gesta Francorum* into eight different periods in order to make my argument apparent to everyone. The first period, that of Peter the Hermit, encompasses the period before the main crusader army came into existence and collected in front of Constantinople. My second period takes the story up to the capture

²⁶⁸ For the graph and following charts, I used the Latin-English version of the *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, edited and translated by Rosalind Hill.

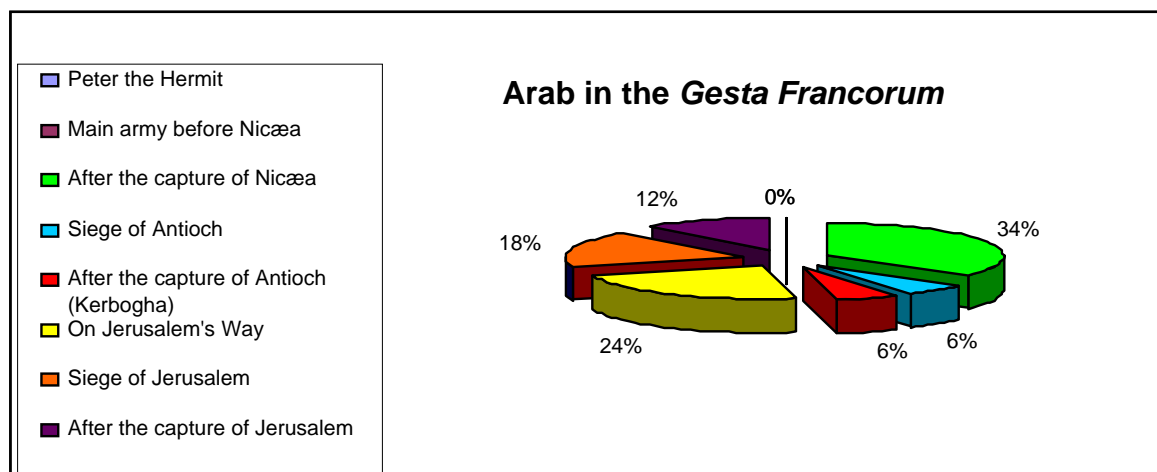
of Nicæa, the first encounter of the main army with the Muslims. As for my third period, it runs from the capture of Nicæa to the siege of Antioch. What is important in this periodization is that it embraces a region that we think of in Turkish possession. I thought the siege of Antioch to be an important turning point both for the history of the crusade and the crusaders' understanding of Muslims, since not only was the crusading movement now closer to the Holy Land, but also the crusaders were in a different region than before and found themselves in a most difficult situation. The period after the capture of Antioch, which includes Kerbogha's attempt to restore the city on behalf of the Muslims, is important to see whether there was a change in the chroniclers after the great success of the capture of the city and the arrival of a large Muslim army. On the way to Jerusalem, we can expect to see different ethnic groups and find an answer to the question whether it was reflected by the chroniclers. The siege of Jerusalem was a special case, because the crusaders were now at the very center of their purpose and facing an army controlled by Fatimid Egypt. My last period after the capture of Jerusalem aims to observe what changed at the end of the *Gesta Francorum*.



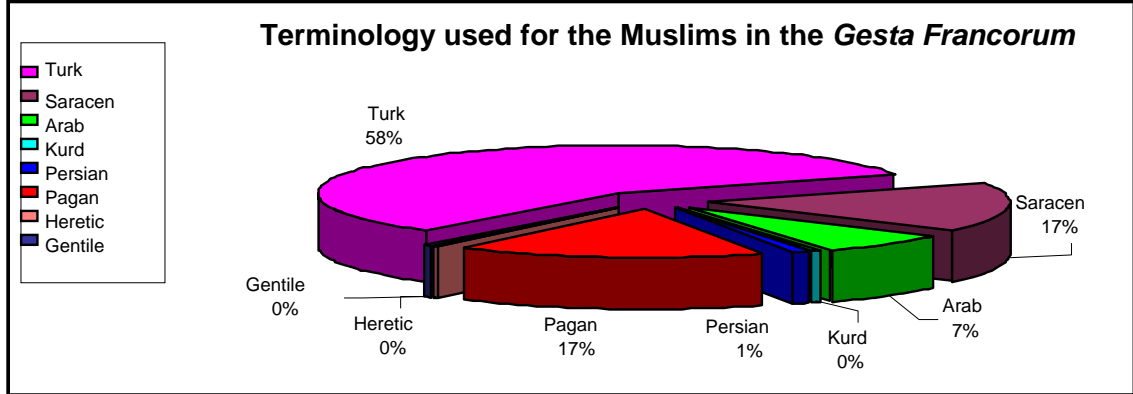
This and following two charts are put to indicate the percentage of the usage of these three most important terms, i.e. Turk, Saracen and Arab. As far as Turk was concerned in this chart, we see that only 8% of the whole term Turk was used after the crusaders' capture of Antioch and strengthening their position in this city by defeating Kerbogha's army. No matter what are the deficiencies of such generalization, we can still assert that what the chroniclers thought as Turks lived in Anatolia and they replaced with other terms, such as Saracen and Arab on their ways of Jerusalem onward.



Another chart showing how the term Saracen was used in terms of my periodizations aims to put emphasis on the areas where this term used more often to refer to the Muslims. It is apparent that the terms gained upper hand after the siege of Antioch. The term was most often used while on the crusaders' journey to Jerusalem, which also supports the argument about the chroniclers' way of defining ethnic groups in the Muslim society based on geographic classification where people are identified by the place without necessarily having a very definitely ethnic sense.



Lastly, I took into account the term Arab. Apart from the period 'after the capture of Nicæa where the term was most often used, this chart also serves our purpose. That is to say, the term Arab in the accounts of the First Crusade also gained importance after the siege of Antioch. The reason why this term most often used in Anatolia region is that the crusade accounts started to deal with the region, such as Edessa where Arab population was substantial in number. Thus, it also proves that the chroniclers used these terms according to the places where they made their own ethnic classification among Muslims.

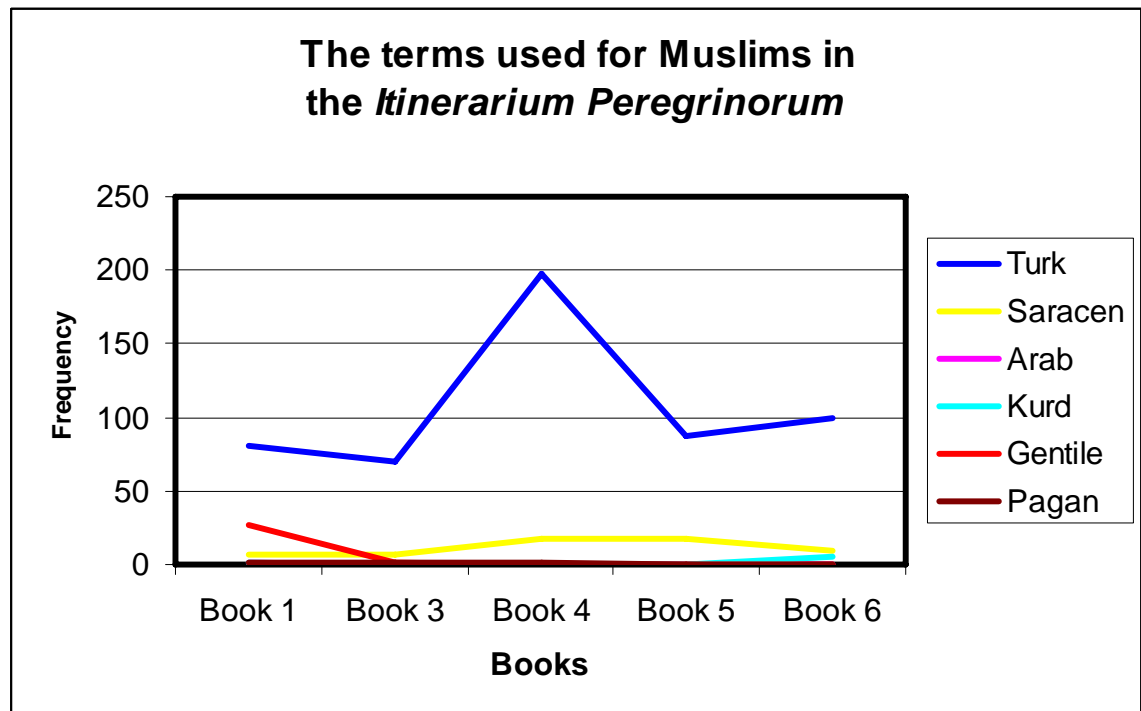


This was also taken from the *Gesta Francorum*

	Peter the Hermit	Main army before Nicæa	After the capture of Nicæa	Siege of Antioch	After the capture of Antioch (Kerbogha)	On Jerusalem's Way	Siege of Jerusalem	After the capture of Jerusalem
Turk	14	7	25	41	34	8	2	0
Saracen	0	0	5	8	2	12	9	2
Arab	0	0	6	1	1	4	3	2
Kurd	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Persian	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Pagan	0	1	2	0	6	20	5	4
Gentile	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Barbarian	0	0	1	4	0	1	0	0
Turk, Saracen and Arab	0	0	3	1	0	3	2	0
Turk and Saracen	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
Turcopole	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pecheneg	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Agulani	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Azymite	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0

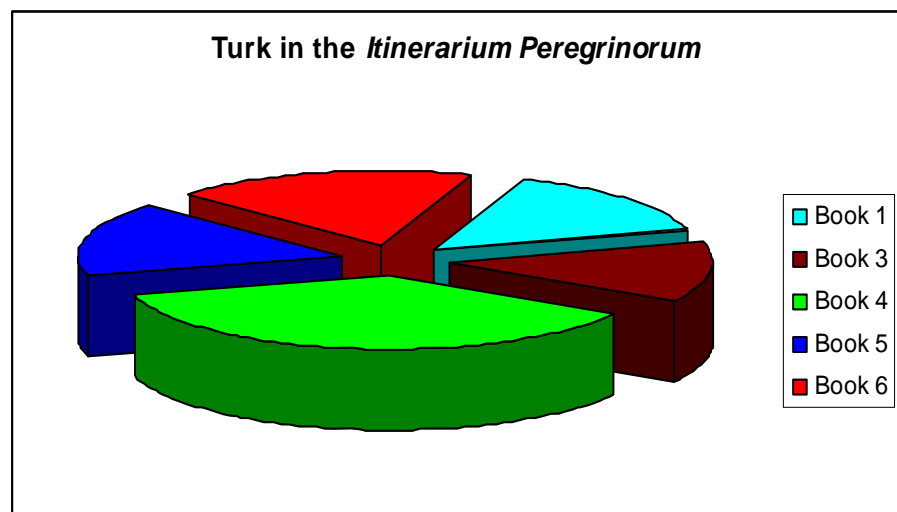
This diagram is taken from the *Gesta Francorum*. Here, we can see almost all the terms that were used for Muslims by the chroniclers and how many times the terms were given in this book. The point that I want to make by giving ‘Turk, Saracen and Arab’ and ‘Turk and Saracen’ separately is to show how often these terms, which were generally preferred by the western authors to refer to the Muslims, were used together.

The reason why I put some Christian ethnic terms such as Azymites and partly Agulani here is that as used they included in the foes of the Latins. I have already counted these terms used in these two separate classifications, while creating this diagram. In this connection, they just provide us a different perspective of the already known numerical facts.



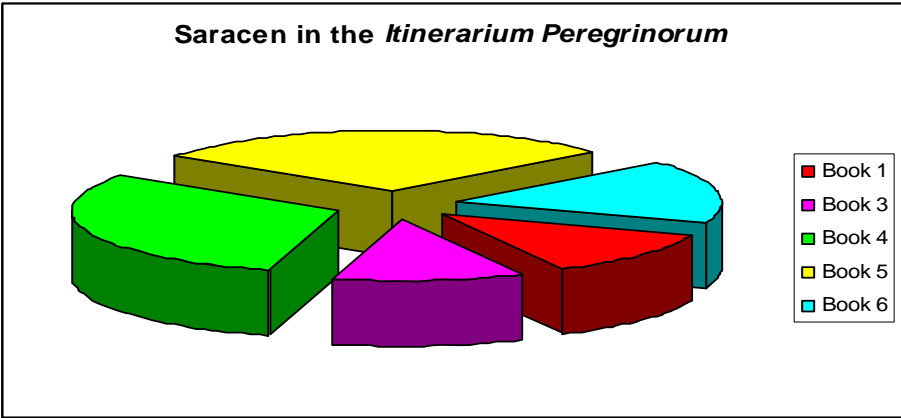
In this graph, I used Nicholson’s translation of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, where the author divides the *Itinerarium* into six different books. The Book 1 opens as Saladin launches an attack on the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Not only are the military orders of the Temple and Hospital massacred, but also the King, the True Cross and the sacred talisman of the kingdom are captured. This is the story where the holy city of Jerusalem falls to Saladin’s hand. Book 2, which I have omitted owing to not having any example of the terms I have investigated, tells how European Christians set out from the

West to recover the Holy Land. The story, where the important port of Acre was recaptured from the Muslims after a long siege, forms Book 3. In Book 4, the crusading army under King Richard the Lionheart marches south to Jaffa and then moves inland in order to attack Jerusalem. Book 5 includes the doubts of the crusading army over whether the city can be held after it has been recaptured. In the last book, Book 6, the crusading army does not besiege the city and King Richard makes a truce with Saladin and after that he sails to home to curb the ambition of his brother, Count John.²⁶⁹

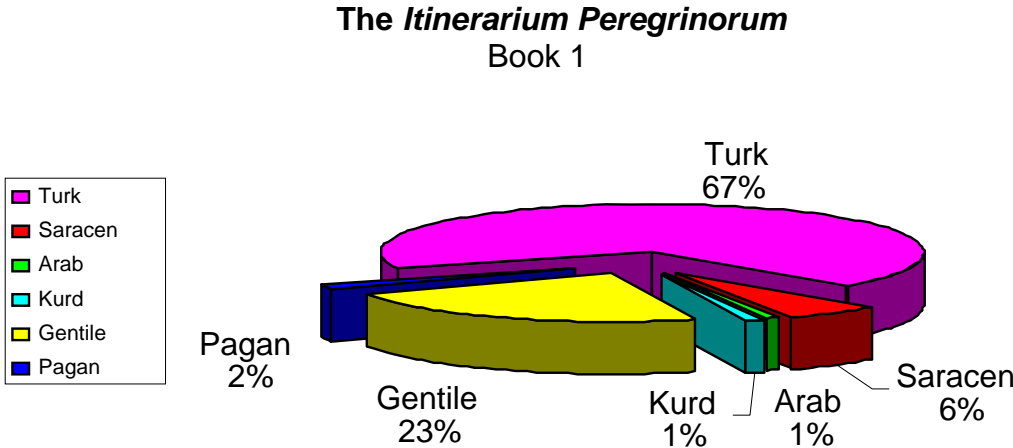


The term Turk is the most often used term to refer to Muslim in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*. Here, we can observe the frequency of this term in five distinct books of the *Itinerarium*.

²⁶⁹ For further information, see the introduction of Ricardus, *The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 1-17.



Here, we see how often the term Saracen which is the second important terms in the *Itinerarium* is used in five distinct books.



For this chart, I used the original version of *Das Itinerarium*, which was published by Hans Mayer in 1962. This chart relies on the Book 1 where the wrath of the chronicler writes in an angriest tone. Thus, the author attitude under such

circumstances makes the Book more important. The main purpose in putting this chart and the chart following it is to show how the usages of the terms pagan and gentile changed in favor of the latter. This can also be interpreted as an indicator of change in western view of Islam that we shall discuss later in details. See also the charts on the *Gesta Francorum*.

	Turk	Saracen	Arab	Kurd	Gentile	Pagan
Book 1	80	7	1	1	27	2
Book 3	70	7	0	0	2	2
Book 4	198	18	0	0	0	2
Book 5	87	17	0	0	0	0
Book 6	100	10	0	6	0	0

This diagram is also taken from the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*. Here, we can see almost the whole term that was used for Muslim by the chroniclers and how many times the terms were given in this book. It provides us a different perspective of the already known numerical facts.