

The Personal and the Political: Marriage Alliances in Antioch and Edessa

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## Abstract

The field of research on the Crusades and the Latin East has historically been dominated by a divide between Latin and Arabic specialists, with few historians able to work comfortably with both, and translations focused on the major Crusade movements of 1198-99, the 1140s, and 1190s. Such a split in access to primary sources, as well as the centrality of the western-driven military movements both in modern interest and available historical texts, resulted in a secondary canon equally focused, with interest in settlement and Christian-Muslim interaction in the Levant largely sidelined until relatively recently. The most impressive work to not so much break as ignore the academic barrier between Muslim-Arabic and Latin-Christian sources, as well as the pervasive image of Frankish Crusaders against Arab-Turkic warriors, divided by ideology and language, is Michael Köhler's *Alliances and Treaties Between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the period of the Crusades*, published in English just this year. Köhler, using an impressive array of sources, many of them untranslated from either Latin or Arabic, argues that the Franks who came as Crusading outsiders, rapidly settled into the local milieu; particularly in northern Syria, where a number of relatively autonomous Muslim leaders ruled, they were able to establish themselves as just another set of local potentates. Within ten years of the First Crusade, and with it the establishment of the Latin-ruled Principality of Antioch and County of Edessa, Köhler depicts Syrian

Franks and Muslims standing together against incursions from outsiders, Latin and Muslim, preferring to maintain the delicate balance of power in the region themselves.

The chief weakness of Köhler's attempt to situate the Latin principalities within the Levantine/Near Eastern sphere is his lack of discussion of the Armenians, both as a subject population in Antioch and Edessa (very few were present in the southern Kingdom of Jerusalem or County of Tripoli), and as an independent polity in Cilicia. My thesis addresses this gap, arguing that the first several Latin rulers in Antioch and Edessa used different strategies to cement their presence in northern Syria, with the Edessans cultivating close personal relationships with the neighboring populations, both Muslim and Armenian. Intermarriage with Armenian women was one element of this strategy, which had repercussions on Latin relationships both with Armenians and with the Byzantine Empire, tangible forty years after the initial settlement of Outremer.

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## Fields of Study

Major Field: Near Eastern Languages & Cultures

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## Introduction

In 1098, the armed pilgrimage now referred to as the First Crusade burst into northern Syria, completely upsetting the existing balance of power. The forces of the region included the relatively recent Sunni Turkic conquerors, the entrenched Shi'ite and groups of Syrian Christians and Armenians. These last were further split by familial rivalry as well as religious, with some following the Armenian and others the Byzantine rites (see Appendix A: Maps). The cities of Antioch and Edessa were the first to fall to the Latin Christian Crusaders; the most vulnerable of the four polities established by the Latins, the new Principality of Antioch and County of Edessa could survive only if they consolidated their positions as local Syrian polities, becoming part of the complex web of the region. Michael Köhler, in his *Alliances and Treaties Between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East*, makes a compelling argument for a distinctly Syrian region, in which Arab, Turkic, and Latin rulers developed a network of autonomous polities. While these rulers might jockey for territory and power amongst themselves, they resisted any outside interference, to the extent of allying with fellow Syrians rather than their own coreligionists.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Michael A. Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties Between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the period of the Crusades*, trans. Peter M. Holt, ed. Konrad Hirschler, *The Muslim World in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. Suleiman Mourad, Paul M. Cobb, and Konrad Hirschler, V. 1 (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2013).

Among these Syrian rulers were the first were Bohemond of Taranto and his nephews Tancred and Richard of Salerno in Antioch, and Baldwin of Bouillon (Baldwin I), and his cousins Baldwin de Bourq (Baldwin II) and Joscelin de Courtenay in Edessa, who quickly set about securing their rule by both conquest and alliance. Köhler's work, focused as it is on Frankish and Muslim contact, does not address the relationships developed with the Armenian population, many of which were cemented via intermarriage as well as contracts.

As Armenian, Latin, and Arabic accounts of the first forty years of Latin settlement in the Levant demonstrate, marriage policies reflected Antiochene and Edessan rulers' strategies for settlement in the northern Syrian theater. Baldwin I of Edessa and his successors Baldwin II and Joscelin de Courtenay immediately married into Armenian Christian families, relying on these new alliances for support against both Muslim Turks and their Latin rivals. To the southwest, Italo-Normans Bohemond I, Tancred, and Richard of Salerno's relationships with Eastern Christians were never so close, their support and their brides coming from the French royal family rather than local women. The Edessans' portrayals in Arabic and Armenian sources suggest that these marriages were part of a larger strategy of cultivating strong interpersonal relationships with local magnates, with Joscelin de Courtenay particularly notable for his popularity among the Armenians.

In contrast, the Antiochenes' alliances seem to have been purely political, lacking

the personal element of the Edessans'; the strength of these personal bonds most clearly demonstrated by an Armenian rescue of Baldwin II and Joscelin from Dānishmend Turkish captivity in 1123, and evident in the later marriages of the two Latins' heirs, and the political movements Baldwin II's daughters for a northern Syria independent of Frankish-Palestinian concerns, and strongly influenced by their Armenian connections (see Appendix 2: Genealogies). While the personalities of the individuals involved no doubt played a part in the formation of these alliance and marriage patterns, I argue that the geographical differences between Edessa and Antioch—namely Antioch's access to the sea ports on the Levantine littoral, in contrast to Edessa's mountainous isolation—as well as the cultural isolation of the northern Franks who settled in Edessa versus the Italo-Normans of Antioch, required these differing strategies of settlement.

## Crusader Beginnings

“The Turks ruled, the Greeks obeyed, and the Armenians protected their liberty” in the mountains of southeastern Anatolia and Cilicia in the 1090s, as described by Ralph of Caen.<sup>2</sup> These “Armenians” referred to were Armenian language speakers; some adhered to the Byzantine rite, others to an offshoot Armenian church, but their common language identified them as a group. Poised in the southern Caucasus mountains, Armenian dynasts controlled strategic mountain passes between greater Anatolia and Syria and Mesopotamia. This position placed them between the Byzantine Empire and the Sasanian until its fall in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century to the rising power of the Islamic Caliphate, and Armenian leaders had become deft at maneuvering between such rival powers to further their own interests. The Crusader hosts’ arrival in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century simply introduced new players to an old game, with Armenians recognizing the potential

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2 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi* [The Deeds of Tancred], trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach as *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, Crusade Texts in Translation, V. 12, (Farnham, England and Burlington, Vt: Ashgate, 2005), Ch. 24, p. 58. Bohemond of Taranto and Prince of Antioch journeyed to France soon after the First Crusade to drum up support for his eastern territories; at the same time, he recruited Ralph of Caen to serve as his chaplain, arriving back in Antioch in 1107. Sometime between then and 1111, Ralph moved to Tancred’s service; in his *Gesta*, he suggests that the work is based primarily on discussions with Bohemond, Tancred, and their followers. Bachrach and Bachrach argue this is probably a rhetorical strategy for legitimacy; however, Ralph would have had access to the principles involved, writing his *Gesta* as a canon of Jerusalem sometime between Tancred’s death in 1112 and his patron Patriarch Arnulf’s in 1118. Its very bias towards Tancred’s interests render the *Gesta* a valuable source for Antiochene politics.

for alliances among these groups of heavily armed Christians, far from home and desperately in need of local support.

While many lived under Turkish or Byzantine rule, in the 1090s, Armenians were taking control of more territories.<sup>3</sup> In 1094, the Seljūq Turk Tutush conquered Edessa from the Byzantines, until the last few decades the dominant power in the region, when “he appointed the Roman [Byzantine] official T'oros, the son of Het'um as the city's commander.”<sup>4</sup> After a year of building up the city's defenses and intriguing against

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3 See Philip K. Hitti, “The Impact of the Crusades on Eastern Christianity” in *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. Sami A. Hanna, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1972), pp. 211-217; Andrew Jotischky, “Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People,” in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context-Contacts-Confrontations: Act of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in September 2000*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 125, (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2003), pp.1-20; Benjamin Z. Kedar, “Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099-1291,” in *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant: Studies in Frontier Acculturation*, (Farnham, England, and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2006). Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*, The Middle Ages Series, eds. Ruth Mazo Karras and Edward Peters, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008),; James D. Ryan, “Toleration Denied: Armenia Between East and West in the Era of the Crusades,” in *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, Michael Gervers and James Powell (Syracuse, New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 52-64. While early writers referred to Armenians, Greeks, and Syrians, it is not until Jacques de Vitry in the early thirteenth century, followed by Burchard of Mt. Sion in the 1260s, that ethnic terminology is explained. Interestingly, this terminology privileges language over religion, grouping Armenians and Syrians by their use of Armenian and Arabic, then commenting on the multiple rites followed by these speakers. (Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana [History of Jerusalem]*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, in *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society*, V. 11, (New York:1895), pp. 1-119; Letter to the Parisian masters and to Ligarde of St Trond and the Convent of Aywières in *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, V. 18, (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 98-108; Burchard of Mount Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae [Description of the Holy Land]*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, in *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society*, V. 12, (New York, 1896), pp. 1-111.

4 Matthew of Edessa, *Patmowt’iwn [Chronicle]* in *Armenia and the Crusades: Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian, *Armenian Heritage Series* (Lanham, Maryland, New York and London: University Press of America 1993), 104, p. 161. His editor Dostourian places Matthew’s writing at the turn of the twelfth century, and his death sometime soon after 1136, the end of his chronicle. Writing near Edessa from various unnamed histories and people directly involved in the events described, Matthew's history is the only surviving Armenian voice from inside Latin Outremer.

Tutush's son Ridwān in Aleppo and the Seljūq Yaghī Siyān in in Antioch, T'oros managed to secure sole control of the city for himself, but remained threatened by the nearby Seljūqs.<sup>5</sup> By the time of the Crusade's arrival in 1098, Antioch, Damascus, and Aleppo were all controlled by Seljūqs, the latter two by the rivalrous brothers Duqāq and Riḏwān, respectively. Independent Armenian rulers could be found in Edessa, Malaṭīa or Melitene, Sīs and Tarsūs (see Appendix 1, Maps).<sup>6</sup>

In 1097, a new set of players arrived in northern Syria: a host of Latin Christians, an armed pilgrimage sworn to deliver Jerusalem from Muslim rule, supported by Alexios I of Byzantium. The hosts, now called the First Crusade, included a large number of northern French under Godfrey de Bouillon, Baldwin's brother, Provençals under Raymond of Toulouse, and a generation of Normans born in the recently conquered south of Italy, led by Bohemond of Taranto.

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5 Matthew of Edessa, 110, p. 164.

6 William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*, [A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea], trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, Vol. I, (Columbia University Press: New York, 1943), X.24,1, p. 450. The anonymous Syriac chronicle describes the area after the fall of Antioch “Turks held Sarūj; Armenians, the sons of Bāsag, held Zeugma and the banks of the Euphrates, the sons of Bāsag Basil the thief [Kogh Vasil], an Armenian, held Kaisūn and Ra’bān [...] Ghāzī [Dānishmend], a Turk of the Baladuqia held Sumaisāt; Christians, sons of Philartus the Domestic, held Mar’ash and the Black Mount; Armenians, sons of Rāfin, held Anazarba and Cilicia; and the Franks had captured Tascus, Maṣīṣa, and Adana.” Anonymous, *Chronicle*, trans. A. S. Tritton, ed. H. A. R. Gibb in “The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp. 69-101 and No. 2, pp. 273-305; here, pp. 72-73.

On their arrival in northern Syria, the Crusader armies which had joined together at Constantinople a few months earlier split, with one group peeling off towards Edessa.<sup>7</sup> Ralph of Caen throughout his narrative emphasizes an image of Armenians grateful to the Normans as their liberators from the Turkish yoke; while the truth of the matter is far muddier and the Armenian support of the main host sporadic, political reliance between Latin and Christian Armenians began in Edessa in early 1098.<sup>8</sup> When T'oros, his grip on the city shaky and “continually harassed by the neighboring emirs” heard of Baldwin de Bouillon's capture of Tall Bashir, a nearby “fortress-town,” he “summoned Baldwin to his aid against his enemies” to the delight of the local Christians, according to Fulcher of Chartres. A second son with little to inherit in northern France, Baldwin agreed to being adopted as T'oros' heir in exchange for taking on the defense of the city, and never rejoined the main host. Soon after the adoption, however, the citizens of Edessa turned against T'oros, killing him and his wife and elevating Baldwin in their stead.<sup>9</sup> Baldwin thus established the first and largest polity in what would become the Latin East,

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7 Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, V.1, (Cambridge, England: University of Cambridge Press, 1951), pp. 183, 187. Despite its age, I find Runciman's three-volume history to be one of the best secondary presentations of Crusade history, drawing an impressive variety of sources and providing their narratives clearly with a minimum of analysis. As such, while not the most insightful, it is perhaps the most useful reference for basic Crusade data.

8 Ralph of Caen, Ch. 36, p. 60; Ch. 40, p. 65.

9 Fulcher of Chartres (FC), *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium [A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem]*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan, ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), I.XIV.13, p. 91. Probably writing piecemeal between 1100-1127, Fulcher of Chartres came to the Levant as Baldwin de Boulogne's chaplain, accompanying him on the venture that made him first count of Edessa, but living in Jerusalem itself from 1100 to at least 1127, where his work ends. As such, Fulcher is best relied on for details of Baldwin's entourage and his coming to power in Edessa. He is also the only primary source of the First Crusade to continue writing through the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well as its conquest, making him the only primary source for the first few decades of Latin settlement in Outremer.

becoming master of the County of Edessa. With its large Armenian population and its Latin rulers' close dealings and intermarriages with Armenian nobility, Edessa was to become the most strongly Armenian-influenced of the cities in Latin Outremer, as we shall see.

The rest of the hosts, halted next at Antioch for a two-part conquest beginning in October 1097. There, a prolonged siege succeeded only when a renegade charged with defense of one of the towers made a deal with Bohemond of Taranto, in command of the Italo-Norman contingent, to allow the Franks into the citadel in June 1098.<sup>10</sup> Soon after, the besiegers were themselves besieged when a relieving army led by Kerbogha, the Turkish *atabeg*, or military governor, of Mosul, arrived. Although morale flagged, Peter the Hermit, a pious leader of the religious elements of the Crusade hosts, discovered of the Holy Lance, a relic of Christ, once more rallying the Franks, who defeated Kerbogha in the field in late June.<sup>11</sup> Despite oaths made in Constantinople prior to marching into Anatolia, in which all the Crusade commanders swore to return all conquests from formerly Byzantine territories to the Byzantine empire, holding them as vassals to Emperor Alexios I, Bohemond, a veteran of wars against the Byzantines in the Baltic, refused to hand over Antioch, pointing out how the Emperor had not provided aid when needed, and his representatives had left the Franks earlier rather than remaining to

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10 Ralph of Caen, Ch. 63, p. 88; FC, I.XVII.4-5, pp. 98-99. The portrayal of Firuz, Pyrrus, etc. will be discussed in more detail later.

11 Praver, *The World of the Crusaders* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson), p. 25; Runciman, V.1, p. 242-243.

support them.<sup>12</sup> Thus in 1098, Bohemond took command of what would become the Principality of Antioch, allowing the remainder of the hosts to continue to Jerusalem without him and most of his Norman army. Despite the Armenian population, and attempts on the part of its early Norman rulers, Bohemond and his young nephews Tancred and Richard of the Principate, Antioch did not develop the close relationship with independent Armenian rulers cultivated by Edessa; leading to a very different experience for its early Frankish rulers in the region.

Other small sieges and battles followed, during which the Franks were assisted more and more by Armenian, then Syrian, Christians, meaning Arabic-speaking Christians, usually of a Syriac rite, though some followed the Byzantine Church.<sup>13</sup> It was not until 1099 that the Crusaders reached Jerusalem, laying a siege from June 7 to July 15, culminating in a bloody conquest.<sup>14</sup> Although he refused the title of “king,” Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin of Edessa's older brother, accepted that of “Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre” after the conquest of the city.<sup>15</sup> After Godfrey's death in 1100, Baldwin left the County of Edessa to become the first King of Jerusalem, succeeded as both Count, then King in 1118, by their cousin Baldwin de Bourcq.<sup>16</sup>

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12 Runciman. V.1, p. 249.

13 See Philip K. Hitti, “The Impact of the Crusades on Eastern Christianity;” Andrew Jotischky, “Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People;” Benjamin Z. Kedar, “Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099-1291;” Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*.

14 Praver, *The World of the Crusaders*, p. 27; Runciman, V.1, p. 286.

15 Runciman, V.1., p. 294.

16 Runciman, V.1, p. 325; V.2, p. 143.

The first splits in the Crusader host—Bohemond to Antioch and Baldwin to Edessa, while the rest of the Franks continued to Jerusalem and the south—continued as rifts between the new Latin polities. Bohemond and his nephew, Tancred, along with Baldwin immediately began integrating themselves into the local political theatre, described by Michael Köhler as “a system of Syrian states (or autonomous lordships)” which “functioned through the particular structure of rivalries and alliances, which had become well entrenched and which also continued to exist after 1098-99.”<sup>17</sup> Just as the Turks had several decades earlier, Bohemond's Normans and Baldwin's Franks took over the ruling positions in the respective territories without making significant changes in local hierarchies and government structures, and so the old, established Byzantine systems remained.<sup>18</sup> The minor Muslim potentates had recognized the power of the Crusading host immediately on its arrival, many probably assuming it to be an extension of the Byzantine imperial army, and in the interest of long-term survival, opted not to resist the newcomers. Rather, “they provided guides as well as hostages and even sold military goods. In this way they continued their policy of neutrality, which in the three

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17 Michael A. Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties Between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the period of the Crusades*, trans. Peter M. Holt, ed. Konrad Hirschler, *The Muslim World in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. Suleiman Mourad, Paul M. Cobb, and Konrad Hirschler, V. 1 (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 7.

18 Köhler, p. 9.

previous decades they had pursued during the conflicts among the Seljuks and those between the Turks and the Fatimids.”<sup>19</sup>

The patterns set in the First Crusade—the territorial rivalries between Edessan Franks and Antiochene Normans, the latter constantly facing off against the Byzantines—continued to manifest throughout the first several decades after the initial conquests. Armenian involvement also continued, with separate factions of their own rapidly becoming evident.

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19 Köhler, p. 56.

### **Armenian Assistance**

Individual Armenians became involved in the Frankish conquest of northern Syria immediately. Their reasons are unrecorded, but may have included their shared Christianity in contrast to the Muslim Turks and Arabs, a connected hope in relief from the *jizya* tax, the belief that the Crusader host was an extension of the Byzantine empire, a hope of resetting the balance of power in the region to one more in their own favor, to a survivalist attitude of backing the side which looked likely to win.

In situations such as the siege of Antioch, Armenians were to a certain extent thrown at the Frankish host by Muslim rulers suspicious of their loyalty. Ibn al-Athīr describes the city *amīr*, Yaghī Siyān, as sending the Armenians out to dig trenches, refusing them reentry to the city “until I see how things will be with us and the Franks,” though he protected their families; Fulcher of Chartres laments, “Oh, how many Christians in the city, Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, did the Turks kill in rage and how many heads did they hurl over the walls [...] The Turks hated these Christians, for they

feared that somehow the latter might assist the Franks against a Turkish attack.”<sup>20</sup> Robert the Monk, using the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatatorum* however, suspected these Armenian and probably Syrian Christians of spying on the Franks, reporting to their Muslim masters in the city, and Ibn al-Qalānisī, writing in Damascus, does not refer to forced ditch-digging or espionage, saying only that Yaghī Siyān expelled the Christian population from the city.<sup>21</sup>

While they disagree as to which side the Armenians may have been supporting,

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20 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh* [The Complete History], trans. D. S. Richards in *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from Al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rīkh, Part 1: The Years 491-541/1097-1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*, Crusade Texts in Translation, V. 13, (Ashgate: Farnham, England and Burlington, VT, 2006), p. 14; FC, p. 94, I: XV:10. While there is no evidence Mosul-born Ibn al-Athīr was employed in the Ayyūbid bureaucracy like his brother, he refers to Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, Saladin's secretary, and ibn-al-Qalānisī in his history. Writing between 1198 and 1231, his work is both helpful as a detailed record of events and as a source for an educated, worldly Muslim's understanding of the Franks from outside.

21 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana* [History of Jerusalem], in *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. Carol Sweetenham, Crusade Texts in Translation, V.11, (Ashgate: Farnham, England, and Burlington, VT, 2006), p. 121, Book IV, Ch. 1; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Mudhayyal Tārīkh Dimashq* [Continuation of the History of Damascus], trans. H. A. R. Gibb, (London: Luzac & Co., Ltd, 1967), p. 42. Multiple other sources from the First Crusade also refer to the Armenians in particular as being sent outside the city.

Robert the Monk's *Historia* is in essence a polished version of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatatorum*, edited for the Franks of Europe after the First Crusade. Translator and editor Rosalind Hill argues the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, probably a southern Italian vassal of Bohemond, wrote the first nine books of the *Gesta Francorum* before leaving Antioch in 1098, and the tenth book no later than early 1101, soon after the battle of Ascalon, making him one of the better sources for the siege of Antioch. Well-educated, Ibn al-Qalānisī rose to become first *'amīd Diwan ar-Rasā' il*, or head of the chancery of Damascus, to its *ra'īs*, translated as “mayor.” His position thus gave him access to the written and oral reports used to write his work, which gives a Damascene's impressions of the Second Crusade, as well as a thorough discussion of the careers of Zangī and Nūr al-Dīn through the 1140s; his is the best Arabic source for the northern Syrian theater.

all the sources agree that they were evicted from the city of Antioch during the siege. While Ibn al-Qalānisī does not directly discuss why, he does not mention their spying for Yaghī Siyān, suggesting that he believed them to have been mistrusted by the *amīr*. Shunned by the Muslims, the Armenian minority had little choice but to support the incoming Franks in the hopes of gaining protection.

Specifically, Ibn al-Qalānisī depicts Nairūz, who betrayed Antioch to Bohemond and assisted his entry via one of the city's bastions, an Armenian armorer, disgruntled with Turkish rule.<sup>22</sup> Ralph of Caen, who in his work extolling the exploits of Bohemond's nephew Tancred frequently refers to Armenian support while maintaining an untrusting attitude towards them, also refers to the traitor as Armenian.<sup>23</sup> In contrast, Fulcher of Chartres, as well as the author of the *Gesta Francorum* and Bohemond himself, who were in fact present at the time, call him a Turk, while Ibn al-Athīr refers to him as an armourer named Ruzbāh.<sup>24</sup> As with the reasoning behind the Armenians' eviction from the city, the truth of the man's identity is lost in the competing sources, but it is interesting that Ibn al-Qalānisī and Ralph of Caen, writing in Damascus and Antioch during the height of Armenian-backed Frankish involvement in Syrian politics, and thus the authors with the most interest in the narrative of Armenian support for the first

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22 Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 44.

23 Ralph of Caen, Ch. 63, p. 88

24 FC, I.XVII.4-5, pp. 98-99; GF, VIII.xx, p. 44; Bohemond, Bohemond, Count of St Gilles, Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, Robert, Duke of Normandy, Robert, Count of Flanders, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, Letter to Pope Urban II in *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, Crusade Texts in Translation, V. 18, (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2010), p. 31; Ibn al-Athīr, p. 14.

Crusade, are the sources who describe him as Armenian. Such a correlation suggests a desire to emphasize the Armenians' role in supporting the Latins from the start: on Ralph's part, perhaps to garner further support, on ibn al-Qalanīsī's, to encourage feelings against the Armenians, depicting them as duplicitous and untrustworthy as well as supporters of the enemy.

Ralph of Caen's narrative continues to include references to Armenian support for the Latin host, specifically providing them with food, as well as bringing the severed head and belt of Yaghī Siyān to Tancred.<sup>25</sup> It seems likely the head, and perhaps the belt, of Yaghī Siyān did indeed come to the Franks by way of some Eastern Christians, though it is also likely Ralph named Tancred specifically out of loyalty to his patron: According to the anonymous *Gesta*, local Syrian and Armenians “captured him at once and cut off his head, which they took to my lord Bohemond as the price of their freedom. His belt and scabbard were worth sixty bezants.” Fulcher of Chartres wrote that he was “beheaded while fleeing by an Armenian peasant, who at once brought the severed head to the Franks.”<sup>26</sup>

However the emphasis on their supportive, if inglorious, role as providers for the army is only in Ralph of Caen's account, either written or made public after Tancred's

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25 Ralph of Caen, p. 123, IV:III; p. 131, IV:XVII; p. 148, VI:III.

26 *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatatorum* (GF), ed. Rosalind Hill, (Oxford and London: Oxford University Press, 1970), Book VIII:xx, p. 48.; FC, p. 99, I:XVII:8.

death in 1112. Tancred had ruled as regent first for Bohemond, who had been in captivity from 1100-1103 at the hands of Dānishmend Turks, then occupied in Europe drumming up support for another Crusade, or at war with the Byzantines in modern Albania. After his uncle's death in 1111, Tancred ruled a final year as regent for his underage cousin Bohemond II, growing up in southern Italy with his French mother.<sup>27</sup> During his lifetime, Tancred pursued a vigorous policy of conquest, when he assiduously courted Armenian interests, both the population in Syria and the Cilician kingdom. Thomas Asbridge, in his monograph on the early years of the Principality of Antioch, argues that Tancred's campaign against Aleppo “also provides us with an example of the Latins taking elaborate steps to maintain cordial relations with the Muslim and Armenian population living with the principality.”<sup>28</sup> Citing Kemal al-Din, who wrote in Aleppo in the late thirteenth century, Asbridge also notes the regent “took care to secure the release of the Armenians captured by Ridwan during recent raids on the principality” during negotiations over al-Atharib, with Ibn al-Athīr believing that the Armenians had supported the Frankish conquest of the fortress.<sup>29</sup> These political connections, though depicted by Ralph of Caen as garnering extensive Armenian support from the foundation

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27 A clear and concise description of Tancred and his policies in Antioch can be found in Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of His Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1940).

28 Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130*, (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2000), p. 66.

29 Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality*, p. 66.

of the Principality onward, were limited to just that. There is no hint of great personal connection or loyalty between Tancred and any of the Armenians with whom he dealt; indeed, individuals are rarely named. Instead, Tancred, like his uncle Bohemond, formed more interpersonal relationships with other westerners.

Tancred, raised in the multi-confessional world of Sicily, integrated rapidly into the complex Syrian theater on a political level, but, following his uncle's lead, he had married a French princess, Cecile, half-sister to Bohemond's Constance. During his regency, he focused on conquest, strengthening the Principality by expanding and taking control of strategic points around it, and he used these new conquests to develop western alliances as well.<sup>30</sup> In 1104, he granted the Genoese, the major maritime supporters of the Latin East, a third of the revenues from the port of Saint-Simeon, the operative port for the inland city of Antioch. Within the city itself, they were granted a street and a church, and promised lands and half the revenues of the port, a street, church, and castle in Laodicea before its conquest, and lands in Gibelet, where the Genoese remained a force for generations, led by the Embriaco family.<sup>31</sup> Asbridge, in his monograph on the first thirty years of Latin Antioch, argues that Bohemond and Tancred “focused upon seizing control of frontier zones which could act as offensive staging posts or defensive buffer

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30 Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 135.

31 Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 135. For the Embriaco family, see “Lords of Besmedin” and “Lord of Jebail,” in *Medieval Lands-Index*, <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/CONTENTS.htm>, accessed 4/14/2014. The Embriacos would marry into the Antiochene ruling line in the late twelfth century, with Plaisance Embriaco de Giblet marrying Bohemond IV of Antioch; throughout the century, they were able to marry into various other ruling families of Outremer as well.

zones, and securing continued links with western Europe by occupying the Mediterranean coastal ports of northern Syria,” and both their generosity with the Genoese and their marriages with western princesses support this.<sup>32</sup>

Bohemond, and after him Tancred, cultivated more lasting—and personal—western alliances than eastern; presumably, their French connection was intended to provide armies for further conquests, with the Genoese courted for their vital maritime resources, as well as their distaste for the Byzantines. This anti-Byzantine stance, as well as the Genoese merchant marine, was as useful in the Adriatic and central Mediterranean as much as the Levant, and it was these wider interests which drove the need for alliance. The Antiochenes, particularly Bohemond but also Tancred, did not see Antioch as the center of a future empire, but simply an arm of it; as such, rather than focusing entirely on the northern Syrian region, they maintained their interests elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, with Bohemond pursuing his wars against the Byzantines in what is now Albania both before and after the Crusade. Their marriages were not used to solidify their Syrian holdings in particular, but to secure French support of a potential empire spanning both coasts of the Adriatic as well as into the Levant.

Tancred had no children; his nephew Roger, son of Richard of Salerno who had been close to Tancred during the First Crusade, inherited his position. It was with Roger's regency that the Antiochenes truly became members of the Syrian theater's cast. Probably

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32 Asbridge, p. 47.

a young man when he came to the East, he developed closer ties with Edessa, marrying Baldwin II's sister in 1104.<sup>33</sup> His sister Marie married Baldwin's distant cousin Joscelin of Edessa sometime after 1122 and the death of his first, Armenian, wife.<sup>34</sup> The previous generation, born in Italy, had married into the royal family of France, an attempt to garner support from the northwest, while squabbling constantly with their Edessan neighbors. In contrast, Roger preferred to cultivate eastern connections, making peace with the Edessans and marrying into their family, which by this point was strongly inter-laced with ruling Armenian families as well. By 1119, Roger had developed his own relationships with Leo, son of Constantine and grandson of Rupen, whose sister had married Joscelin I of Edessa and who may have married a sister of Baldwin II himself: When Roger attacked 'Azāz, near Aleppo, Leo “marched in this expedition with his forces,” with Roger “[taking] a liking to the Armenian troops” because of their courage in holding the siege.<sup>35</sup> June 28<sup>th</sup> the same year, “five hundred Armenian horsemen” were cut down along with Roger by Il-Ghazi in a battle which became known as the *Ager*

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33 Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*, The Middle Ages Series, eds. Ruth Mazo Karras and Edward Peters, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 87; W. H. Rüdiger-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties*, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library, (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1963), VI (A) The House of the Princes of Antioch.

34 W. H. Rüdiger-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, VI (A) The House of the Princes of Antioch.

35 Matthew of Edessa, III.79.

*Sanguinus*, the “Field of Blood” by the Franks.<sup>36</sup>

It was in this Syrian context that Ralph of Caen wrote his *Gesta Tancredi*, whereas the majority of Crusade chronicles handling similar material were written in Jerusalem or its environs within a decade of its fall, if not in Europe based on original *historiae* or eyewitness accounts. While the work sustains a focus on the glorious deeds—*gesta*—of Tancred during the expedition to Jerusalem, and so ends before having to address the complicated post-conquest inter-Frankish rivalries and Muslim-Christian alliances, the context of these rivalries and alliances, and the Armenian role in them, influenced Ralph's depictions of earlier events. It is also possible he was directly influenced by, if not Armenian eyewitnesses, then Franks who had lived the past decade with Armenians, many of them marrying into Armenian families: Fulcher of Chartres, writing twenty years after the Crusade, refers to Latin newcomers marrying “not only of their own people but Syrians or Armenians or even Saracens who have obtained the grace of baptism.”<sup>37</sup> Hodgeson, her work focused on Latin-Armenian intermarriage, argues that such marriages took place after the first generations of settlement as well.<sup>38</sup> It seems likely that this increasing reliance on Armenians influenced Ralph's depiction, if not his perception, of their level of support in the early stages of Antiochene settlement.

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36 Matthew of Edessa, III.79.

37 FC, III.XXXIV.1-2, p. 266.

38 Natasha Hodgeson, “Conflict and Cohabitation: Marriage and Diplomacy Between Latins and Cilician Armenians, c. 1097-1253), in *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. Conor Kostick, (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2011), p. 87.

In addition to the military and political assistance described especially by Ralph, the most impressive Armenian support of their new Latin family came with their involvement in several ransoms or rescues of Latin notables in Muslim captivity. When Bohemond of Taranto was held captive by the Turk Dānishmend, his ransom was achieved in 1103 “through the mediation and assistance of the great Armenian prince Kogh Vasil [of Raban and Kesoun],” who also donated money towards the ransom, according to Matthew of Edessa, while his nephew Tancred did nothing to free his uncle.<sup>39</sup> On Bohemond's release, Vasil had the Norman brought to him, presenting him with gifts, “and by a solemn oath became an adopted son of the Armenian prince Kogh Vasil.”<sup>40</sup> There is no mention in the various sources of a relationship between the two men before or after this time, and no indication in Bohemond's general behavior towards his Armenian neighbors that he would have cultivated such a relationship. MacEvitt argues this involvement on Vasil's part was not out of affection for Bohemond, but interest in fostering the rivalry between Antioch and Edessa—his own territory almost squarely between them—in an attempt to keep the balance of power in the region favorable to himself.<sup>41</sup>

Indeed, Vasil backed the Edessans in 1104, when Joscelin and Baldwin II

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39 Matthew of Edessa, p. 192, III:14; Ibn al-Athīr also refers to the ransom by Dānishmend, but does not mention Kogh Vasil's involvement (p. 60).

40 Matthew of Edessa, p. 192.

41 MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, p. 86.

marched against Tancred, who had taken advantage of their absence. Their first engagement with the Antiochenes was a defeat, and so Joscelin and Baldwin “took refuge in the area controlled by Kogh Basil, an Armenian,” who “supplied the Count with 1,000 cavalry from among the apostates, and 2,000 infantry.”<sup>42</sup> In 1108, Baldwin II and Joscelin again attacked Tancred “because of their lands which he had taken over while they were in captivity and now would not return to them;” at this point, “Vasil sent Baldwin and Joscelin eight hundred of his own men and Pecheneg troops from the Roman [Byzantine] emperor's army who were stationed in Mamistra,” despite which the Edessans were defeated.<sup>43</sup> Kogh Vasil was not interested in any Latin in particular, at varying times supported both, by MacEvitt's argument, keeping Antioch or Edessa against each other, and thus too weak to move against him. At no point, however, did he join with any force against both Latin polities; Armenian interests still favored Latin buffer states, so long as they remained outside of Cilicia.

Though Vasil avoided favoring either of the Latin states in Syria, it is worth noting that it was he who approached Bohemond. It seems unlikely the Edessans would have sought refuge in his territory without a prior understanding of neutrality if not support, but the sources do not indicate whether the Latins or Armenians initiated contact.

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42 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rikh* [The Complete History], trans. D. S. Richards in *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from Al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rikh, Part 1: The Years 491-541/1097-1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*, Crusade Texts in Translation, V. 13, (Ashgate: Farnham, England and Burlington, VT, 2006, pp. 138-139.

43 Matthew of Edessa, 201.

In both recorded instances of Vasil backing the Edessans, they were the underdogs against the Antiochenes; by MacEvitt's argument, this was part of his plan to keep the Latins too busy fighting each other to join against him.

However, it is also possible that initially Vasil intended to alternate his support between Antioch and Edessa, but gave up in the face of Tancred's expansionist attacks. In 1112-1113, Tancred attacked Vasil, capturing Raban, and camping near his capital of Kesoun. Vasil gathered his own army, but no battle ensued; “both sides waited around for a number of days without engaging in combat, after which they made peace with one another. Tancred returned Raban to Vasil, while the Armenian prince handed over to him the district of Ḥiṣn-Mānṣūr, and also T’orēsh and Uremn,” which Vasil had captured.<sup>44</sup> Ibn al-Qalānisī also supports the image of Tancred as the aggressive party; he describes Tancred as dying while heading for the province of Kogh Basil, “the leader of the Armenians,” intending to capture his lands. Taken sick on the journey, the Norman returned home to Antioch to die.<sup>45</sup>

Vasil's ransom and adoption of Bohemond may have been an attempt to end Tancred's regency in favor of a Latin more amenable to Armenian interests. Later on during his regency, Vasil certainly favored the Edessans, perhaps, as MacEvitt argues, in an attempt to balance out Tancred's expansionist policies, or perhaps he found them better

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44 Matthew of Edessa, p. 211, III:56.

45 Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 204.

allies more willing to establish close personal bonds with their Armenian neighbors.

Interestingly, those Armenian neighbors were also involved in determining who would rule Edessa; the argument between Tancred and Baldwin II, then Count of Edessa, was "mediated by their Patriarch, several metropolitans and priests" who "bore witness that Bohemond, Tancred's uncle, had said to him [...] that Edessa should be returned to the Count when he was set free from captivity."<sup>46</sup> Tancred, ready enough to contest the rule of Edessa on the field, yielded it after these mediations, unable to push too hard against either the Armenians, whom he may have seen as ready to back their patriarch's decision, or against evidence of Bohemond's will. Without written documentation of Bohemond's decision, there is no way to know if the Armenians did indeed represent it accurately, or if they supported the Edessans against Tancred in law as well as war, driven by relationships between the Latins and the churchmen themselves, or their closeness to other Armenians and apparent comfort with the Armenian church.

Against Tancred and the Antiochenes, Kogh Vasil and his Armenians were willing to take the Edessans part in the mediations, but another group of Armenians took a more active role when first Joscelin, Count of Edessa, in 1122, who had at some point married Beatrice, daughter of the Rupenid Prince Constantine, was taken captive by Turkish forces. He was soon joined by King Baldwin II of Jerusalem in 1123, who during his time as the previous Count of Edessa had married Morfia, daughter of Gabriel of

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46 Ibn al-Athīr, p. 139.

Melitene, another Armenian potentate.<sup>47</sup> As described by Ibn al-Athīr, in 1122, Balak ibn Bahrām, nephew of Il Ghāzī in Aleppo, attacked Edessa. Repulsed by the city's defenses, he retreated; soon after Joscelin attacked him in the field, to his own defeat.<sup>48</sup>“Joscelin was taken and sewn into a camel's skin. The surrender of Edessa was demanded but he refused and “offered large sums of money and many prisoners as his ransom,” which were refused by Balak; instead, the count was deposited in Kharpert, in eastern Anatolia, north of the territories claimed by Edessa.<sup>49</sup> In April the next year, Baldwin II marched on Qarqūr in northwestern Syria, between Ḥamā and Aleppo, resulting in his own capture by Balak and incarceration with Joscelin in Kharpert.<sup>50</sup>

In May, “Balak left Khartbirt and went to Ḥarrān, which he captured. Meanwhile the Franks employed a trick to win over some of the garrison, emerged from prison and

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47 See also, Jacob G. Ghazarian, *The Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia During the Crusades: The Integration of Cilician Armenians with the Latins 1080-1393*, Caucasus World, ed. Nicholas Awde, (Richmond, England: Curzon Press, 2000), M. Chahin, *The Kingdom of Armenia: A History*, Caucasus World, Series Ed. Nicholas Awde, second edition, (Curzon Press: Richmond, England, 2001), p. 244; William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*, [A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea], trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, Vol. I, (Columbia University Press: New York, 1943), X.24,1, p. 450. Their daughters became Queen of Jerusalem, Princess of Antioch, and Countess of Tripoli; Ivetta of Bethlehem. Beatrice' brother Leo may have married a sister of Baldwin II; his son T'oros II, Lord of the Mountains, married Joscelin's granddaughter Isabelle de Courtenay. See the genealogies included in W. H. Rüd̄t-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties*, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library, (Paris: Librarie C. Klincksieck, 1963), as well as Appendix B: Genealogies.

48 Ibn al-Athīr, p. 232.

49 Ibn al-Athīr, p. 232.

50 Ibn al-Athīr, p. 232.

seized the citadel,” with Joscelin riding for reinforcements while Baldwin remained. His attempt to hold the castle failed, however, and he was soon Balak's prisoner once again.<sup>51</sup>

Ibn al-Athīr's narrative focuses entirely on the Franks and Balak; Joscelin and Baldwin manage to free themselves through some kind of trick, but no details are given, as Ibn al-Athīr is anxious to reach Balak's victory over the clever Franks. Writing in Iraq, and interested in a pan-Mediterranean view of Frankish conquests of Muslim territories as a whole, he is not particularly interested in the Armenian involvement in the northern Syrian theater.<sup>52</sup> Nor is Ibn al-Qalānīsī, though he wrote in Damascus, much closer to the parties in question, he does not so much as mention the Armenians in his description of the capture.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, the two Arabic sources rarely mention Armenians at all, usually only in reference to their support of the Latins, and then only briefly. To the Muslims, the Armenians appear to have been seen only as auxiliaries to the more threatening Latin forces

Fulcher of Chartres, who had been Baldwin I's chaplain in Edessa and may have

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51 Ibn al-Athīr, pp. 246-247.

52 Ibn al-Athīr, p. 13; Ibn al-Athīr begins his description of the First Crusade with the fall of Toledo in 1085, then argues “The reason for their invasion [of Syria] was that their ruler, Baldwin, a relative of Roger the Frank who had conquered Sicily, gathered a great host of Franks,” and told Roger he would invade Ifrīqiya in Northern Africa. Roger, however, did not want to spend Sicilian resources on conquests which would not benefit him, or damage the relationship with the Muslims there until he was strong enough to attack them himself. Instead, “he summoned Baldwin's envoy and said to him, 'If you are determined to wage holy war on the Muslims, then the best way is to conquer Jerusalem' [...] They therefore made their preparations and marched forth to Syria.”

53 Ibn al-Qalānīsī, p.169.

remained in contact with his successor's household, however, describes the Franks' escape in more detail, with more interest in the Armenians' involvement:

Through trustworthy messengers [Baldwin and Joscelin] constantly sought aid wherever they had friends. They endeavored in every way to conspire with the Armenians living about them with this end in view, that if ever they could get help from their friends outside the Armenians would continue to be loyal helpers. When this was agreed, after some gifts and many promises and a mutual exchange of oaths, about fifty agents were sent very craftily from the city of Edessa to the castle for this affair.”<sup>54</sup>

Fulcher gleefully details the agents' entry to the castle as “the humblest of men carrying and selling merchandise,” as well as their magnificent slaughter of the guards, whose captain “was carelessly playing chess,” then goes on to describe how Joscelin, with an unnamed number of men, “passed through the midst of the enemy in the moonlight,” made his way towards the Euphrates by night until his shoes wore out, and braved the river with inflated leather bags despite his lack of swimming skills.<sup>55</sup> On the way home, the famished Joscelin met an Armenian peasant, who remembered the lord who “kindly made me eat bread with you,” and insisted on leading Joscelin to Turbessel [Tell Bashir, his seat] on his own mule.<sup>56</sup> A past relationship seems unlikely, but the road from Kharpert to Turbessel would probably have been full of Armenian peasants, just as the

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54 FC, p. 247, III:XXIII:2-3.

55 FC, pp. 248-250, III:XXIV.1-17.

56 FC, p. 249-251, III:XXIV:4-13.

castle would have been surrounded by them. Meanwhile, when Balak retook Kharpert, he refrained from killing Baldwin even in his fury, but did massacre the Armenians who had rescued him and held the castle, removing Baldwin to Harran.<sup>57</sup> It was not until after Balak's death at the siege of Tyre that Baldwin was exchanged for his youngest daughter “and several of his servitors likewise held in captivity as had been agreed by both sides,” and it was most of another year before the hostages were ransomed back with cash.<sup>58</sup>

Fulcher's version of the story is considerably more entertaining than Ibn al-Athīr's, focused as it is on the daring exploits of the Franks. In this narrative, written about the same time as the events themselves took place, the Latin author keeps his coreligionists center stage, but awards the Armenians—who probably include the fifty covert agents from Edessa—the depiction of loyal, supporting cast. Brave, resourceful, and useful, they are nonetheless faceless shadows next to Joscelin in particular. Fulcher's narrative of the adventure may serve as a model for his view of the Armenian-Latin alliance at large—the Latin leaders, like Joscelin, are valiant and daring, but require the support of their Armenian allies and relatives by marriage.

The service rendered by the Armenians here is, significantly, a personal one; they are not a unit of soldiers fighting beneath a Latin banner in the pursuit of conquests which will benefit both sides of the alliance, they are a courageous group of men who choose to

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57 FC, p. 253, III:XXCVI:4.

58 FC, p. 263, III:XXXI3-6, III:XLIV.2.

break into a heavily fortified castle to rescue three men. The personal nature of the rescue suggests an equally personal relationship at its root; the Armenians do not undertake the mission for king and count, but for Baldwin and particularly Joscelin themselves, for whom they have personal—perhaps familial—loyalties.

Personal ties also seem relevant in the narrative described in the Syriac chronicle of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, a leader of the Syrian Orthodox Church in the thirteenth century, who spent his life in northern Syria. “Then the Armenian workmen who were in the city, knowing that there were very few soldiers in the fortress, gathered together at the gate, and when grumbling about their pay, they leaped up suddenly and seized the swords that were there, and killed the Turkish guards.”<sup>59</sup> Unlike most of the other narratives, no one arranges the Armenian rescue, and no soldiers are involved, a group of workaday Armenians simply takes it upon itself to rescue the Latins from the fortress. Such an initiative seems unlikely, but it is a testament to Joscelin's popularity among the Armenians that Abu'l Faraj included it in his *Chronicle*; presumably this version of the tale survived in one form or another among the Armenians and Syrians of the region. It awards the initiative of the rescue to the Armenians, which also suggests the perception of a personal element to the relationship between them and Joscelin and Baldwin—close enough that they simply decide to rescue the Latins of their own accord. Joscelin's fame in particular lasted among the eastern Christians of northern Syria for over a century as a

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59 Gregory Abū'l Faraj, *Makhtbhanuth Zabḥne* [Chronography], V. 1, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 251.

Latin worth risking their lives for, suggesting that the relationships he cultivated were strong indeed.

While Joscelin is also central figure of Matthew of Edessa's narrative, written much closer to the time at hand, the Armenian shows considerably more interest in his countrymen. "Fifteen men," joined together to free the Franks; they "closely observed the impregnable fortress," and "seeing that the fortress guards were few and negligent, they approached its gates, looking wretched and feigning the appearance of quarreling plaintiffs. They were able to get someone inside the fortress to work with them," and so quickly freed the Franks, with whom they overtook the garrison.<sup>60</sup> Joscelin "secretly departed with an infantry escort" to arrange for more troops, but had to turn back on learning that Balak had retaken the fortress.<sup>61</sup>

While his description of the escape is far less thrilling than Fulcher's, which could easily have been based on first-hand accounts, Matthew still focuses on the heroic role of Joscelin, supported by Armenians. Like Gregory's account, Matthew's gives the Armenian rescuers the initiative, undertaking the rescue themselves rather than being called upon by the captive Latins. His is also the narrative most interested in the ransom itself; after Balak's death, Timurtash, the Artukid ruler of Mardin, took possession of his territories.

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60 Matthew of Eddesa, pp. 229-230, III.90.

61 Matthew of Eddesa, pp. 229-230, III.90.

Now count Joscelin and the queen made a pact with Timurtash to ransom the king. They agreed to hand over as hostages the king's daughter and Joscelin's son, together with fifteen other persons. The ransom itself was set at one hundred thousand *dahekans*. So in the month of September King Baldwin was delivered from captivity at the hands of the Turks [...] Thus this was the second time that Baldwin was freed from captivity through Joscelin's efforts.<sup>62</sup>

Matthew's is the first account to include the Armenian-born queen Morfia in the ransom negotiations, and her involvement portrays Baldwin in a particularly weak light when combined with the emphasis on Joscelin's two rescues of the king. Baldwin's role in the episode is to barge into the Syrian theatre to rescue Joscelin and his nephew, the original captives, only to become a captive himself, freed by the bravery of the very man he came to save. Joscelin remains active in support of the king, who stays in Kharpert, and loses the castle before the count can return with a stronger garrison. Finally, Joscelin adds political acumen to his martial prowess, arranging the king's ransom, which, Matthew suggests, came about only because of Morfia's and Joscelin's Armenian connections, the negotiations driven by a woman from Melitene and the Count of Edessa, married to a ranking Armenian woman, their connections far closer to Kharpert and Aleppo than Baldwin's. On Matthew's treatment of the two Franks, MacEvitt argues, that “much of Matthew's hostility toward the Franks evaporated once Joscelin took power. While Baldwin II had built up the internal structure of the county, Joscelin was a

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62 Matthew of Edessa, pp. 232-233, III.96

vigorous military leader intent on expanding the county's boundaries.”<sup>63</sup> It was Joscelin who had developed personal relationships with the Armenians on the field as well as with his marriage, and it was Joscelin, it seems, whom the Armenians were anxious to rescue. Baldwin, however, was not devoid of personal Armenian connections; his wife, Morfia, was instrumental in negotiating his ransom. The Edessans' personal relationships, indivisible from their political alliances, are manifestly responsible for the Armenians' involvement in their rescue; Joscelin's closer ties resulted in a closer interest in his rescue by the Armenians than Baldwin's, emphasizing the importance of such personal relationships for survival in northern Syria.

In an anonymous Syriac chronicle, probably written not long after 1163, the last date mentioned, and somewhere in northern Syria, the predominant place for the use of Syriac at the time, by an Armenian or Syrian Christian, Morfia is involved in planning the daring escape, the Armenians' role in which is described in entertaining detail.

Some twenty Armenian soldiers, who served in the strong fort named Between the Castles on the hill of Kaisūn, laid a plot with Godfrey Almuin [Constable of Edessa in Joscelin's absence] and the queen. They went to Castle Zaid as poor soldiers, ten of them carrying grapes, fruit, and fowls. These pretended to be villagers wanting to complain of the steward who had done them wrong. The others stayed outside ready to join them when the work began.<sup>64</sup>

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63 MacEvitt, p. 93.

64 Anonymous, *Chronicle*, trans. A. S. Tritton, ed. H. A. R. Gibb in “The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp. 69-101 and No. 2, pp. 273-305; here, p. 93. See “Constables of Edessa,” in *Medieval Lands—Index*, <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/EDESSA.htm>, accessed 4/14/14.

A cinematic description of the fighting follows, then “they freed the prisoners, held the castle, and all the Armenians in the town who could joined them.”<sup>65</sup> Joscelin left for help, but Balaq retook the castle soon after, and “tortured the Armenians, and finally flayed them alive. The king and Galeran went back to their former prison.”<sup>66</sup>

It is worth noting that both Matthew's account and that of the anonymous *Chronicle* describe the Armenian rescuers as gaining entry to the castle by pretending to be quarreling plaintiffs with business inside; Gregory Abū'l Faraj also depicts the Armenian rescuers as using everyday complaints to gain entry. Matthew and the anonymous *Chronicle*, one certainly Armenian and the other probably so as well, also show the most interest in Queen Morfia, with Matthew having her arrange the ransom, and the anonymous Syriac author involving her in planning the rescue attempt. It is not Baldwin's rank as king, but his connections to the Armenians through his wife that gains him rescue; not Joscelin's importance as a military leader, but his close ties with the Armenians of the area, who value him personally and wish to see him freed, even at the cost of their own lives. The Syriac *Chronicle* is also the only source to mention the third important prisoner's, Galéran's Armenian connections, though earlier in the work rather than at the time of the rescue: Galéran and Baldwin II, while still count, had besieged the “strong castle of Bīrta [al-Bīra]” in the early years of the County, until its Armenian lord,

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65 *Chronicle*, pp. 92-93.

66 *Chronicle*, p. 93.

Abu'l Gharīb, “surrendered on terms and Galéran married his daughter with the castle as dowry.”<sup>67</sup>

Galéran's marriage to Abu'l Gharīb's daughter would at first glance appear to be unnecessary. He and Baldwin had taken the fortress, its lord had surrendered upon realizing he could not hold out against the attacking Franks, suggesting that the daughter's marriage would not have been insisted upon by him as part of the terms of surrender; he probably was not in a position to demand much from the Franks. Instead, it seems more likely the marriage was a condition placed upon him by the Franks themselves: Galéran would enter Bīrta less as an alien conquerer and more as a militant consort. His Armenian bride would provide a measure of continuity for the townspeople, hopefully preventing rebellion and transitioning him into the social fabric of the local community as a family member rather than an outsider. Morfia provided the same transition and protection to Baldwin II, perhaps assisted by his sister's marriage to Leo (Leon, Lewon), Prince of Armenia, and Leo's sister, Beatrice's, to Joscelin.<sup>68</sup>

In the first two decades of Latin settlement in northern Syria, the Edessans, Baldwin I and II as well as their cousins Joscelin of Courtenay and Galéran de Puiset, actively pursued personal relationships with their Armenian neighbors; culminating in

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67 *Chronicle*, pp. 80-81. I have not been able to find any explanation for Abu'l Gharīb's Arabic name, which is unique among Armenians at the time.

68 See Appendix B, Genealogies, and W. H. Rüdiger-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties*, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library, (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1963).

marriage alliances with the daughters of local potentates. Their Antiochene brethren, particularly Tancred, did not. Instead, they took advantage of their territory along the coast to develop financially-based alliances with the Genoese, and made their marriage alliances with the French court. The Italo-Normans used Antioch as a base from which to expand their territories into northern Syria, where the Franks in Edessa, cut off from their northern kindred, focused on establishing a social network to which they could turn for assistance. This element of their settlement strategy was successful; Baldwin II and Joscelin's Armenian network not only supported them in the field, against Antioch as well as nearby Muslims, but came to their rescue during their captivity in Kharpert, demonstrating the depth of their strongly personal loyalty. The Edessans sought to establish themselves as Syrians and Levantines in truth, a policy which would manifest even more in their eastern-born children.

### Interlude: Christian-Muslim Relationships

While the strongest personal relationships the Latins developed with their Syrian neighbors were with Armenians and sealed by marriages, they also cultivated relationships with Muslims, and once again, it was Baldwin II of Jerusalem and Joscelin de Courtenay who did so most successfully. During Baldwin's captivity in 1123, he was first held by Balak, as discussed, who gave him to Ḥusām ad-Dīn Tamur, Tāsh bin II-Ghazi, who then passed him into the keeping of the Banī Munqidh in Shaizar. Usāma ibn Munqidh was a young prince of the family at the time, and wrote of the incident in his *Kitāb al-I'tibār*, an eclectic collection of memories until the 1190s: “ فحمله إلينآ الى شيزر . ليتوسط ابي و عمى رحمهما الله، بيعه . فاحسنا اليه . فلما ملك كانت لصاحب انطاكية علينا قطيشة سامحنا بها . و صار امرنا في انطاكية نافذاً ”. The Banu Munqidh were chosen to act as mediators, arranging Baldwin's (بغدوين) ransom; because of their good treatment of him, a relationship developed between the king. With this relationship, Banu Muniqdh interests came to influence Antioch until 1126, when Baldwin's regency was replaced by Bohemond II, quickly married to Baldwin's daughter Alice.<sup>69</sup>

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69 ed Philip Hitti, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1930), p. 118-121. “كتاب الإعتبار



In July 1111, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wal-Dīn, Sharaf al-Dīn Mawdūd of Mosul, amīr Ahmadīl as well as amīr Sukmān al-Qutbī from Armenia and Diyār Bek amassed their troops and marched to Syria in response to a letter “from Sultān ibn ’Alī ibn Munqidh, lord of Shaizar, informing them that Tancred, lord of Antioch, had descended upon the land of Shaizar and had begun to build Tell ibn Ma’shar opposite it and [was preventing] the transport of grain to it.”<sup>73</sup> The Muslim forces were able to breach the fortress, but

Joscelin, lord of Tell Bāshir, sent to the Kurdish amīr Ahmadīl, bribing him with money and gifts and promising to be with him and to take his part. Now the greater number of the regular troops were with Ahmadīl, and when Joscelin begged him to withdraw from the castle and humbled himself to him, he consented to his request in spite of the disapproval of the other amīrs.<sup>74</sup>

Ibn al-Qalānisī gives no reasons for Ahmadīl's defection, mentioning only Joscelin's bribes; similarly, he gives no reason for Joscelin to have chosen Ahmadīl in particular. From the context given, it is possible Joscelin approached Ahmadīl either as the leader of the largest contingent of troops, or because of his Kurdish status, setting him apart from the predominantly Turkish *amīrs* around him and the Arab Bani Munqidh. Whatever the

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II became king, he “sent Joscelin back to Edessa and set him up as a barrier against the Persian attacks, for Joscelin was a valiant man and a mighty warrior and renowned among all the Franks, besides which all the Persians trembled with fear because of his courage. Joscelin, abandoning his former cruel nature, now adopted a very humane and compassionate attitude towards the inhabitants of Edessa,” p. 225, III.81. The anonymous Syriac chronicle claims that when Baldwin II “called Joscelin from Tiberias and in 1432 [1119] sent him to rule in Edessa” it was “to the delight of the citizens,” perhaps because about the same time “His fame spread abroad in north Mesopotamia and fear of him fell on the Turks around,” p. 88.

73 Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 114.

74 Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 115.

two leaders' reasons may have been, Joscelin demonstrated himself capable of cultivating allies on the spot, even non-Christian ones.. Tancred may have been the Latin driving the campaign, but it was Joscelin capable of fostering new relationships, based on his reputation, or perhaps simply personal talent and charisma.

Not all his overtures of alliance were successful; in late May, Baldwin I of Jerusalem gave Joscelin the fief of Tiberias, and

It was agreed between these two that Joscelin should write to Zahīr al-Dīn Atābek [of Damascus], promising friendship, and moving him to desire the establishment of amicable and peaceful relations, also that Joscelin should surrender to him the castle of Thmānīn [...] and Jabal 'Āmila, and receive in exchange the castle of Habīs in the Sawād together with half of the Sawād and should promise on behalf of Baldwin the loyal observance of these conditions and maintenance of friendship and cessation of attacks on any of the provinces of Damascus, provided that the atābek on his part did not attack an of the provinces of the Franks.<sup>75</sup>

Although the proposed alliance was rejected by the *atabeg*, who chose instead to join with Mawdūd of Mosul, the attempt was still made on behalf of Baldwin I, but by Joscelin, who had already demonstrated his proficiency at cultivating friendships with Muslims. His diplomatic skill had become polished and well-known enough that he could be used by other Latins—perhaps Tancred as well as Baldwin I—as an intermediary.

Nor was Joscelin's reputation known only to his fellow Latins; in 1128 or 1129, the *atabeg* of Mosul, Zangī became involved in the Syrian theater, and “made a treaty of

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75 Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 133-134.

friendship with the Frankish count Joscelin [...] Seeking to make a treaty of peace and friendship with the great Frankish count Bohemond, the lord of Antioch, he chose Joscelin to mediate in the negotiations.”<sup>76</sup> Wanting to establish treaties with the Latins, it was to Joscelin that Zangī went first, probably due to his history of such relationships and pragmatic approach to leadership in northern Syria, which required willingness to ally with Muslims as well as Christians. Interestingly, Joscelin appears to have been seen as a springboard for treaties with other Latins; Zangī “chose Joscelin to mediate in the negotiations” with Bohemond, trusting him to represent the Turkish leader's interests to his fellow Latins.

The new Latin rulers of Antioch and Edessa sought to consolidate their precarious position in Syria with alliances, for the Antiochenes, primarily with France and Genoa, though cultivating some friendships with local leaders as well. The Edessans, however, were more successful in creating long-term alliances, predominantly through marriage with their Armenian neighbors; the career of Joscelin de Courtenay suggests that the success of these alliances was based primarily on personal interaction and respect between the parties involved. Armenians loyally followed Joscelin, and, to a lesser extent, Baldwin II, as one of their own, and even Turkish and Arab Muslims became comfortable with him as their main conduit to the Frankish east.

Such alliances had immediate political repercussions—support on the battlefield,

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76 Matthew of Edessa, pp. 237-238, III.107.

access to resources, etc.--but also long-term effects on the culture of Outremer, a Latin kingdom in the East.

## Latin Princesses, Eastern Connections

While still count of Edessa, Baldwin I married an Armenian lord's daughter, which Runciman sees as establishing a precedent for the Kingdom of Jerusalem: One of retaining Frankish dominion while giving roles in the state to the native Christians and Muslims.<sup>77</sup> His successor Baldwin II followed his example, marrying Morfia, daughter of the duke of Malatia, culturally and linguistically Armenian but following the Greek rite. Morfia and Baldwin gave the Latin East three mixed-blood heiresses, whose behavior, as we shall see, was strongly influenced by their Eastern roots.<sup>78</sup> Such marriages were not restricted to the nobility; William of Tyre, himself born in Outremer, describes Baldwin as inviting Christians living beyond the Jordan to people Jerusalem in 1115 as part of the integration of Latins into the local milieu.<sup>79</sup> Marriages with Byzantine women were common among the ruling aristocracy, while Fulcher of Chartres comments on marriages with "Syrians or Armenians or even Saracens who have obtained the grace of baptism."<sup>80</sup> The Latins of Outremer quickly became distinct from their European counterparts and aware of the difference: Fulcher of Chartres famously wrote within twenty years of the First Crusade,

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77 Runciman, V. 1, p. 209.

78 WT, p. 450.

79 WT, 11.28, V.1, p. 507.

80 FC, III.XXXVII.2-7, p. 272.

For we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land been made into a Galilean or a Palestinian. He who was of Rheims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already these are unknown to many of us or not mentioned any more [...] He who was born a stranger is now as one born here; he who was born an alien has become a native.<sup>81</sup>

Intermarriage likely played a large part in this rapid acculturation. Latins identified with the home in which they raised their families, for many of them with eastern-born women. The development of a distinct culture and political awareness influenced by this mixed heritage is apparent in the second generation of Latin rulers: Baldwin II's daughters used personal-political relationships just as Baldwin and Joscelin did. These Latin princesses of the east were more comfortable with a network of Levantine supporters than turning to westerners, relying on connections solidified by kinship and marriage.

Baldwin and Morfia had four daughters; the youngest, Yvette, was unmarriageable after serving as surety for her father's ransom, and became Abbess of Bethany, a religious house established for her by her eldest sister, Melisende.<sup>82</sup>

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81 FC, III.XXXVII.2-7, p. 272.

82 "Jerusalem, Kings," *Medieval Lands—Index*, [http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/JERUSALEM.htm#\\_ftn100](http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/JERUSALEM.htm#_ftn100), accessed 4/14/14. The *Index* makes impressive use not only of narrative sources but also charters and other notarial documents, and is the best reference for genealogical information on Outremer. For more on the lives of redeemed prisoners and hostages, especially women, see Yvonne Friedmann's excellent *Encounter Between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002).

Melisende's marriage was a careful balance between east and west. As her father's heir, it would have been inappropriate for her to marry outside the Latin Church, infuriating her father's Latin barons and from the genealogy included in Appendix B it appears that in the 1120s, the time Melisende's marriage was being arranged, Latin men might marry Armenian or Byzantine brides, but within the patrilineal system, Latin women were reserved for their coreligionists. At this time, as we have seen, Armenian support was securely held through her mother and Joscelin de Courtenay, his own wife an Armenian princess, but, the Latins of the East were always desperate for more support from the west. As such, Baldwin arranged for Melisende to marry Fulk V of Anjou in 1129; through his mother Bertrade, second wife of Philip I of France, Fulk was connected not only to the royalty of France, but also his half-sister Cecile of France, who married first Tancred, then Pons of Tripoli.<sup>83</sup> More importantly, Fulk himself had been attached to the Templar Knights “for some time,” beginning in 1120; he had become familiar with the military situation in the Levant, and had become close to both Baldwin and many of his barons.<sup>84</sup> Fulk provided the ideal mix of western origin and royal connections along with eastern experience. Perhaps most importantly, he had demonstrated a dedication to the protection of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which he had already undertaken for at least a few years, at no material gain to himself.

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83 “Anjou,” *Medieval Lands—Index*, <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/ANJOU,%20MAINE.htm> accessed 4/14/14. Fulk and Cecile shared a mother; Cecile and Constance of France, Bohemond's bride, shared a father. Fulk and Constance are thus unrelated by blood.

84 “Anjou,” WT, XIV.1, V.2, pp. 46-50.

With a mature king with ties to the western Franks secured for Jerusalem, Melisende's sister Hodierna's marriage could be used to tighten the bonds of the Latin polities. She married Raymond II of Tripoli, son of Fulk's half-sister Cecile and Pons of Tripoli, and ruled as her son Raymond III's regent after her husband's murder.<sup>85</sup> Raymond III followed his parents' marriage pattern, marrying Eschiva, Princess of Galilee, again reinforcing the bonds between the nobles of Outremer.<sup>86</sup> His sister Melisende, however, became involved in the flurry of Byzantine marriages that overtook Baldwin and Morfia's grand- and great-grandchildren, discussed below.<sup>87</sup>

Alice, either the second or third princess, also married to strengthen Jerusalem's influence over the other polities: Baldwin arranged her marriage with Bohemond II while he was still the minor's regent for Antioch; the marriage was formalized in 1126 when Bohemond arrived in the Levant.<sup>88</sup> In 1130, the young prince was killed in battle, with Alice undertaking the regency for their infant daughter, Constance. While she surrendered the regency to her father when Baldwin II arrived Antioch soon after, Alice

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85 "Tripoli," *Medieval Lands—Index*, <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/TRIPOLI.htm>, accessed 4/14/14.

86 "Tripoli;" "Jerusalem, Nobility," <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/JERUSALEM%20NOBILITY.htm>, accessed 4/14/14.

87 "Tripoli."

88 "Antioch," *Medieval Lands—Index*, <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/ANTIOCH.htm>, accessed 4/14/14; "Jerusalem, Kngs."

made another bid for power after his death in 1131, during a weak point in Fulk's reign.<sup>89</sup>

The Kingdom of Jerusalem, and Melisende, proved more troublesome than Fulk may have anticipated: Tensions between the two royals arose with Baldwin II's death and confusion over how much power he had intended Fulk to have in the Kingdom, and how much was to be shared with Melisende and their son, Baldwin III.<sup>90</sup> Within two years, outright rebellion broke out, when “Hugh, count of Jaffa, and Romain de Puy, lord of the region beyond the Jordan, are said to have conspired against the lord king.”<sup>91</sup> Hugh was kin to both Joscelin I and Baldwin II, as well as Galéran, though it is not clear how closely.<sup>92</sup> When Hugh’s stepson Walter of Caesarea accused him of “having conspired with certain accomplices of the same faction against the life of the king,” he was sentenced to a trial by combat, and found guilty by default when he did not appear. His lands were declared forfeit after he allied with the Muslims of Ascalon and attacked his countrymen; despite this, peace was mediated between Fulk and Hugh, resulting in the count’s three year exile. Before Hugh could leave, however, he was attacked by a Breton knight in Jerusalem and popular suspicion fell on Fulk’s involvement, although the knight insisted he had carried out the assassination in the hopes of the king’s favor

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89 “Antioch.”

90 Hans Eberhard Meyer, “Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem,” in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, V. 26 (Washington, D.C.: Dunbarton Oaks Press, 1972), p. 107.

91 WT, XIV.16-18, pp. 70-15.

92 “Jerusalem, Nobility.”

without his direct promise.<sup>93</sup>

William's explanation of the impetus behind Hugh's rebellion is less than satisfactory: "Some said that the king cherished a deep distrust of the count, who was rumored to be on too familiar terms with the queen, and of this there seemed to be many proofs. Hence, spurred on by a husband's jealousy, the king is said to have conceived an inexorable hatred against the man."<sup>94</sup> Even to William, however, spousal jealousy did not seem a valid reason for outright rebellion, as he comments, "Some, desiring to make light of such rumors, declared that the only source of this hatred was the overweening arrogance and presumption of the count, who refused to be subject to the king like the other nobles of the realm and obstinately declined to obey his commands."<sup>95</sup>

William only mentions Melisende in reference to her supposed relationship with Hugh, and to describe her reaction to the count's death, making her level of involvement in the rebellion unclear. "All who had informed against the count and thereby incited the king to wrath fell under the displeasure of Queen Melisend [sic] and were forced to take diligent measures for their safety," as she grieved for Hugh and "her own good name was in some measure besmirched" by the accusations.

It was not safe for these informers to come into her presence; in fact, they deemed

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93 WT, XIV.16-18, pp. 70-15.

94 WT, XIV.15, pp. 70-72.

95 WT, XIV.15, pp. 70-72.

it prudent to keep away even from public gatherings. Even the king found that no place was entirely safe among the kindred and partisans of the queen. At length, through the mediation of certain intimate friends, her wrath was appeased, and the king finally, after persistent efforts, succeeded in gaining a pardon for the other objects of her wrath-- at least to such an extent that they could be introduced into her presence with others. But from that day forward, the king became so uxorious that, whereas he had formerly aroused her wrath, he now calmed it, and not even in unimportant cases did he take any measures without her knowledge and assistance.<sup>96</sup>

William's account does not make Melisende's involvement clear; however, he refers to Hugh's "faction" against the king's royal prerogatives, and Melisende's "partisans," distinct from Fulk's supporters.<sup>97</sup> Meyer suggests a connection between Hugh's refusal to "to be subject" to Fulk and the king's struggle for power with his wife, with the barons splitting between those who felt obligated to support Fulk as heir to full royal power, as they had agreed in his arrival to the east, and those who preferred a monarchy weakened by the division of power between king, queen, and prince.<sup>98</sup> I would add to these a third possible category of barons: Those who supported Melisende directly, out of personal loyalty or interest, perhaps like Hugh of Jaffa, a cousin with a close relationship of some kind. Personal connections had driven political behavior in Outremer since its inception, and it seems unlikely Melisende would have attempted to oppose Fulk without drawing on the support network into which she had been born.

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96 WT, XIV.19, p. 76.

97 WT, XIV.19, p. 76.

98 Meyer, p. 107.

William makes no connection between Hugh of Jaffa's rebellion and Alice's second bid for power; however, Thomas Asbridge suggests the two to be closely linked if not the same movement, the two sisters forming the strongest nodes of each other's networks. Alice was, in fact, the first to move against the king.<sup>99</sup> During the first year of Fulk's reign (1131), the "great men" of Antioch, finding the territory without a "protector" and thus "exposed to the wiles of the enemy, appealed to the king, begging him" to take control of the region—again feeling vulnerable without a single strong male in power. At this time Alice, "an extremely malicious and wily woman" was "with the help of certain accomplices [...] intriguing to wrong the principality," planning to disinherit her daughter Constance, taking the principality and marrying "according to her own pleasures."<sup>100</sup> These accomplices included William de Sehunna or de Saone, a powerful Antiochene, Pons, Count of Tripoli, whose son Raymond II also married Alice's sister Hodierna in 1131, and Joscelin, Count of Edessa himself.<sup>101</sup>

Alice did not have enough support in the city of Antioch itself, however, and "some of the noble and influential men of Antioch" requesting Fulk's support, "led him into the city and placed the whole country under his command." Pons of Tripoli was

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99 Thomas Asbridge, "Alice of Antioch: A Case Study of Female Power in the Twelfth Century," in *The Experience of Crusading: Volume Two: Defining a Crusader Kingdom*, ed. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 37, 43.

100 WT, XIV.4, V.2 pp. 53-54.

101 WT, XIV.4, V.2 pp. 53-54; "Tripoli." Joscelin II married Beatrice de Saone, William's widow, "Antioch."

defeated in the field at about the same time, surrendering to Fulk's military dominance. The king remained in the north for a while, at the request of the "wiser men of the province" who "feared that after the king returned to his own land the country might be shaken by internal sedition, which would afford the infidels a better chance to attack it," finally placing Renaud Masoier in charge as constable. Fulk would return in 1133 to support both Antioch and Tripoli against attacks by Zangi, the powerful Turkish leader of Mosul, lauded as Antioch's savior, "appointed by divine providence to administer the government of the two kingdoms and to ensure peace and safety for the people." The "nobles of Antioch" turned to him to find a husband for Alice's young daughter Princess Constance, hoping to secure a permanent leadership for the principality immediately.<sup>102</sup>

Just as Baldwin II had invited him to Jerusalem as Melisende's husband, Fulk invited Raymond de Poitiers to marry Constance and become Prince of Antioch. Like Fulk, Raymond's family had connections to the first Crusaders, his mother Raymond I of Tripoli's—also Raymond IV of Toulouse—niece.<sup>103</sup> Soon after the envoys were sent, secretly out of the fear that "the princess, a woman full of malicious wiles, might interpose obstacles," Alice marched to Antioch in 1135, where "she assumed the role of sovereign and again took everything under her own sway. Her sister had interceded with

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102 WT, XIV.4-9, V.2, pp. 54-59.

103 "Tripoli;" "Antioch."

he king not to interfere with her actions, and she had the support of certain nobles.” To facilitate Raymond’s entry to the city in 1136, the Patriarch of Antioch convinced Alice she was the intended bride, but after his arrival, he was hastily married to Constance without her mother’s knowledge, making him Prince of Antioch. Alice, defeated again, returned to her dowry lands, where she soon died.<sup>104</sup>

It was soon after Fulk’s first return from Antioch in that Hugh of Jaffa launched his own rebellion, soon before Alice regained Antioch for herself.<sup>105</sup> Thomas Asbridge, whose research primarily focuses on the Principality of Antioch itself, questions whether Alice was the primary mover of the rebellious “plot,” as William insinuates, or simply another equal participant. He further argues that Alice’s alliance with Pons and Joscelin was not simply a petulant princess’ bid for power but “a full-scale challenge to Jerusalem’s pre-eminence among the Latin powers in the east and timed to test the mettle of the kingdom’s new regime.” Based on Hugh of Jaffa’s signature as a charter witness in Antioch in 1134, Asbridge finds it “quite probable that, between 1131 and 1136, [Alice] acted as a key focal point of resistance to Fulk of Anjou’s rule in Antioch, Jerusalem, and perhaps even the east as a whole.”<sup>106</sup>

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104 WT, XIV.4, pp. 53-54, XIV.9-10, p. 59, XIV.20, pp. 78-79.

105 WT, XIV.15, pp. 70-72.

106 Thomas Asbridge, “Alice of Antioch: A Case Study of Female Power in the Twelfth Century,” in *The Experience of Crusading: Volume Two: Defining a Crusader Kingdom*, ed. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 37, 43.

Interpreting Alice's rebellions as a northern coalition against Fulk, combined with Hugh of Jaffa's southern baronial rebellion, provides a new context for Melisende's involvement. Considering the relationships between Alice, Melisende, Hugh, Pons, and Joscelin, Melisende appears to have participated not only as a queen struggling for her own power, but also a native of Edessa, bound to support those in her network just as they supported her. Melisende shielded her younger sister from Fulk when she re-entered Antioch in 1135, by which time the king was "uxurious" in the extreme. It is reasonable to assume that it was Melisende's influence with Fulk that increased at this point, not the sisters' affection or interest in each other's affairs, making it likely that she would have shown similar support for Alice beforehand, though with less success. If Melisende were willing to support her sister's defiance of Fulk's royal prerogative, Alice may have been equally willing to back Melisende's claim to a greater share of royal power, both of them working against the Angevin outsider. Hugh of Jaffa, as much Alice's cousin as Melisende's, appears to have linked the sisters' resistance movements, aligned with Melisende's group at the court of Jerusalem around 1133, and fleeing to Antioch in 1134.

The core of the anti-Fulk rebellion was connected by family ties not only to each other, but also to Armenia, led by the half-Armenian princesses and Joscelin, married to an Armenian, and their shared cousin Hugh of Jaffa. Less than ten years had passed since Armenians, perhaps at the behest of Morfia herself, had rescued Joscelin from captivity. Considering his past exploits, discussed above, it seems likely he still had Armenian troops under his command, possibly relatives of Morfia and her daughters, and almost

certainly of his wife, Beatrice. The strongest leaders of the rebellion were the northerners—even Melisende, Queen of Jerusalem but born in Edessa—their reality that of northern Syria, where Armenian and Byzantine alliances offered better support than the western Franks across the sea.

The Byzantine Empire had historically been the military bulwark in the Antioch-Edessa region, but since the First Crusade, Latin-Byzantine tensions were high, with distrust on both sides, largely due to Bohemond and Tancred's continuation of their anti-Imperial campaigns into the early twelfth century. Alice and her Antiochene supporters, however, chose to approach the Byzantine Empire for support. According to John Kinnamos, a Byzantine chronicler, “the principal personages in the land sent to the emperor and said that if it were according to his will for Bohemond’s daughter [Constance] to wed Manuel, the youngest of his sons, the Antiochenes’ realm would be in his power.”<sup>107</sup> Hodgson believes these “principal personages” to have been Alice and her supporters; recognizing their need for outside support against the Turks and perhaps against Fulk as well, the northern-minded Antiochenes turned to the Byzantines.<sup>108</sup> However, the Emperor had not finished his journey to the city before the Antiochenes “altered their intention and in place of friends and allies became very hostile

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107 John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand, *Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies*, No. 95, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), I.7, p. 22.

108 Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, *Warfare in History*, (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 84.

to him.”<sup>109</sup> It seems likely that Alice and her party extended the marriage offer, but lost power to Fulk’s supporters before the Byzantines’ arrival. Fulk took the opportunity to marry Constance to a connection of his own, solidifying his hold over Antioch by installing a prince not only related to him, but beholden to Fulk for arranging his marriage and rise to power.

Alice, however, had pursued a Byzantine rather than Frankish relationship. The rebellion’s—or Alice’s arm of its—interest in Byzantine assistance may be attributed not only to the political environment of northern Syria, but also Morfia’s background. She and her father, Gabriel of Melitene, were Byzantine Christians, and Gabriel had been a local representative of the Byzantines before the Turkish invasions.<sup>110</sup> She would have remained deeply rooted in the northern Syrian reality, where Armenian and Byzantine political interests far outweighed Frankish, and their mother’s heritage and connections seem to have influenced Melisende and Alice in particular. Melisende was certainly and Alice probably born in Edessa; their birth, and their mother’s, could easily have driven their politics throughout their lives.

If Alice maintained a political identity more in keeping with northern Syria than Jerusalem and its new Frankish king, this would have involved relying on northern connections, familial and otherwise. Asbridge argues that to carry out any kind of

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109 John Kinnamos, I.7, p. 22.

110 WT, X.24,1, p. 450. Morfia’s date of death is not known, so while she is not mentioned as involved in her daughters’ activities, it is possible that she was alive and directly influencing them.

resistance to Baldwin II and Fulk, Alice would have needed support from prominent Antiochenes, but William of Tyre, the only narrative of her rebellion, lists none but William of Saone.<sup>111</sup> I would argue that at least some of her internal support could have come from prominent Armenian and Greek Christian citizens, people unused to relying on a Latin King of Jerusalem for protection against the Turkish enemy at the gates. These northerners could easily have been more comfortable with an Armenian's daughter as their princess, particularly if they were already somehow connected via the elaborate network of alliances and family like Pons and Joscelin. These partisans would easily have felt more comfortable with a Byzantine alliance, both because of the history of the region, and the connections they may have had with Byzantine leaders.

Alice pursued a young husband for her daughter, but one powerfully connected and with imperial military backing, allowing her to retain power for some time, and probably influence even after the young heirs' majority, while supported by the Byzantine Empire in war and politics. Fulk's party, however, extended an offer of marriage to a mature Provençal, and so Raymond was able to take command of Antioch on his marriage to Constance, quickly ousting Alice from power entirely. Fulk was thus freed from the immediate needs of leadership in Antioch, without sacrificing his own influence with the new prince, another Frank newly come to the east, and indebted to the king for his powerful position, a pattern almost identical to Fulk's own experience with

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111 Asbridge, "Alice of Antioch," p. 37; WT, XIII.27, V.2, 44; XIV.4, V.2, p. 53-54.

Baldwin II and Melisende. Alice, however, influenced by her mother's background as well as the realities of northern Syria rather than central Palestine, made a bid to involve the Byzantines rather than the western Franks. In doing so, she was relying, as her Edessan predecessors had before her, on the strong, personal bonds of marriage.

While Alice and her cohort were outmaneuvered in the 1130s and a Byzantine marriage into Antioch stalled, her sisters both supported Byzantine marriages for their children. The number of Byzantine marriages in the third generation of Latin rulers further supports the argument for Morfia's direct influence and a general sensitivity among Outremer's native-born to the patterns of power in Syria as they had played out for centuries, including the reliance on personal connections and marriage alliances.

Fulk died in 1143, when Melisende's eldest son, Baldwin III of Jerusalem, was thirteen; she ruled as his regent, then co-ruler, and her influence is apparent in the marriage policies of both her sons. Baldwin III, the elder, married Theodora Komnene in 1158; when her cousin, the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos requested a bride from Outremer in 1159, Baldwin suggested his first cousin, Hodierna's daughter Melisende of Tripoli.<sup>112</sup> She was betrothed in 1160, but repudiated in 1161, probably due to questions about her paternity.<sup>113</sup> Manuel was then betrothed to Constance of Antioch's daughter,

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112 "Tripoli," "Jerusalem, Kings,"

113 "Tripoli."

Maria of Antioch, with the marriage celebrated in December of 1161.<sup>114</sup> Constance's son, Bohemond III, married another Komnene, Theodora, possibly a niece of Manuel's, as his second wife; his first, Orgueilleuse of Harenc, seems to have been an Antiochene lady, as was his third wife, Sybil, although information on them is patchy; his fourth wife, Isabel, was daughter of the Marshal of Jerusalem.<sup>115</sup>

Melisende's oldest son, Baldwin III, died without children; his younger brother, Amalric I of Jerusalem in 1158 married first Agnes de Courtenay, Joscelin II of Edessa's daughter. Agnes' grandmother was Armenian, and her sister, Isabelle, married their Armenian second cousin, Thoros II, Lord of the Mountains.<sup>116</sup> This first marriage, with a branch of the family which had supported northern interests for nearly sixty years, was annulled in 1162: because of the closeness of Amalric and Agnes' blood relationship, the Patriarch of Jerusalem refused to crown him unless Agnes was set aside.<sup>117</sup> Their children's right to inherit was protected, however, and so both Agnes' children ruled: Baldwin IV of Jerusalem, “the Leper King,” who died before marrying, and Sybilla I of Jerusalem, the last to rule over the city in fact as well as name. Like her grandmother Melisende, Sybilla married western-born Franks, first William of Montferrat, then Guy

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114 “Antioch.”

115 “Antioch.”

116 “Jerusalem, Kings;” “Edessa,” *Medieval Lands—Index*, <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/EDESSA.htm>, accessed 4/14/14; “Armenia,” *Medieval Lands—Index*, <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/ARMENIA.htm>, accessed 4/14/14.

117 “Jerusalem, Kings.”

de Lusignan.<sup>118</sup> Amalric's second wife, however, the match made when he requested a Byzantine princess as King of Jerusalem, was another Komnene, Maria, the great-niece of Manuel I; their daughter, Isabel, had several husbands, including William's brother Conrad of Montferrat, then Guy's Amalric de Lusignan, king of Cyprus.<sup>119</sup> Alice's and Melisende's descendants eventually came to rule Armenia, Cyprus, and Antioch, as can be seen in the attached genealogies.

Newcomers in a foreign land, the first generation of Latins in northern Syria had to create a support network to survive, and did so by cultivating close personal relationships with local potentates. In the case of their Armenian neighbors in particular, these connections were solidified by intermarriage, integrating the Latins into the existing family networks of the area.

While both Antioch and Edessa had been controlled by the Byzantines until soon before the First Crusade's arrival, Antioch had fallen to Turkish rule under Yaghi Siyan. In contrast, Edessa had simply become independent from Imperial control while remaining under T'oros, who shifted from Byzantine representative to Armenian ruler. Similarly, while both cities came under Latin control in 1098, Antioch was taken by force, a stark contrast to Baldwin de Bouillon's inheritance from his adoptive father, T'oros, when the Armenian was murdered by his own subjects. Baldwin also married

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118 "Jerusalem, Kings;" "Byzantium 1085-1204," *Medieval Lands—Index*, <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTIUM%2010571204.htm>, accessed 4/14/14.

119 "Jerusalem, Kings;" "Byzantium 1085-1204."

T'oros' daughter, immediately interjecting himself into the existing family network. As such, Armenian interests were able to exert a greater degree of influence over the Edessan Franks than the Antiochene Normans.

Bohemond's and Tancred's hostility to Byzantines throughout the First Crusade, as well as before and after, also suggests that their participation in the expedition was at least in part self-interested, with the intention of carving out a Norman territory from which to harass the Empire from the southeast as well as the northwest. The Normans never felt completely cut off from their Italo-Baltic interests, and were able to exploit Antioch's control over northern Syrian seaports to garner Genoese support. Both Baldwins and Joscelin, however, hailed from northern Europe, their sole connections in the Levant the extended family which had come on Crusade with them. Edessa, tucked into the mountains of southeastern Anatolia, controlled nothing of serious interest to European powers, and was relatively isolated even from the other new Latin settlements. The newly arrived Franks had no strong allies in the region but the Armenian Christians who had originally invited them, and immediately set about strengthening political alliances with family bonds, building a social network from scratch as a the key element of their settlement strategy.

Struggling to survive in a dangerous new world, Baldwin II and Joscelin I relied on their Armenian marriages to help them build the close personal relationships with local potentates and their armies needed to maintain their fragile new polities. In the following generations, their Frankish-Armenian children retained a sensitivity to the

political patterns of northern Syria, more so than those of the western Europe they had never seen, relying on each other and Byzantine allies, and continuing to strengthen political bonds with personal marriages. Intermarriage with local populations—Armenian, Byzantine, Syrian, or converted Muslims—began as a political strategy and survival tactic for a minority population in a foreign milieu, but rapidly infused the culture of Outremer, defining its politics through the later generations.

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## **Appendix A: Maps**



Courtesy of Ian Mladjov, "Sample History Maps,"

<http://sitemaker.umich.edu/mladjov/maps&config=bZ2QWlbo406kR6beGHMOSg>,

accessed 4/14/14.



Courtesy of Ian Mladjov, “Sample History Maps,”

<http://sitemaker.umich.edu/mladjov/maps&config=bZ2QWlbo406kR6beGHMOSg>,

accessed 4/14/14.



Courtesy of Ian Mladjov, "Sample History Maps,"

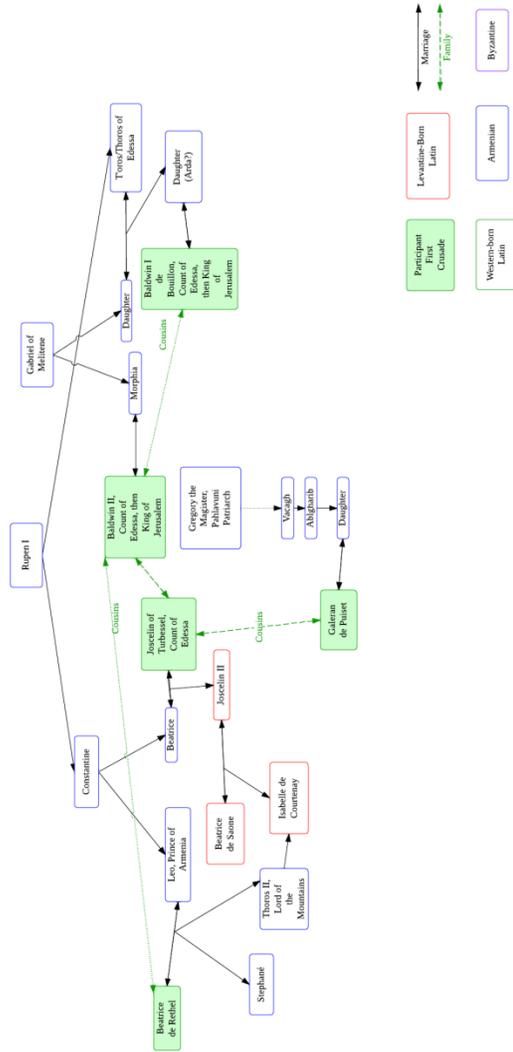
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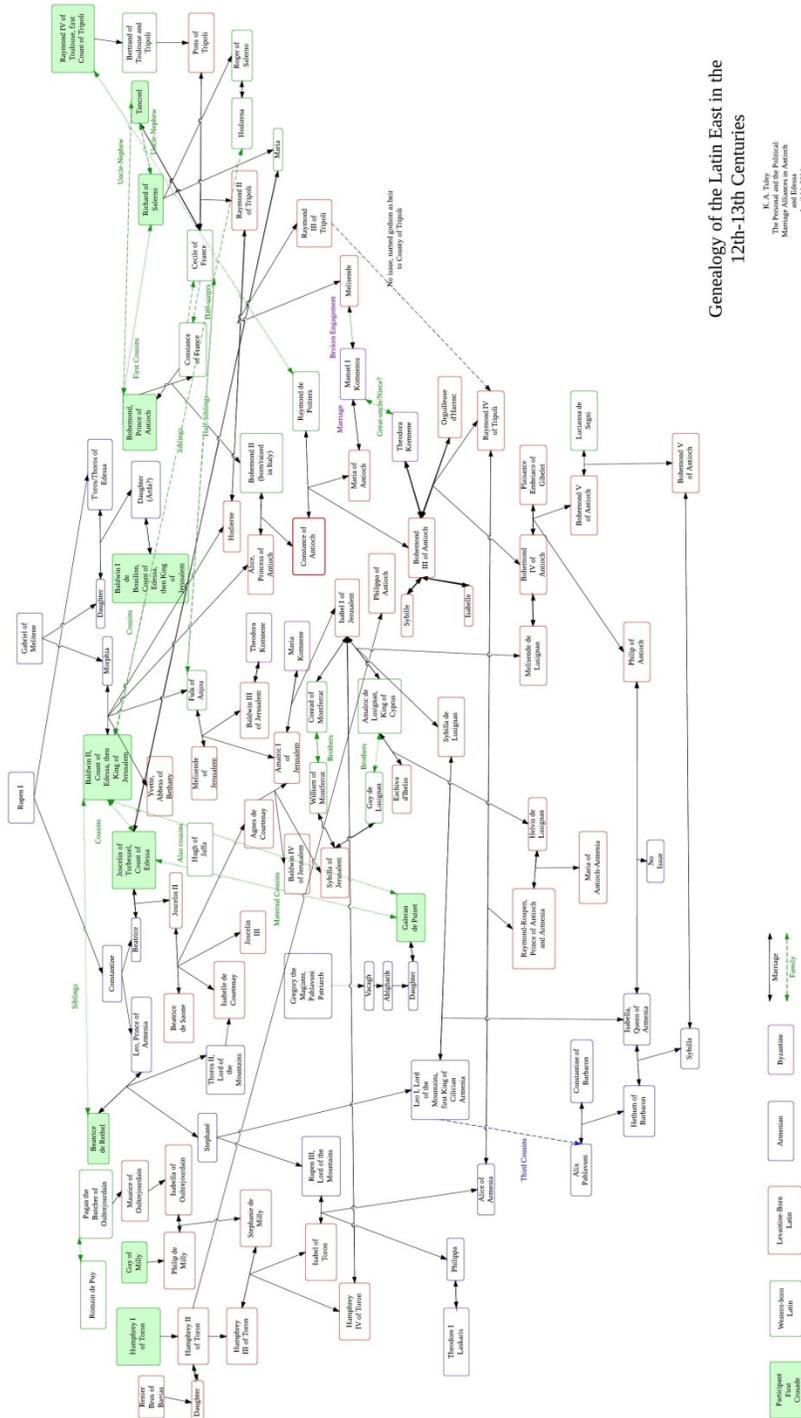
accessed 4/14/14.

## **Appendix B: Genealogies**



Latin-Armenian Inter-marriages Between those Involved in the  
 1122-1123 Danishmend Capture-Rescue





## Genealogy of the Latin East in the 12th-13th Centuries

K. A. Daly  
 The Foundation of Palestine  
 and Edessa  
 April 14, 2014

## **Appendix C: Historical Sources**

Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatatorum* [The Deeds of the Franks and Others of Jerusalem] Translator and editor Rosalind Hill argues the anonymous author of the *Gesta*, probably a southern Italian vassal of Bohemond, wrote the first nine books of the *Gesta Francorum* before leaving Antioch in 1098, and the tenth book no later than early 1101, soon after the battle of Ascalon, making him one of the better sources for the siege of Antioch.

Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium* [A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem], Latin. Probably writing piecemeal between 1100-1127, Fulcher of Chartres came to the Levant as Baldwin de Boulogne's chaplain, accompanying him on the venture that made him first count of Edessa, but living in Jerusalem itself from 1100 to at least 1127, where his work ends. As such, Fulcher is best relied on for details of Baldwin's entourage and his coming to power in Edessa. He is also the only primary source of the First Crusade to continue writing through the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well as its conquest, making him the only primary source for the first few decades of Latin settlement in Outremer.

*Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi* [The Deeds of Tancred], Latin. Bohemond of Taranto and Prince of Antioch journeyed to France soon after the First Crusade to drum up support for his eastern territories; at the same time, he recruited Ralph of Caen to serve as his chaplain, arriving back in Antioch in 1107. Sometime between then and 1111, Ralph moved to Tancred's service; in his *Gesta*, he suggests that the work is based primarily on discussions with Bohemond, Tancred, and their followers. Bachrach and Bachrach argue this is probably a rhetorical strategy for legitimacy; however, Ralph would have had access to the principles involved, writing his *Gesta* as a canon of Jerusalem sometime between Tancred's death in 1112 and his patron Patriarch Arnulf's in 1118. Its very bias towards Tancred's interests render the *Gesta* a valuable source for Antiochene politics.

Robert the Monk, *Historia*, [History], Latin. Robert essentially polished the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimatatorum*, edited for the Franks of Europe after the First Crusade. The Latin is more correct, and some incidents are presented with a different perspective.

Well-educated, Ibn al-Qalānisī rose to become first *‘amīd Dīwan ar-Rasā’il*, or head of the chancery of Damascus, to its *ra’īs*, translated as “mayor.” His position thus gave him access to the written and oral reports used to write his work, which gives a Damascene's impressions of the Second Crusade, as well as a thorough discussion of the careers of Zangī and Nūr al-Dīn through the 1140s; his is the best Arabic source for the northern Syrian theater.

John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, Greek. Kinnamos was an imperial secretary to Manuel I, and accompanied him on his expeditions into Anatolia

and Syria in the 1140s. While he is a strong imperial partisan, he verifies that Alice of Antioch did contact the Byzantines hoping to arrange a marriage for Constance.

Usāma ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-ʿItibār*, [Book of Contemplation], Arabic. Born in 1095 to the long-standing noble family of Shaizar, Usāma was exiled in the 1130s and had a storied career in the courts of Egypt and Damascus. He wrote his collection of memories in the 1180s, including anecdotes of his family's involvement with Baldwin II's captivity and his own role as an intermediary to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

Anonymous, *Chronicle*, Syriac. No biographical suggestions are made by editors and translators A. S. Tritton, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, but the chronicle ends with no conclusion in 1163, suggesting it was written about then or soon after. The use of Syriac also suggests a northern Syrian origin in the Eastern Christian community there.

Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, Armenian. His editor Dostourian places Matthew's writing at the turn of the twelfth century, and his death sometime soon after 1136, the end of his chronicle. Writing near Edessa from various unnamed histories and people directly involved in the events described, Matthew's history is the only surviving Armenian voice from inside Latin Outremer.

Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh* [The Complete History], Arabic. While there is no evidence Mosul-born Ibn al-Athīr was employed in the Ayyūbid bureaucracy like his brother, he refers to Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, Saladin's secretary, and ibn-al-Qalānisī in his history. Writing between 1198 and 1231, his work is both helpful as a detailed record of events and as a source for an educated, worldly Muslim's understanding of the Franks from outside.

Gregory Abu'l Faraj, *Makhtbhanuth Zabhne* [Chronography], Syriac. Gregory was a leader of the Syrian Church in the thirteenth century, who spent his life in northern Syria; while significantly later than the events in question, his *Chronography* is valuable for its Syrian point of view.