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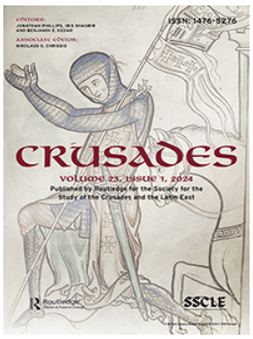
Camille Rouxpetel



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Nam qui fuimus Occidentales, nunc facti sumus Orientales. Baldwin of Boulogne: to conquer and rule

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ABSTRACT

A careful reading of the sources relating to the seizure of power by Baldwin of Boulogne in Edessa, and to his role in the delay of the Holy Fire at Easter 1101 in Jerusalem, makes it possible to reassess various historiographical trends in the foundation of the crusader states including the concepts of *Latinisation* and *cultural transfer*. The strategy followed by Baldwin in Edessa and then in Jerusalem reveals his rapid understanding of Middle Eastern society. Rather than seeing the Franks as Westerners who recently arrived in the region, these two episodes allow us to consider them from the perspective of the Christian groups in the Middle East. Far from being newcomers for the Byzantine Greeks, the Melkites or the Armenians, the new settlers came in the wake of the Frankish mercenaries recruited for a century by the *basileus*, or of the 'trouble-shooters' studied by Shepard. This inquiry will re-situate the Franks as part of the diverse and fragmented society of the Middle East. In so doing, this article aims to contribute to decolonising and deorientalising the study of the foundation of the crusader states.

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Introduction

In Jerusalem, on the morning of Holy Saturday in the year 1101, the absence of the Holy Fire caused confusion among the new masters of the Holy City. Fulcher of Chartres provides the most comprehensive account of this event.[1] Four actors were

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[1]Alongside Fulcher of Chartres, two secondary sources exist, Guibert of Nogent (GN) who never went to Jerusalem, and the Genoese chronicler Caffaro (Caffaro, '*Annals*', in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, ed. Luigi T. Belgrano, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 118 vols (Rome, 1887-1993), vol. 11 (1890), 3–75, at 7-9). For the sake of completeness, we should add the accounts of the anonymous Rhenanus (*RHC Oc* 5: 513-5, X.37), of the Benedictine chronicler Ekkehard, based on the testimony of a certain Heriman who took part in the event (*RHC Oc* 5: 36, cap. XXXII), and the indication in the *Chronique de Saint-Maixent* about of the 1101 crusade of William IX of Aquitaine (*Chronique de Saint-Maixent*, ed. Jean Verdon (Paris, 1979), 174). I am grateful to Martin Aurell for pointing out this last reference. All of them bear witness to the impact of the event but do not add anything to Fulcher of Chartres's account and are not central to our purpose. In this perspective, the *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* is more interesting. According to Albert Derolez, Susan Edgington, and Jay Rubenstein, the *Gesta Francorum*, sometimes ascribed to Bartolf of Nangis, is a slightly revised version of Fulcher's first recension of the *Historia*, as written in 1106, in particular for the episode of the Easter Fire of 1101: Albert Derolez, 'The Abbey of Saint-Bertin, the *Liber Floridus*, and the Origin of the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*', *Manuscripta* 57, no. 1 (2013): 1–28; Susan B. Edgington, 'The

involved: the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin; the patriarch, Daibert of Pisa; the Latin clergy of the Holy Sepulchre, including Fulcher himself, and the Latin believers; the Melkite clergy of the *Anastasis* and the Melkite believers. If the canon of the Holy Sepulchre gave prominence to the Latinisation of space and time, i.e. a discourse in action through the liturgy and the invention of a new religious topography, one detail seems to escape this process: the mention of the 'monastery of the Holy Sepulchre', home of 'Greek and Syrian' monks.[2]

A careful reading of Fulcher of Chartres' account dispels three historiographical biases. The first misconception considers the crusader states almost exclusively from the point of view of two concepts, *Latinisation* and *cultural transfer*, i.e. through the prism of relations with the Western hinterland. The implications are twofold, both historiographical and documentary. From 1099 to 1291, the Franks of the Middle East are considered expatriates, outside their homeland, with no actual link to their immediate environment, whether Eastern Christian, Jewish or Muslim. Within this framework, the sources written for a Western audience are used exclusively, with no consideration for what they say about the context in which these Franks evolved. The second bias relies on an assumed dichotomy between the states of war and peace to analyse the decisive event of the conquest. Nevertheless, the transition from one to the other presupposes establishing a new political entity that can only rely on previously settled populations, which initially rallied to the conquerors' cause.[3] The third point stems from the second: a historiographic tradition opposing supporters of violence to those of coexistence. In contrast, resisting any rigid typology, the documentary and narrative texts composed by the Latins connected with the Middle East, whether they stayed there for a few months or settled there long term, along with the contributions of material culture (epigraphy, sigillography and numismatics), highlight the existence of contradictory, although concomitant, situations without opposing violence and coexistence, the one not excluding the other.[4]

By focusing on the years 1098–1101 and the figure of Baldwin of Boulogne, first as count of Edessa and then as king of Jerusalem, this article aims to show that the First Crusaders understood, as soon as they arrived in the Middle East, a space that was both familiar being *the Holy Land*, and foreign as the *bilād al-Šām*, as well as the diversity and complexity inherent in the Islamicate world (i.e. including non-Muslims).[5] They perceived the numerous implications of this situation, the first being their necessary integration into a society in which, in terms of numbers, they constituted an ultra-minority group.

Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium of "Bartolf of Nangis"', *Crusades* 13 (2014): 21–35; Jay Rubenstein, 'Guibert of Nogent, Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres: Three Crusade Chronicles Intersect', in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge, 2014), 24–37. The text attributed to Bartolf can also be compared with another manuscript called by Hagenmeyer the 'L manuscript', Cambridge University Library, ms 2079.

[2]FC, 833: 'dum autem in Templo illo dominico gens nostra sic oraret, in monasterio Sanctissimi Sepulcri similiter Graeci et Syri, qui ibi remanserant' ('Now while our people were praying in this way in the Temple of the Lord, in the monastery of the Most Holy Sepulchre, the Greeks and Syrians who lived there did the same') – translations my own, unless mentioned otherwise. This passage takes place at the moment when the Latins, following the patriarch and the king, go in procession to the *Templum Salomonis* [i.e., al-Aqsa mosque] and the *Templum Domini* [i.e., the Dome of the Rock] to implore the occurrence of the miracle, while only the 'Greeks and Syrians' remain at the *Anastasis*.

[3]An important historiographical renewal has recently proposed strong reinterpretations of these times of transition, in particular around the 'Norman worlds', always carefully distinguishing the different cases, which cannot be assimilated to a single model.

[4]For the Iberian Peninsula: Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050–1614* (Cambridge & New York, 2014).

[5]Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago, 1974).

Baldwin in Jerusalem: an alliance with a group of Palestinian Christians at the foundation of the Hierosolymitan kingship?

Miracle of the Holy Fire, Easter 1101

According to a tradition dating back to the patristic period, on Holy Saturday, after darkness has fallen in the *Anastasis*, a lamp hanging above the tomb of Christ is miraculously illuminated by a fire from heaven, symbolising the Resurrection.[6] This Holy Fire is handed down from candle to candle by the pilgrims, who come in great numbers.[7] The liturgy of the Holy Fire began to develop in the eighth century, becoming a central element of Palestinian Christian identity at a time of relative isolation from Constantinople.[8]

A brief explanation of the situation in 1101 is required. After alternating the readings and the *Kyrie Eleison* in Latin and Greek, the patriarch, Daibert of Pisa, went to the tomb to note the absence of the Holy Fire. The account of the liturgical celebration, which, according to tradition, precedes the descent of the Holy Fire, is followed by an anxious wait by the Latin and Greek believers, and then by the interpretations of the various actors and their actions to attract the divine grace, which the occurrence of the miracle is meant to make manifest. After closing the *Anastasis* for the night, the patriarch organised a procession from the tomb to the *Templum Salomonis*, the name given by the new masters of the Holy City to the al-Aqsa mosque. Baldwin led the procession, having first removed the insignia of his office as a sign of humility. Meanwhile, another procession, that of the 'Greeks' and 'Syrians', went around the *Anastasis*. On the arrival of the Latin procession, the patriarch noted the miracle reappearing. Then, Daibert crowned Baldwin again, who donned the royal insignia for the first time in Jerusalem.

In the account given by Fulcher of Chartres (himself a member of the army of the First Crusade and canon of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as Baldwin's chaplain in Edessa and then Jerusalem), the suspension of time is at the heart of the event. The dilation of time allows him to shape the modalities of a hierarchical relationship between Latin and Eastern Christians, and to legitimise not only the presence of the Latins, presented as the true restorers of the tradition of the Holy Fire, the 'successors of this fire', but above all the Hierosolymitan royalty and Baldwin.[9] Everything contributes to this: the description of the liturgy, the intertwining of songs in Latin and Greek, i.e. the novelty introduced by the conquerors and the tradition created layer after layer at the site that preserves the memory of the burial and the resurrection; the discrepancy between the restrained and humble piety of the Latins, led by Baldwin, and the excesses of the

[6]The *Anastasis*, or resurrection in Greek, refers to the place of Christ's tomb. Before 1149 and the rearrangement of the tomb and crucifixion sites within a single basilica, the two sites were separated and connected by a portico.

[7]Camille Rouxpetel, 'Trois récits occidentaux de la descente du feu sacré au Saint-Sépulcre (Pâques 1101): polyphonie chrétienne et stratégies discursives', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 126, no. 1 (2014): 361–78.

[8]The miraculous illumination of the tomb was first mentioned by the Greeks in the fourth century by Gregory of Nyssa in the fifth Easter homily, 'On the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ', PG 46: 628-52. In the eighth century, in the liturgical chants, John of Damascus also reports the testimony of Peter seeing the tomb illuminated. The first mention of the liturgy linked to the miraculous illumination of Christ's tomb comes from Bernard the Monk, in the account of his *Peregrinatio*, composed around 870: *Itinera hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae bellis sacris anteriora et latina lingua exarata sumptibus Societatis illustrandis Orientis Latini monumentis*, ed. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1879-1885), 314–15.

[9]FC, 832: 'Nos etiam ac si successores ipsius ignis' ('moreover we, as the successors of this fire').

Orientals, who tear their hair and slash their cheeks as they walk around the *Anastasis*; and finally, the outcome, and the occurrence of the miracle.

The Christians of Jerusalem, those who lived there long before the conquest of 1099, nevertheless occupy a place far from negligible within the narrative. In addition to the intertwining of liturgies and processions, albeit tinged with hierarchy, Fulcher does not hesitate to relate the words of the patriarch, who seeks an explanation for the disunity between the Latins and 'certain men who were in the monastery', that is, the 'Greeks', which we shall return to below.[10] The mention, intriguing at first sight, of this 'monastery of the Holy Sepulchre', a residence of 'Greek and Syrian monks', puts the attentive reader on the track of another role devolved to the 'Greeks' and the 'Syrians', something more secret and much less disclosable.[11] What does this 'monastery of the Holy Sepulchre' correspond to, and who are these 'Greeks' who concelebrated with the Latins as a prelude to the Holy Fire?

Graeci et Syriani

A first clue is given by the ethnonyms used by Fulcher of Chartres, which identify them as Melkites. The term 'Greeks' refers to their adherence to Chalcedonian orthodoxy, which they shared with the Byzantine imperial authorities. 'Syrians' refers to their geographical origin. The Melkites lived in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, which came under Islamic administration in the seventh century and thus partly under Frankish rule in the twelfth century. Together with the Syriacs, they formed the majority of the Christian population of the Frankish states and, especially, of the kingdom of Jerusalem.[12]

Their liturgical function during the Easter ceremonies gives the second indication. On Holy Saturday, they intoned the *Kyrie eleison more prisco*, 'according to the ancient custom', to quote Fulcher, i.e. according to the tradition in place before the Franks arrived. Their function points in the direction of the *spoudaioi*. *Spoudaioi* were Palestinian monks in charge of the Easter liturgy and more particularly of the nightly offices of the *Anastasis*. According to the *Typikon* of the *Anastasis*, during the Vigil, the *spoudaioi* surrounded the tomb in silence before singing hymns and leaving the *Anastasis* for Golgotha, Constantine's martyrium.[13] They were then joined in the *Anastasis* by the monks

[10]FC, 832: 'Quapropter quidam discordes qui monasterio inerant, patriarcha conciliante, concordes facti sunt' ('That is why some men in the monastery who had disagreements were reconciled at the request of the patriarch').

[11]FC, 831 and 833: 'quod lectiones legendo alternatim: prius Latinus latine, posterius vero Graecus graece itentidem, quod Latinus legerat, in pulpito relegit. officium quippe sic eis explentibus ante horam paulisper nonam coepit unus de Graecis a parte una monasterii pro more prisco voce altisona Kyrieleison exclamare; cui statim cuncti qui aderant modo simili eundem cantum responderunt' ('The texts were therefore read alternately, first in Latin by a Latin, and then in Greek by a Greek, who read from the pulpit what the Latin had read. Suddenly, while the canons were saying the office in this way, and a little before the ninth hour, one of the Greeks began, according to the ancient custom, to intone in a loud voice the *Kyrie Eleison* from one of the corners of the monastery, to which all those present immediately responded in the same way and with the same chant); 'In monasterio Sanctissimi Sepulcri similiter Graeci et Syri, qui ibi remanserant, non minus idem Sepulcrum cum processione sua circumgirantes, orationi vacabant, qui prae nimio dolore genas suas et capillos suos ululando decerpebant' ('Similarly, in the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre where they had remained, the Greeks and Syrians did the same while touring the same tomb, in their own procession, engaged in prayer and, in the excess of their grief, bruised their cheeks and tearing their hair out, screaming').

[12]Moreover, since the non-Chalcedonian churches and communities were expelled from Jerusalem by the crusaders, they cannot be Melkites and Syriacs, but only Melkites, i.e. the indigenous Chalcedonian Christians.

[13]Dated to 1122, the *Typikon* is said by Daniel Galadza to reflect an earlier state of the liturgy dating back to the tenth century: Daniel Galadza, 'Greek Liturgy in Crusader Jerusalem: Witnesses of Liturgical Life at the Holy Sepulchre and St Sabas Lavra', *Journal of Medieval History* 43, no. 4 (2017): 421–37.

of the desert monasteries, especially the Sabaites, to hang lamps in anticipation of the miracle.

The location of the *spoudaioi* is the third potential clue, despite needing clarification. Several texts from the sixth to the ninth century attest to the presence of the *spoudaioi* in Jerusalem.[14] The oldest attestation is found in two *Lives* composed by Cyril of Scythopolis (d. c. 558), who spent the last years of his life in the Judean desert in the monastery founded by Saint Saba, and died there twenty years after the latter's death.[15] In the *Life of Theodosius*, Cyril reports an episode worth recounting. Around 490, Theodosius was received by an old man, Longinus, in the so-called Tower of David.[16] Longinus was a native of Cappadocia, like Theodosius, and a member of the 'τάγμα of the monks [*spoudaioi*] of the holy *Anastasis* of Christ our God'.[17] We should note at once the terminology that designates them and associates them with the *Anastasis.* On the other hand, Longinus directed the young Theodosius to another destination. After diverting him from his plan to retire to the desert, because he would only find monks who followed the doctrines of Eutyches and Dioscorus, Longinus put him in touch with Hikelia, the foundress of the church of *Kathisma* dedicated to the *Theotokos*. On learning that he was a singer, she 'had him enrolled in the *tagma* of the pious *spoudaioi*'.[18] Theodosius thus entered the service of the martyrion built around the rock where the Virgin is said to have rested during the flight to Egypt, on the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.[19] If the *spoudaioi* were indeed present in Jerusalem, where Longinus received Theodosius, a *tagma* of the *spoudaioi* was installed not in Jerusalem itself but on the road that linked it to Bethlehem.

The *Life of Saint Saba,* written by Cyril of Scythopolis, reports that the patriarch Elijah of Jerusalem founded a monastery four years later, in 494, close to his episcopal residence (*episkopeion*). It contained a church dedicated to the *Theotokos*, where he gathered the '*spoudaioi* of the holy *Anastasis*' who were scattered in the vicinity of the Tower of David and allocated a cell (*kellion*) to each one.[20] The same fact is found in the *Life of*

[14]However, as early as 384, in the part she devotes to the liturgy of Jerusalem, Egeria mentions groups of *monazontes*, i.e., monks who live a solitary, almost eremitic life, and who are dedicated to the night vigil and the liturgical hours of the *Anastasis*: *Égérie: Journal de voyage (Itinéraire). Introduction, texte critique, traduction, notes, index et cartes*, ed. and trans. Pierre Maraval (Paris, 1982), 24.1, 234–5; 24.12, 244–5; 25.2, 246–7; 25.6, 250–1. The pilgrim again mentions the *monazontes*, this time attached to the Bethlehem sanctuary: ibid., 25.12, 254.

[15]*Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. Eduard Schwartz (Leipzig, 1939); trans. André-Jean Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, III.I, 1–3 (Paris, 1962), 57–62.

[16]The tower was built by Herod the Great in honour of his brother Phasael, according to Flavius Josephus.

[17]*Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. Schwartz, 236, l. 11–12 (trans. Festugière, 59). A *τάγμα* is a monastic group that becomes attached to the clergy of a church.

[18]*Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. Schwartz, 236, l. 26–7 (trans. Festugière, 58).

[19]*Kathisma* was found and excavated by Rina Avner. The excavations uncovered an octagonal church whose first construction phase is dated to the fifth century. However, it is impossible to attribute a precise function to the buildings attached to the church: Rina Avner, 'The Recovery of the *Kathisma* Church and its Influence on Octagonal Buildings', in *One Land – Many Cultures. Archaeological Studies in Honor of Stanislao Loffreda*, ed. G.C. Bottini, Publications of the *Studium Biblicum franciscanum* 41 (2003), 173–86; Rina Avner, *The* Kathisma *Church and Monastery of Mary Theotokos on the Jerusalem – Bethlehem Road: Final Report of the 1992, 1997, 1999 and 2000 Excavation Seasons* (Jerusalem, 2022).

[20]*Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. Schwartz, 116, l. 4–8 (trans. Festugière, 42). The reason for the community's move from the Tower of David to the *spoudaeon* of the *episkopeion* is given by Cyril of Scythopolis in the *Life of Saint Saba*. He reports on the purchase by the saint of the monastic cells located around the so-called Tower of David, which were then evacuated by the monks attached to the *Anastasis*, i.e., the *spoudaioi*, and converted into a hospice for his *laureum*, i.e., the eponymous monastery that he had just founded in the Kidron valley in the Judean desert. The so-called Tower of David then became a hive of hermitages and the centre of a whole monastic quarter with cells, and convents, the best known of which is undoubtedly that of the Iberians, i.e., the Georgians, and the hostelries of the great monasteries of the desert, foremost among which was the Lavra, Mār Saba.

Stephen the Sabaite, in the 780s, where two of the saint's visitors, Theodore and Basil, lived in two cells next to the '*spoudaeon* of the holy *Anastasis*'.

On the topography of Byzantine Jerusalem, before the conquest by the armies of 'Umar in 635-637, the main source remains the *Account of the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614*, known from the Georgian and Arabic recensions, which are complete, and from the Greek and Armenian recensions, which are fragmentary.[21] This compilation is attributed to the monk Strategios, priest of the St Sabas Lavra, who specified the location of the mortuary deposits according to the inventory passed on by a certain Thomas Hierosolymitan at the head of the team of gravediggers in charge of cleaning the city of its corpses after the departure of the Persians.[22] The third day is devoted to the surroundings of the *Anastasis*, the 'monastery of the *spoudaioi*', the forum, the Samaritan district, and the Tower of David. The toponyms in Georgian and Arabic all mention the 'Monastery of the Resurrection'.[23] The monastery survived the massacre that followed the Persian invasion. In 811, according to the *Life of Michael Synkellos* (anonymous), when Patriarch Thomas appointed Michael the Sabaite monk (761-846) as *synkellos*, he housed him and his two disciples in the 'monastery of the *Spoudaioi* founded by Patriarch Elijah near the Holy *Anastasis*'.[24]

The *spoudaioi* apparently had several places of residence, all associated with the *Theotokos*. To the two places already mentioned, the *Kathisma* and the *Anastasis*, John Moschos added a third one in the *Spiritual Meadow* that he wrote in Rome after the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614. This third *tagma* of the *spoudaioi* was located at the Nea, the New Church of the *Theotokos*, consecrated by the emperor Justinian in 543 and connected to the *Anastasis* by the *cardo*.[25] Thus, since the fifth century, the *spoudaioi* formed a para-monastic community living in a scattered manner near the Tower of David before being gathered within several sanctuaries, all dedicated to the *Theotokos*.[26] They were in charge of the nightly vigils of the martyrion to which they were committed, including the *Anastasis* in Jerusalem.[27]

[21] *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, ed. G. Garitte (Turnhout, 1960).

[22] The map of Madaba, dated by Milik to the very beginning of the seventh century, i.e., five or ten years before the Persian conquest, poses problems of interpretation, despite various attempts to identify the places represented: Joseph Taddée Milik, 'La topographie de Jérusalem vers la fin de l'époque byzantine', *Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph* 37, no. 7 (1961): 125–89.

[23] Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης [Saint Catherine's Monastery], ms ar. 531: *al-Qiyāmah al-muqaddasah*; Vatican City, BAV, ms ar. 697: *deir al-Qiyāmah*; Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης [Saint Catherine's Monastery], ms ar. 520: *deir fī l-Qiyāmah*; Paris, BnF, ms. ar. 262: *dār al-Qiyāmah*.

[24] Cited by Sophrone Pétridès, 'Le monastère des Spoudaei à Jérusalem et les Spoudaei de Constantinople', *Échos d'Orient* 4, no. 4 (1901): 225–31, at 226. A *synkellos* is a counsellor, literally one who shares the same cell.

[25] John Moschos, PG, 61: col. 2913[B]: *abba* Leontios of Cilicia 'was a *spoudaios* of the *tagma* of the new church of our Lady Saint Mary Theotokos' ('ὅτι εἰς τὸ τάγμα τῆς Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου Μαρίας τῆς νέας ἦν σπουδαῖος'). The pilgrim from Piacenza mentions a 'large congregation of monks' at the Nea (*congregatio nimia monachorum*): Celestina Milani, ed., *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini. Un Viaggio in Terra Santa del 560–570 d. C.* (Milan, 1977), 23.1, 162; trans. Pierre Maraval, *Récits des premiers pèlerins chrétiens au Proche-Orient (IV[e]-VII[e] siècle)* (Paris, 1996), 203–35, at 220. All references cited by Bénédicte Lesieur, 'Les higoumènes "ecclésiaux" dans les sources palestiniennes (V[e]-VI[e] siècle)', in *Le saint, le moine et le paysan. Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan*, ed. Olivier Delouis, Sophie Métivier, and Paule Pagès (Paris, 2019), 281–321, at note 77.

[26] Other places around the Anastasis regrouped rooms dedicated to pilgrims and ascetics, and even to the clergy devoted to the sanctuary, notably on the side porticoes or above the galleries of the Martyrium's atrium.

[27] In the account he wrote of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1106-1107, shortly after the episode described by Fulcher of Chartres, the Russian Hegumen Daniel described the place where Jesus's relatives were standing at the time of the Crucifixion: 'This spot is about 150 sagènes (1 sagène = c. 2.13m) westward from the place of Crucifixion, and is called "Spudi," which is translated "The zeal of the Holy Virgin." On this place there is now a convent consecrated to the Holy Virgin; its church has a timber roof'; English translation by Charles William Wilson, *The Pilgrimage of the*

At the end of this long digression, the *spoudaioi* of the *tagma* of the *Anastasis*, in charge of the Night Vigil and the Easter liturgy, appear to be the best candidates for identifying those who activated the mechanism allowing the 'miraculous' illumination of the tomb. Numerically and politically, they were a minority. They were nevertheless central to the liturgy of the *Anastasis*/Holy Sepulchre, which constitutes the heart of the symbolic and physical territory of the Holy Land, during Easter, the highlight of the Hierosolymitan liturgical calendar in the very place and on the anniversary of the episodes recounted in the gospels.

If we now know who is responsible, we must ask ourselves why there was such a delay in the appearance of the Holy Fire. It would certainly be possible to see in it a revenge of the indigenous Christians after the expulsion of the non-Chalcedonian churches and communities from Jerusalem. This explanation is nevertheless unsatisfactory, firstly because it is unclear why Chalcedonian Christians would support non-Chalcedonian churches, and secondly because the Melkites, i.e. the *spoudaioi*, were not expelled from Jerusalem or from the *Anastasis*. The explanation thus lies elsewhere. We may attempt to answer the question asked by a young Cicero at the time of the trial of Sextus Roscius: *Cui bono*? The answer is clear: it benefitted Baldwin of Jerusalem.[28]

The episode of 1101 led to a redistribution of power between the patriarch and the king. A brief explanation of the balance of power in 1101 Jerusalem is required. Daibert of Pisa arrived in Jerusalem in December 1099 in his capacity as papal legate (he succeeded Adhemar de Monteil, who had died during the siege of Antioch in 1098). The following year, he deposed the patriarch-elect of Jerusalem, Arnulf of Chocques, and replaced him with himself. Thus, fully in line with the post-Gregorian papacy, Daibert spared no effort to steer power in Jerusalem in a theocratic direction.[29] After months of uncertainty over the identity of the successor to Godfrey, who had died on 16 July, Baldwin reached Jerusalem on 9 November 1100. Daibert seemed to be doing everything in his power to avoid having to crown Baldwin in Jerusalem.[30] In the end, Baldwin was crowned in Bethlehem, the city of David, and Daibert convinced him never to wear his royal insignia inside the Holy City. However, once the miracle had occurred, Baldwin attended – ironically – the mass celebrated by Daibert, wearing all

Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London, 1895), cap. XIII, at 17; French translation by B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), I, cap. XIII, at 17. The distance mentioned by Daniel does not seem to coincide with the description of Fulcher of Chartres, whose account implies a location very close to the tomb, which corresponds to older descriptions of the church dedicated to the Theotokos, where some of the *Spoudaioi* gathered. In this sense, I am not convinced by Joseph Patrich's conclusions that 'after the Crusaders took hold of the church, the *Spoudaioi* lost to the Latin Canons their former role as guardians of the Holy Sepulchre and had to move to a remote monastery', unless there was a change of location between 1101 and 1107. It should be noted that the author does not take into account the testimony of Fulcher of Chartres and the mention of a 'monastery of the Holy Sepulchre' attributed to the 'Greeks and Syrians': Joseph Patrich, 'Arculf's Church of St. Mary and the *Spoudaeion* in the Complex of the Holy Sepulchre between the Arab and the Crusader Conquests. Location and Liturgy', in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Journeys, Destinations, Experiences across Times and Cultures*, ed. Falko Daim, Johannes Pahlitzsch, Joseph Patrich, Claudia Rapp, and Jon Seligman (Mainz-Frankfurt, 2017), 129–40, at 135.

[28] Jay Rubenstein, 'Holy Fire and Sacral Kingship in Post-Conquest Jerusalem', *Journal of Medieval History* 43, no. 4 (2017): 470–84.

[29] See in particular Daibert's efforts to convince Godfrey and Bohemond to accept investiture for their principalities, and his demands of territory for the patriarchate of Jerusalem from the secular ruler, Godfrey of Bouillon: WT, 440–1 (2.9.15) and 456 (2.10.4). For a general survey, see Michael Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa: Zwischen Pisa, Papst und erstem Kreuzzug* (Sigmaringen, 1998).

[30] FC, 368–9 (2.3.14) and WT, 461–2 (10.7). Both mention Daibert's retreat to Mount Sion. Furthermore, Albert of Aachen described the efforts made by Baldwin to legally depose Daibert from his patriarchal office: AA, 554–60 (7.46-51).

the attributes of his royalty.[31] More importantly still, he agreed to be crowned in the *Templum Domini*, bolstered by the occurrence of the miracle, which he interpreted as a legitimising factor to his power. After him, all the rulers of Jerusalem were crowned in the Holy Sepulchre.

The episode of Easter 1101 thus constitutes the founding act of monarchical power within the kingdom of Jerusalem, no doubt with the complicity of a group of Palestinian Christians, the *spoudaioi*. This re-founding of monarchical power took place against the ambitions of the patriarch, who had been engaged in a power struggle against Baldwin since before his coronation on 25 December 1100, and who wanted to install an ecclesiastical power in the Holy City.[32] In other words, Baldwin's actions marked the victory of the *regnum* over the *sacerdotium*; the victory of a pre-Gregorian model of monarchy over a Gregorian model. From the point of view of the *spoudaioi*, this implies pragmatism and adaptation to the new masters of the Holy City. By siding with Baldwin against Daibert, they secured their place in Jerusalem and the *Anastasis*. In 1106, the Hegumen Daniel testified to the continuity of their liturgical role. If the king of Jerusalem invited the monks of Mār Saba to the tomb, and during the procession from the *Templum Domini* to the *Anastasis*, before taking their place inside the sanctuary when the doors were opened to witness the miraculous descent of fire onto the tomb, only the *spoudaioi* were mentioned among those in charge of the liturgy. Finally, for those aware of Baldwin's behaviour in Edessa, the possibility of an alliance of circumstance between Baldwin and the indigenous Christians is reinforced.

Baldwin in Edessa

An alliance of circumstance?

In September 1097, at the foot of the northern slopes of the Taurus, in Herakleia Kybistra, Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred of Hauteville split from the First Crusade to try their luck in Cilicia and Syria. After taking Tarsus and Mamistra and falling out, their ambitions clashing in Cilicia, Baldwin joined the main army at Mar'ash on 15 October. Two days later, he left the crusader army again, accompanied by his chaplain, Fulcher of Chartres, and Pakrad, Armenian lord of Rāwandān and brother of Gogh Vasil, lord of Kaysūm and Rabān in the Euphrates. He seized Rāwandān and Tell Bāshir without much resistance, leaving them to Pakrad. According to the Armenian chronicler Matthew of Edessa, it was then that Ṭoros, a Chalcedonian Armenian and *curopalates* of Edessa, after taking the city from the Seljuks in 1095, called upon Baldwin to come to his aid against the Turks.[33] The rest is known. After being adopted by Ṭoros as his spiritual son and thus associated with the government of the town, and thanks to the rebellion of the population, mostly Armenian, which led to the assassination of Ṭoros,

[31]This is even clearer in the *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* which would be reporting here on an earlier version of Fulcher's *Historia*. Before the miracle happened: 'Quapropter fere deposito diademate, regni, principatu et dominio se voluit privare' (cap. XLVIII, 525). After the miracle happened: 'Rege Balduino corona et regalibus vestibus ornato' (cap. XLIX, 526).

[32]See Rubenstein's detailed and convincing analysis of how '*regnum* had achieved such a stunning victory over *sacerdotium* in 1101': Rubenstein, 'Holy Fire and Sacral Kingship', 483.

[33]Matthew of Edessa, *RHC Darm*, 1: 35–8, cap. V.

Baldwin married a Chalcedonian Armenian, the niece of Constantine of Gargar, and became count of Edessa.[34]

If the part Baldwin played in the plot is much debated, for most chroniclers, whether Armenian, like Matthew of Edessa, or Syriac, such as Michael the Syrian and the author of the anonymous chronicle of 1234, who probably have Basil of Edessa (d. c. 1169) as a common source here, his responsibility is hardly in doubt.[35] Nevertheless, before bringing down the blame for Ṭoros' death on Baldwin and reporting at length on his treachery for not having respected the oath made to the deposed governor to keep his life safe in exchange for his surrender and departure for Melitene, the Armenian chronicler Matthew of Edessa depicted the joy of Ṭoros and the Armenian inhabitants of Edessa at the news of his approach and then at his arrival in the city at the head of a detachment of horsemen.

For those cognizant of the work of Byzantinists, the above story is hardly surprising. First, the familiarity of the Armenians, particularly the inhabitants of Edessa, with Frankish soldiers should be recalled. Frankish garrisons had been established for several decades on the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire, which they were defending alongside the Armenians. In Edessa, Franks were stationed as early as the 1060s in the duchy, the city itself and Sevaverak.[36] From the tenth century onwards, the *basileus* increasingly used mercenaries, among whom the Franks figured prominently from the eleventh century. The Lombards and Normans from Italy were unsurprisingly the first to enlist, followed closely by the English and, finally, by knights from the county of Flanders. Around 1090, Alexios Komnenos (1081-1118), the *basileus* during the First Crusade, formed a *tagma* of five hundred knights sent by the count of Flanders to fight the Turks. After having spent some time in the service of the *basileus*, these knights were able to familiarise members of the house of Flanders and their entourage, including the counts of Boulogne, with the Byzantine Empire and its margins on their return.[37]

From the second half of the eleventh century onwards, we should recall the increasingly frequent use of what Jonathan Shepard calls 'trouble-shooters', i.e. men with both military and diplomatic qualities sent by the *basileus* to defuse a crisis, such as Tatikios, who accompanied the main army of the First Crusade until his defection during the

[34]The Armenians adhere to a Miaphysite Christology. Christianity seems to have been present in Armenia since the end of the first century, but the definitive conversion of Armenia is said to have been the work of Gregory the Illuminator, at the beginning of the fourth century. From the 370s, the Church of Armenia became an autocephalous church. No Armenian representative was present at the Council of Chalcedon (451), whose conclusions, judged to be Nestorian, were condemned by the Armenian Church in the sixth century. The reasons for the condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon are certainly to be found in Christological disagreements, as well as in the growing dissension between Byzantium and Armenia during the sixth century. Nevertheless, some Armenians remained faithful to the conclusions of Chalcedon, placing themselves outside the official Church: Isabelle Augé, 'Le choix de la foi chalcédonienne chez les Arméniens', *Cahiers d'études du religieux. Recherches interdisciplinaires* [Online] 9 (2011). URL: http://journals.openedition.org/cerri/871.

[35]*Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche, 1166-1199*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Chabot (Paris, 1899), XV 8, 588–9, trans. vol. 3, 187; XVII 8, 640, trans., vol. 3, 281; Jean-Baptiste Chabot, ed., *Chronicon ad A. C. 1234 pertinens, I. Praemissum est Chronicon anonynum ad A. D. 819 pertinens curante Aphram Barsaum* (Louvain, 1920 and 1937), vol. 2, §246, 56–7, trans. 41–2. Andy Hilkens, *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1234 and its Sources* (Leuven, 2018).

[36]Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, trans. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858), cited by Jean-Claude Cheynet, 'Le rôle des Occidentaux dans l'armée byzantine avant la Première Croisade', in *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. Evangelos Konstantinou (Cologne, 1997), 111–28, at 118, note 35.

[37]Cheynet, 'Le rôle des Occidentaux'.

siege of Antioch. The *De administrando imperio* thus recounts the mission of the *patrikios* Constantine distributing titles and gifts to numerous Armenian princes.[38]

Ṭoros, who came from an Armenian family but was born a subject of the Byzantine empire, and a former soldier, was the lieutenant of Philaretos Brachamios. He could not help being familiar with these men sent by the *basileus* to clear up a critical situation on the margins of the empire. Moreover, seen from the eastern side of the Mediterranean, what were these Franks, if not soldiers who had come at the instigation of Urban II to answer the *basileus*' call to relieve the pressure put on the margins of the empire by the Seljuks? If we follow Matthew of Edessa, it was after the capture of Rāwandān and Tell Bāshir, and their handover to Pakrad, that an embassy was sent from Edessa to Baldwin.

This may also partly explain the treatment of the crusader by the *curopalates* of Edessa. Going back on what his envoys had promised the former, he refused to grant him any share in the city's government and merely offered him money for his services. The *curopalates* finally had to give in to the pressure of Constantine of Gargar and the population of Edessa. The other part of the explanation is likely to be found in the familiarity of the people of Edessa with the Frankish mercenaries with whom they were accustomed to fighting. The only difference was that Baldwin served only himself, which Ṭoros could not have known. This ignorance cost him his life.

In the opposing camp, placing Baldwin in the position of an arbitrator, Constantine of Gargar and others hostile to Ṭoros, followed in the footsteps of their predecessors, the Armenian princely families who were not reluctant to appeal to the empire to resolve their internal quarrels.[39] Whether he was assimilated to those men of the *basileus* with whom the Armenian princes were familiar, or to a mercenary, Baldwin embodied the qualities of both men, right down to the diplomatic dexterity that the *basileus* required of the 'trouble-shooters'. His understanding of the strategic situation of the region, perhaps reinforced by the instructions of Pakrad, the Armenian who had escaped from Byzantine captivity and had accompanied him since the siege of Nicaea in the spring of 1097, enabled Baldwin to insert himself early on into the interplay of the fragmented societies that populated the Middle East at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries. Far from being an isolated case, he prefigured what the Franks who founded states in the wake of the First Crusade would be, as he was soon emulated by his successors and those in his close circle.[40]

The Franks: both aliens and natives

Three seals bearing the name of Baldwin (the third found in the vicinity of Tarsus) and copper coins minted in the county of Edessa are rich in information about the social and cultural background of the first two counts of Edessa. The three seals follow a Byzantine model and bear Greek inscriptions. Their attribution, which is much debated between

[38] Jonathan Shepard, 'Trouble-Shooters and Men-on-the-Spot: The Emperor's Dealings with Outsiders', *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 2011), 691–723. I would like to thank Jean-Claude Cheynet for having introduced me to this article.

[39] Shepard, 'Trouble-Shooters', 713.

[40] On the links between Franks and Armenians in the early kingdom of Jerusalem, see Camille Rouxpetel, 'Les Arméniens, la nation préférée des Latins?', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 130, no. 1 (2018): 41–51.

Baldwin of Boulogne, first count of Edessa (1098-1100), and Baldwin of Bourcq, second count of Edessa (1100-1119), is of little importance here.[41] On the other hand, their iconographic type and the use of Greek indicate the permanence of Byzantine-influenced administrative practices in the county of Edessa. In addition to the seals, there are two other indications that Byzantine customs were retained in Edessa: the assumption of the title of duke by the counts of Edessa and the minting of copper coins. Except for a legend in Syriac on a coin attributed to Richard of Salerno, all are in Greek. In a recent article, Alan Murray explains the use of *Bagduinos* in place of Greek *Baldouinos* on three occasions between 1100 and 1118 by contamination of spoken Armenian. This would be a phonetic transcription of a Λ by the sound [γ]. It is explained by Armenian and Syriac-speaking populations in Edessa at the time. This contamination shows the role of Armenian personnel in minting coins under the second count of Edessa, Baldwin II.[42]

From Edessa back to Jerusalem. Two manuscripts from the Holy Cross Monastery in Jerusalem bear witness to the intermingled commemorations of Georgians, Christian Arabs, and Franks, following donations made to this religious and cultural centre of the Georgian Church and community.[43] The *Synaxarion* of Calvary (written in Georgian), copied at the Holy Cross by the hieromonk Giorgi Dodis, and a twelfth-century evangelist's book list several beneficiaries of commemorations, the former between 1155 and 1187, and the latter perhaps until 1244 and the sacking of the city by the Khwarazmians, which put an end to the return of the Franks negotiated by Frederick II.[44] Among these names is that of one of Baldwin's relatives, Eustache Garnier. A Flemish knight, lord of Caesarea and count of Sidon, he was one of the four most important lords of the kingdom, along with Hugues du Puiset, Gautier Mahomet (a Muslim convert?) and John Gothman.[45] During the siege of Tyre, Albert of Aachen described Eustache Garnier as an 'illustrious knight' and defined him as 'the first in the king's household and council'.[46] On his death, on 15 June 1123, he was constable of the kingdom. After Eustache Garnier ('Uistasi Garniel'), the two sons he had with the

[41]V. P. Stepanenko (В. П. Степаненко), "Моливдовулы комита Бодуэна и некоторые вопросы истории Эдессы конца XI в." [Molybdobulls (Lead Seals) of Count Baldwin and Some Questions about the History of Edessa at the End of the Eleventh Century], in *Проблемы истории государства и идеологии античности и раннего средневековья* [Problems in the History and Ideology of the State in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages] (Barnaul, 1988), 107–19; Jean-Claude Cheynet, 'Sceaux byzantins des musées d'Antioche et de Tarse', *Travaux et mémoires* 12 (1994): 391–478, plates I-XIII; Yauhen Hurynau, 'A Short Note on the Lead Seals of a Baldwin, Count', in *Лістападаўскія сустрэчы – XIV: матэрыялы міжнар. навук. выкладчыц.-студэнц. канф. у гонар акад. М. М. Нікольскага і У. М. Перцава, Мінск, 11–12 ліст. 2021 г.* [November Meetings – XIV: Materials from the International Scientific Teacher-Student Conference in Honour of M. M. Nikolskyi and U. M. Pertsev, Minsk, 11–12 November 2021], ed. I. A. Eutukhov (І. А. Еўтухоў) (Minsk, 2022), 66–71; Georgios Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 2, ed. John W. Nesbitt (Basel, 1984), 213, nos. 368a–368b, Plate 39.

[42]Alan V. Murray, 'The Greek Inscriptions in the Coinage of Count Baldwin II of Edessa (1100-1118)', *Numismatic Chronicle* 182 (2022): 243–8.

[43]Mamuka Tsurtsumia, 'Commemorations of Crusaders in the Manuscripts of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem', *Journal of Medieval History* 38, no. 3 (2012): 318–34. I am very grateful to Benjamin Z. Kedar, who introduced me to this article.

[44]Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts, H1661; Paris, BnF, ms géorgien 28. Both are in Georgian.

[45]On the entangled trajectories, in the crusader East, between Muslim converts who went over to the side of the Franks and knights who temporarily placed themselves in the service of Islamic rulers, see Florian Besson, 'Les barons de la chrétienté orientale. Pratiques du pouvoir et cultures politiques en Orient latin (1097-1229)', 2 vols. (PhD thesis, Université Paris IV – Sorbonne, 2017), 1: 573–8.

[46]AA, 832 (12.7): 'Eustachii Granarii, preclari militis et primi in domo et consilio regis'; cf. Besson, 'Les barons de la chrétienté orientale', 655, n. 121.

niece of Arnoul of Choques, patriarch of Jerusalem, are mentioned in the *Synaxarion*: Gauthier ('Gatier'), who succeeded his father at the head of the seigneury of Caesarea, and Eustache ('Uistasi'), heir to the county of Sidon on his father's death.[47] Finally, mention is made of Hugues ('Hued'), the son of Gauthier, whose elder brother fell ill with leprosy and succeeded his father at the head of the lordship of Caesarea, and Renaud ('Rinir'), the son of Eustache II, who succeeded him at the head of the county of Sidon. Three generations of lords of Caesarea and counts of Sidon are thus mentioned, starting with Eustache, companion of Baldwin I of Jerusalem.

Like the others, the family of Eustache Garnier is commemorated following donations made to the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Cross. Such donations from Frankish lords can be explained by the tradition attached to the place, built around the tree planted by Lot from which the Cross of the Crucifixion was said to have been made, by the legend of Saint George, knight and martyr, and by the reputation of the Georgians as valiant fighters, in whom Frankish lords found an echo of their ideal of *miles Christi*. In that case, these donations also show the integration of this relative of Baldwin and his family into the intrinsically diverse society of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Just as the Georgian monks do not hesitate to commemorate Arab Christians and Franks, prominent members of the kingdom, so the descendants of Eustache Garnier, born of the marriage of an early crusader to the niece of a patriarch of Jerusalem, do not hesitate to show their veneration for a monastery faithful to a church other than their own.

What can be said of these few events taken from the first three years of Baldwin's life in the *bilād al-Šām*? They may invite a fresh reading of the famous lines left by his chaplain, Fulcher of Chartres, who witnessed first-hand the two events, the seizure of power in Edessa in March 1098 and the delay of the miracle of the Holy Fire in 1101:

> Consider, I pray you, and reflect on how in our time God has turned the West into the East. For we who were once Westerners have now been turned into Easterners. He who was a Roman or a Frank has been transformed on this earth into a Galilean or a Palestinian. He who was an inhabitant of Rheims or of Chartres has now been made a Tyrian or an Antiochian. We have already forgotten the places of our birth, for many of us they are either ignored or no longer pronounced.[48]

A careful reading of the chroniclers of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem and their comparison with oriental sources thus reveals an attitude that is much more ambivalent than the concept of 'Latinisation' would suggest, given the complexity of Middle Eastern society and its irreducible confessional and cultural diversity. It is evident that the period of the crusades was characterised by the Latinisation of both people and places, as well as the mobilisation of the universal claims of the papacy. However, it was also a time of recognising the complexity of Middle Eastern society and of integrating this complexity into Frankish strategies, whether individual or collective. Although there is no linear evolution in the handling of diversity that would reflect increasing respect for the diversity of Middle

[47]Tsurtsumia (see note 43 above) identifies him as Eustace of Caesarea, but it seems more logical to me that the lords of the two lordships inherited from the founder of the lineage, Eustace Garnier, should be cited in each generation. Historians are not unanimous about his descent, and sometimes they attribute two sons to him, sometimes three. The commemorations of the synaxarion of Calvary support the first hypothesis.

[48]FC, 746: 'Considera, quaeso, et mente cogita, quomodo tempore in nostro transvertit Deus Occidentem in Orientem. nam qui fuimus Occidentales, nunc facti sumus Orientales. qui fuit Romanus aut Francus, hac in terra factus est Galilaeus aut Palestinus. qui fuit Remensis aut Carnotensis, nunc efficitur Tyrius vel Antiochenus. iam obliti sumus nativitatis nostrae loca, iam nobis pluribus vel sunt ignota vel etiam inaudita.'

Eastern society, it is necessary to note the parallelism between the integration of this diversity by the Franks, i.e. the Latins of the Middle East, and the inflexion of the construction of their own identity, increasingly anchored in the East and less and less in the West. In his 1999 article on the Council of Nablus (1120), Benjamin Z. Kedar shows the Byzantine influence, particularly of the *Epanagoge*, which defined the rights of the *basileus* and the patriarch, in the first attempt at legislation in Frankish Jerusalem.[49] He proposes several hypotheses to account for the vectors of this circulation of Byzantine texts, and evokes the place of the Armenians and, of course, the Melkites in Jerusalem from the first years of the kingdom. According to Kedar, this is evidenced by the early, immediate acceptance of the liturgy of the Holy Fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which the Franks began to call 'the Church of the Holy Resurrection' after the Melkites who lived under their rule. The reason for such an influence is probably simple pragmatism, a better adaptation to Middle Eastern realities than the codes in force in their countries of origin. This also helps show that fluidity is the keyword governing relations between the new masters of Jerusalem and their immediate environment, i.e. the Eastern Christians and the Muslims. Several aspects – often intertwining according to the actors and circumstances – must be considered: that of a normative discursive construction with a universal aim, that of the management of diversity by the authorities, and that of the daily relations between communities and individuals.

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[49]Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus', *Speculum* 74, no. 2 (1999): 310–35. The author also reminds us that the Frankish Jerusalem of the twelfth century was not the only one to experience Byzantine influence in legal matters and rightly cites the *Assizes* of Ariano in 1140 in Roger II's Sicily (ibid., 321).