

Summer 2018

Crusader Orientalism: Depictions of the Eastern Other in Medieval Crusade Writings

Henry Schaller
hschaller@pugetsound.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://soundideas.pugetsound.edu/summer_research

 Part of the [Ethnic Studies Commons](#), [European History Commons](#), [European Languages and Societies Commons](#), [History of Christianity Commons](#), [History of Religion Commons](#), [Intellectual History Commons](#), [Islamic World and Near East History Commons](#), [Medieval History Commons](#), and the [Social History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Schaller, Henry, "Crusader Orientalism: Depictions of the Eastern Other in Medieval Crusade Writings" (2018). *Summer Research*. 327.
https://soundideas.pugetsound.edu/summer_research/327

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Sound Ideas. It has been accepted for inclusion in Summer Research by an authorized administrator of Sound Ideas. For more information, please contact soundideas@pugetsound.edu.

Crusader Orientalism:
Depictions of the Eastern Other in Medieval Crusade Writings

Henry Schaller
The Agricola Research Scholarship
Katherine Smith
Summer 2018

Table of Contents

Introduction:	2
Orientalism	2
The Realities of the Latin States	7
Crusader Orientalism	11
Sexuality of East	11
Wealth of East	24
The Timeless Orient	30
Muslims as Pagans	33
Geographical and Physical Difference	38
Crusader Orientalism	41

“The pagans are wrong and the Christians are right”.¹

¹ Anonymous, *The Song of Roland: and Other Poems of Charlemagne*, trans. S. Gaunt, K. Pratt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 36..

The Song of Roland, eleventh century

Introduction:

Western ideas about the Orient have long been dichotomous, with the world divided into East and West. Characteristics are given to each region which have, in turn, shaped racial stereotypes. On one side there is the good, familiar West, on the other the bad, Othered East. During the Crusades of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, this dichotomy was mapped onto geographical features. Constantinople was seen as the gate of the East and the crossing of the Strait of Saint George (the Bosphorus), a tiny, two-mile wide channel that was an important symbol of the distinction of East and West. This crossing took on a vital role in the act of crusading; it is the moment of crossing over from the familiar, into the land of the foreign, unknown Other. The importance of this division is emphasized in many of the western sources chronicling the Crusades. We can see the importance of this strait, for example, through the writings William of Tyre, premier chronicler of the Crusader States, who emphasizes the importance of the passage, describing it as “the well-known boundary between Europe and Asia”.² For William and many other writers, this is a clear geographical division between familiar and Other, a separation that would shape perceptions of the East and what it meant to be eastern or western.³

Orientalism

This dichotomy between East and West is not unfamiliar to modern audiences. Since the fifth century split of the Roman Empire into two separate governments, East - West has been the

² William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E.A. Babcock A.C. Krey (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 123.

³ Both Guibert de Nogent and Albert of Aachen’s chronicles contain similar passages. Albert describes the passage stating “Then at the end of the fifth day they took down their tents and crossed the Straits of St George... entering the lands of Cappadocia.” Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the journey to Jerusalem*, trans S. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 31; Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through The Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos*, trans R. Levine (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997).

primary geographical construction of difference. Edward Said's book *Orientalism* was the first in a long line of scholarship devoted to explaining how the West has perceived the East through history. Said's thesis argues that:

The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring image of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience.⁴

By creating this simplified worldview, the West defines the East as everything the West is not. Further, the modern idea of the Orient often places it in the past, as a backwards place that is 'beneath' the technologically advanced West. In colonial discourse, the period Said is most concerned with, "Orientals or Arabs... in everything oppose the clarity, directness, and nobility of the Anglo-Saxon race."⁵ Aside from this obvious racism, many Orientalist images of the East are in a way 'positive', reflecting the East's immense draw for European authors and colonialists. These men depicted it as a place of immense wealth, exotic sexual encounters, and adventure. This fictional Orient proved to be an effective way for Europe (and later the United States) to define itself against the Eastern Other. However, this exchange was one-sided, robbing Eastern peoples of a voice.

It may seem strange to begin a paper about the Crusades by discussing modern colonial activities. Said, writing in the 1970's, did not devote much time to the Middle Ages beyond briefly discussing the traits of 'Medieval Orientalism.' Said was not a medievalist, so one would not be wrong in questioning the applicability of his theory to a time so distant from his main context. Due to this, there are several important ways in which the theory presented in *Orientalism* fails to describe medieval realities. First, the power dynamic in the eighteenth and

⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 2.

⁵ *ibid.*, 39.

nineteenth centuries between the East and West was much different than the one of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. Said's Orientalism relies on the systematic knowledge produced in times of Western domination over the East.⁶ This vital aspect of Said's thesis cannot be applied to the crusading period without significant revision. For the medieval Occident, the Orient was not a place to dominate but a place of military, technological, and material superiority. There was no feasible way for the West to dominate the Orient as it did in the later colonial period. Despite this, many of the ideas about the East created in the Middle Ages project the same confidence of a dominant power which are echoed in later colonial depictions. Christian thinkers insisted that Christianity was superior to Islam, and for centuries produced a series of polemical attacks on the religion. Christendom also worked to eradicate Islamic agency, the Muslims (depicted as "pagans") were portrayed as a part of God's plan, often as instruments of punishment for the sins of the Christians.⁷⁸ As a result, the average medieval European likely did not feel inferior to the East, as they 'knew' they were in the theological and moral right despite the numerous setbacks faced by Europeans during this period.

As a result of these worldviews, many of the ideas about the medieval East and the Colonial Orient are remarkably similar. Depictions of the East as a place of extreme wealth and unrestrained sex contrasted by the inferiority of its people are common tropes in texts from both periods. The main disparity is in the different levels of religious importance attributed to the East. Orientalist literature largely dismisses the religious difference, and is more concerned with the East's Classical past. By contrast, while medieval Orientalism also frames the Orient in the past, it is extremely concerned with religious difference, which in turn shaped racial ideas. The

⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, 36

⁷ John Tolan, *Saracens* (New York Columbia University Press, 2002), 66.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

result of these two strategies is the same, however. Both ‘isotopes’ of Orientalism treat the Eastern peoples as simultaneously inferior and superior, lauding Eastern wealth and importance, despite its temporally static nature.

In addition to the issues of Orientalist theory, studying medieval ideas through a modern lens creates challenges related to terminology. Historian Kathleen Biddick illustrates the danger of presentism when discussing modern classifications of groups. She states, “The more I studied medieval ‘peasants’ in the 1980s, the more historical similarities between this and other Victorian categories, especially woman, race, and homosexuality, trouble me.”⁹ Beliefs about all these groups are much different now than in the Middle Ages. While it can be argued that the medieval period had both colonial-like structures and racial ideas, it is difficult to separate our modern understandings of these terms, which can distort understandings of the past. In addition, a study of medieval, or more specifically, crusader Orientalism can easily fall into the trap of presentism, an attempt to make the Middle Ages modern and familiar, a clear progression from past to modernity, that conveniently forgets the traits that create difference.

Studies of medieval ideas about race are particularly susceptible to presentism, as ideas about race have always been plastic and subject to re-definition. Modern scholars of race tend to place the beginning of modern racial ideas in the colonial project in the Americas and cite slavery as the reason for its construction.¹⁰ This periodization generally works when focusing solely on the history of the United States, however, it disregards earlier, pre-colonial racial ideas that are still relevant today. Many medievalists (such as R.W. Southern) have traditionally insisted that the Middle Ages were a time when religious identity took precedent over ethnic difference. More recently, historians such as Lynn Ramey, John Tolan, Suzanne Akbari Conklin,

⁹ Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 16.

¹⁰ Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 16.

Jacqueline de Weever, as well as many others have refuted this belief, citing numerous passages in medieval *chansons*, chronicles and other texts that clearly reveal medieval Europeans were thinking about race and its significance. While the research of these historians make it very clear that the Middle Ages were not pre-racial as was long thought, it is important not to let modern ideas and preconceptions bias study of this period. Tolan outlines this difficulty, stating:

Race is another problematic category that needs to be used with caution. Clearly, the head of race based on genetics—with the theory of a fixed number of ‘races,’ some inferior to others—is a product of the nineteenth century and cannot simply be employed as such for earlier periods.¹¹

It would be very easy to apply modern ideas to the medieval period and draw inaccurate conclusions, and it is impossible to truly understand the medieval mindset. Both modern and medieval societies have used race as a code for geographical origin, thus Orientalist theory is, at its most basic, about racial difference. To the medieval person, the Easterner is different because of their geographical origin, which influences their physical and societal traits.¹²

Another concern when describing medieval Orientalism is the common problem of representing the past dishonestly, by disingenuously projecting modern ideas and terms onto the past. Said does not believe Orientalism began until 1312, thirty years after the fall of Acre, the last Crusader State.¹³ As a result many scholars have disputed various aspects of medieval Orientalism with this question, arguing that medieval Orientalism cannot exist due to the vast differences in time between Said’s period of study and the Middle Ages, however, the majority of historians agree, claiming that Said’s thesis maps remarkably well onto the Middle Ages. This paper agrees and argues that Orientalism largely does map onto medieval Europe, and even more

¹¹ John Tolan, “Afterword,” In *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey J. Cohen (New York: St Martin’s Press, 2000), 172.

¹² Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 43.

¹³ Said, *Orientalism*, 50.

so on the context of the Latin States between 1099 and 1291. During this period a distinct literary tradition emerged, a tradition we might call Crusader Orientalism, which encompasses a distinct set of beliefs about the East. Specifically, crusade chroniclers and authors of *chansons* depicted the East as opposite of the West in order to define the Christian and Western self in clearer terms. These texts contain descriptions of sexuality, wealth, and religion as well as physical (racial) descriptions of Eastern people together, these tropes worked to create and emphasize the dichotomy between East and West.

The Realities of the Latin States

Before diving into the nuances of Crusader Orientalism, it is important to understand the historical realities of the Latin States in the Levant and their presentation in fictionalized crusade texts. Study of this period is controversial, and there is much debate on the nature of these cities. These kingdoms were established during and following the success of the First Crusade in the last years of the eleventh century. The most important eastern cities controlled by Christendom were Jerusalem, Antioch, Tripoli, and Edessa. The capture of each of these cities was brutal. After the fall of Jerusalem, the Crusade army massacred much of the city's inhabitants in a shocking display of violence. Yet shortly after, the Latin States emerged as a multi-ethnic society that was remarkably tolerant by the standards of the time. This sudden, seemingly idealistic shift is the result of the dismal number of crusaders who chose to stay in the East.¹⁴ Most left to return to Europe in 1099, believing they had fulfilled their duty of liberating the Holy Sepulcher. Thus the Crusader States began at a disadvantage and Christendom held a shaky grip on the region. As

¹⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. F.R. Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 149.

a result, the remaining Latins had to adapt, because they simply did not have the manpower to create the planned Christian utopia.

The degree in which the Latin States were actually tolerant has been subject to intense scrutiny over the past century.¹⁵ Historians such as Joshua Prawer and R.C. Smail argued that the Western settlers did not integrate with Levantine society economically or socially, solely settling in the cities.¹⁶ Reading Crusade texts this way seems plausible, as they are often filled with vicious attacks on the Eastern Other. However, this thesis has been called into question recently by Ronnie Ellenblum, who claims that while there were areas of separation, much of the Levant was more integrated than earlier authors had thought.¹⁷ The crusade chronicler Fulcher of Chartres' supports this in his remarkable quote emphasizing the assimilation of the Latins:

Consider and ponder how in our own days God has transformed the West into East. We who were westerners have become easterners. Whoever was a Roman or a Frank has in this country become a Galilean or a Palestinian; people from Rheims or Chartes are now citizens of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten our birth places, which are unknown to many of us, and no longer talked about. Some of us have already inherited property here. Some have married not only among their own people but Syrians, Armenians, or even converted Muslims... Words of different languages have become common to all nationalities, and a mutual faith unites people who know nothing of their ancestry.¹⁸

While Fulcher's writing has been argued to be propagandistic, attempting to rally settlers to move to the Levant, modern archaeological evidence, Frankish legal codes, and records of military alliances suggest that Fulcher did not exaggerate as much as one might suspect. Fulcher was not the only one to applaud the Latin East's diversity; the Muslim chronicler Usama Ibn

¹⁵ Much of this controversy is the result of political events in the twentieth century surrounding Israel and its legitimacy as a power in the Middle East.

¹⁶ Ronnie Ellenbaum, "Colonial and Anti-Colonial Interpretations," in *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories*, ed. R. Ellenbaum, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 49; Joshua Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, (London: Phoenix Press, 2001), 60.

¹⁷ Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 285.

¹⁸ Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 124.

Munqidh also wrote of friendly relationships between Latins and Muslims in his account *The Book of Contemplation (Kitab al-I'tibar)*. There are numerous scenes where he describes his personal relationships with the Latins of the Levant. Munqidh writes of dining in a Frankish home as well as his personal friendship with a Frankish Crusader who “became my constant companion, calling me ‘my brother’.”¹⁹ Both men attest to the possibility of tolerance in the Latin States.

This narrative is further supported by the few surviving legal texts, which show the existence of a court system that was just by the standards of the day. While the Franks got the most legal protections based primarily on their ethnicity, those below them also were given some rights including the ability to testify against members of any religion.²⁰ While this system is unequal by modern standards, historian Adam Bishop argues, “The hierarchy of acceptable testimony in the assizes is an example of the crusaders’ attempts to treat minorities fairly in both court systems.”²¹ Ecclesiastical law (e.g., the Nablus Legislation) was less just, working towards creating a divided society. These laws banned sex between Christians and Muslims as well as banning Muslims from wearing Frankish-style clothing. However, these laws were largely unenforced, supporting Fulcher of Chartres’ optimistic description of a multi-ethnic society.²²

Legal documents and personal relationships are not the only places in which Crusader Orientalism proves inaccurate; the political actions of the Frankish Kings also attest to more nuanced realities of the East. This is evident in the frequency of Frankish-Islamic alliances.

¹⁹ Usama Ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, trans. P.M. Cobb (London: Penguin Classics, 2008), 144.

²⁰ Citizens were only allowed to testify against members of their ethnic group. If one wanted to make a claim against an individual of another faith they would have to find a member of the accused’s faith to testify. Adam M. Bishop, “Minorities in the Legal System of the Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in *Religious Minorities in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Law (5th-15th Centuries)*, eds., N. Berend, Y. Hameau-Masset, C. Nemo-Pekelman, J. Tolan, 369-379. (Brepols: Turnhout, 2017), 373.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 371

²² Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 130.

There are numerous examples of this cooperation in a wide variety of sources, ranging from friendship between Crusade leaders, to military alliances, and peace treaties. This practice began immediately, on the First Crusade; Albert of Aachen describes the Fātimid ruler sending envoys to meet the First Crusaders with the request of a possible truce against their common enemy the Turks.²³ Later, during the period of the Crusader States, William of Tyre describes several different instances of Frankish Crusader Kings making alliances with different Muslim powers of the East. The most remarkable alliance recorded occurred in 1170, following a large earthquake that destroyed much of the Levant. William writes, “a temporary peace was made... while the regions recovered from the death and destruction brought by the earthquake.”²⁴ As we can see, the Latin East was more tolerant than readings of polemical attacks, works of literature, and Crusade chronicles might first suggest. While this acceptance might have been the result of Frankish weakness, it is distinct from the rhetoric of the time. Most importantly, living in the East did have a noticeable effect on the Frankish worldview, as at least some of those who settled in the Levant were confronted with the realities of the East, forcing them to abandon their dogmatic hate of the Pagan Other. However, despite this historical reality, it is clear that Christendom constructed the Orient in terms that were often far removed from reality. This Crusader Orientalism would pave the way for many of the beliefs and Oriental stereotypes outlined in Said’s *Orientalism*.²⁵

²³ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 231.

²⁴ Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 25.

²⁵ One piece of evidence for Orientalist thought in the Crusader States stems from the reversal of the *jizya* (a tax on all non-Muslims, or *dhimmis*, in Islamic-held territory) was reversed, now every non-Frank had to pay it. By making Eastern Christians pay the same tax, the Frankish run government showed that geographical constructions of East and West were more important signifiers of identity than religious affiliation.

Crusader Orientalism

The stereotypes and portraits that create Crusader Orientalism can be divided into four broad, interconnected categories: The sexuality of the East, wealth of East, temporally static East, and racially/religiously different East. These ideas show up in three general types of texts described by Sini Kangas, who writes:

Crusading ideology was manifested in a great variety of texts, which can be crudely divided into three categories: authorized preaching and history-writing (crusade chronicles written by ecclesiastics, sermons held in public, papal bulls and letters), popular stories (crusader chansons, oral poetry and songs), and texts intermingling material from both of these (crusader genealogy, hagiography and the lives of Machomet). There were no sharp boundaries between these groups which typically borrowed narrative elements and stylistic pattern from each other.²⁶

These works, spanning the period from the composition of *The Song of Roland* until the fall of the Latin East (i.e., from the 1090s to 1291) paint a picture of the Orient that contains elements of all these categories, and many of these same depictions are echoed in Edward Said's *Orientalism*.

Sexuality of East

A core trait of Orientalism is the tendency for European visitors to the East to emphasize its 'inherent' sexuality. Said describes how "the Orient was a place where one could look for sexual experiences unobtainable in Europe. Virtually no European writer who wrote on or traveled to the Orient after 1800 exempted himself or herself from this quest."²⁷ This quote seems ill-fitting for the Middle Ages, which are commonly constructed in the popular imagination as a place of sexual repression. This stereotype, while somewhat accurate, ignores

²⁶Sini Kangas, "Inimicus Dei Et Sanctae Christianitatis? Saracens and their Prophet in Twelfth Century Crusade Propaganda and Western Travesties of Muhammad's Life", in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories* ed. Conor Kostick (London: Routledge, 2011), 134.

²⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, 190.

the wealth of information found in *chansons de geste*, French epic poems which often confront head-on the conflict of inter-religious sex. Many historians have studied this aspect of medieval Orientalism, including, Jacqueline de Weever, who noted the ways in which Saracen women were portrayed in medieval texts, and Suzanne Conklin Akbari who examined the racial ideas of Christians in the Middle Ages. This paper furthers the work of these historians and by applying their ideas specifically to Crusader texts.

The Crusades were not the first time Christendom constructed the East as excessively sexual. Earlier polemical attacks on Islam shaped Christian notions of the East and cast it in opposition to the chaste West. These Christian texts describe the East as threateningly sexual, with Islam being portrayed as inseparable from sexual excess. John Tolan describes this pattern, stating:

One of the favorite topics of Christian polemicists is sex: Muhammad's wives, Muslim polygamy, and the celestial houris ['fleshy heaven'] promised to the faithful. All this is foreign to the ideal of Christian celibacy and to Christian ideas of heaven, but it fits well with the doctrines traditionally attributed to the Antichrist.²⁸

Interestingly, historically Islam was less concerned about celibacy than Christianity. There was no inherent sin in sex and the Koran encouraged marriage and sex within marriage.²⁹ Tolan argues that this less restrained view of sex was the result of the early success of Islamic military campaigns. He states: "Things look different from the perspective of early Islam. God crowned Muslims with success from the beginning, it seemed: there was no need to vilify earthly power or to explain away political and military success."³⁰ Christianity, coming from a place of weakness had to explain away the success of the East, and further enforced a rhetoric of self-blame. Sex was further demonized in an effort to contrast with the Other, and Islam was crafted

²⁸ Tolan, *Saracens*, 93.

²⁹ Tolan, *Saracens*, 29.

³⁰ Tolan, *Saracens*, 31.

into a religion of tricks and false-miracles. There are a few places in which this portrayal can be clearly seen; one is in the polemic biographies of Muhammad, and another is seen within descriptions of the Islamic afterlife. In both cases, Christian writers perverted and expanded upon the limited historical truth of Muslim sexual acceptance. Many of these traits were centered on the Prophet Muhammad. Akbari shows that Latin biographers emphasized the sinful nature of the prophet, stating:

The embodiment of the prophet Muhammad... encapsulates the range of deceitful qualities attributed to Islam by medieval Christians: the devotion to fleshly pleasures rather than spiritual fulfillment, the duplicity and deception carried out by the Simon Magus-like figure of Muhammad, and the wrongly diffracted worship of the 'foolish people'.³¹

Muhammad became symbolic of the carnal nature of his religion as Christian ideas about the Other were used to portray themselves in a positive light. But Muhammad is not the only symbol used by Christians to denounce Islam; descriptions of the Islamic heaven, or paradise, follow the same sorts of tropes.

Ideals of heaven are often indicative of a culture's values and beliefs, thus for a religion said to be as carnal as Islam, it made sense that its afterlife would be as focused on bodily pleasure. Christian thinkers largely agreed that the Islamic Paradise was, in Akbari's words,

both fantastically alluring and repellently fleshy, it was at once a focus for Western desire and a summation of all that was thought to be disturbing and deviant in Islam....For European Christians, this false felicity was a microcosm of all that was wrong with Islam, its fetishization of the beautiful surface making it the epitome of what must be rejected.³²

Here is the heart of Christian attacks on Muslim sexuality; not only does the East fail to reflect Christian values of celibacy, but it is also a reflection of the shallow and material nature of the Islamic religion. Akbari argues that "[m]edieval Christians believe that the Earthly Paradise of

³¹ Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 224.

³² Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 248.

Eden was supplanted and typologically fulfilled in the Heavenly Paradise above; Muslims, they believed, could conceive of paradise only in earthly, fleshy terms, with pleasures experienced in the present moment rather than the fulness of apocalyptic time.”³³ These traits, along with a more thorough discussion of Latin beliefs about Islam and Muslims, will be discussed further later on in the paper. Through these constructions of Islamic sexuality, crusader texts had a framework to construct ideas about the East. However, the increased contact between religions also forced a development in descriptions of the East.

During the eleventh through thirteenth centuries in France, a literary tradition developed which explicitly dealt with problems raised by crusading. Referred to as *chansons de geste*, these epic poems detailed military campaigns against Islam in an alternate reality. Within these poems, patterns of Crusader Orientalism become clear. Unconstrained by reality, *chanson* authors dreamed up an Orient to compliment their heroic knights. Within these texts intersections of gender, sex, and race all become apparent. This is clearly shown in Frankish *chansons de geste*, which commonly depict Saracen women as romantic partners of Christians. As seen by contemporary religious legal codes banning inter-religious pairings, these depictions would have been unacceptable to Christian audiences. To avoid this controversy, *chanson* writers created a tradition in which the skin color of the female Saracen princess is literally either whitened or darkened. Jacqueline de Weever describes the intention of this practice stating, “The white Saracen represents its [the East’s] wealth and beauty; the black Saracen its strangeness and horror, both aspects painted as women.”³⁴ Within these texts are two types of women, indicative of Western beliefs as a whole, yet, serving opposite purposes in the text. The less threatening

³³ Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 249.

³⁴ Jacqueline De Weever, *Sheba’s Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic*, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998), 96.

white Saracen serves as a liminal figure through whom Frankish writers and crusaders can understand, relate to, and most importantly, safely desire the Other. Sini Kangas shows the effectiveness of this practice, arguing, “In the *chansons*, Saracen queens adapt so well that they become indistinguishable from Christians”.³⁵ In contrast, the darker skinned Saracen woman of the *chanson* tradition acts against the Crusader and is depicted as threatening. Further, it is clear that skin tone is indicative of her character.³⁶ To the medieval audience, a character’s physical appearance signified their personality—if they would act heroically or villainous. Jacqueline de Weever describes this practice, stating:

Upon hearing the portrait of a handsome person, a twelfth century listener knew immediately that this person was going to play at least a fairly important part in the story, that he was of noble birth and reasonably young, that he was basically of good character and therefore deserved the listener’s sympathetic interest in all his undertakings. If, on the contrary, the individual was said to be ugly, the listener had good reason to suspect that he would play an important but unpleasant role in the story and that, being wicked, he merited no sympathy whatsoever.³⁷

One trait that was seen as indicative of character was skin tone. Black skin was thought of in terms of the Bible, as a sort of code meaning they were cursed or had some relationship with hell. To put it simply, black skin equaled sinful, white skin equaled virtuous, and thus a white, Christian Saracen princess would have been an acceptable partner for the heroic protagonist of the *chanson*.³⁸

Beyond the obvious use of Saracen women in *chansons de geste* as ‘romantic’ partners for the protagonists, these figures were also symbolic of several aspects of the East, primarily the exoticism and temptation of Islam, but also the wealth and danger of the Orient. The West is a

³⁵ Sini Kangas, “*Inimicus Dei Et Sanctae Christianitatis? Saracens and their Prophet in Twelfth Century Crusade Propaganda and Western Travesties of Muhammad’s Life*”, 141.

³⁶ De Weever, *Sheba’s Daughters*, 44.

³⁷ De Weever, *Sheba’s Daughters*, 9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, xi.

masculine place, and thus westerners are thought to have more masculine traits. In comparison, the East is constantly feminized. In Crusade texts, this feminization crosses religious lines strengthening the East-West dichotomy, as both the Greeks, and Muslims are called ‘effeminate’ very frequently. This worked not only to frame the Christians as masculine and thus superior, but also normalized the masculine Western conquest of its space. In the *chansons*, when the Christian knight takes the Saracen woman as his bride and converts her, it is a metaphor for the capture and conversion of the Orient as well. However, in some *chansons*, the female Saracen is not always so passive. Since the East is feminine it is also natural for it to act as a seductress. The Saracen woman symbolizes the draw of the Orient, which tempts the crusader away from God.³⁹

Temptation prominently appears in the second part of the Crusade Cycle: *Les Chétifs*. Written in Antioch sometime during the mid- to late twelfth century, it takes inspiration from real crusaders’ careers and events in the East. However, as translator Carol Sweetenham writes: “The *Chétifs* is entirely fantastical both in content and approach: there is no evidence for dragons, child-snatching monkeys or the near conversion of Corbara to Christianity in any source for the Crusade.”⁴⁰ The audience of this text would have been much different from the one of the various chronicles who catered to the educated class. *Chansons* such as *Les Chétifs* would have reached a wider popular audience, and would have shaped their audience’s views of the East. While these tales take place in a fictionalized East, those who heard them would have taken them as truth. Thus, a close examination of *Chansons* has the potential to reveal popular ideas and perceptions of the time. *Les Chétifs* in particular includes lengthy descriptions of a common crusade character, the mother of King Corbaran (a fictional version of the real historical figure

³⁹ Ibid., 34.

⁴⁰ Anonymous, *The Chanson des Chétifs*, in *The Chanson des Chétifs and Chanson de Jérusalem: Completing the Central Trilogy of the Old French Crusade Cycle* trans. Carol Sweetenham (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), 4.

Kerbogha, the leader of the army that came to assist the Turks in the defense of Antioch in 1098). In one scene not found in any chronicle of the First Crusade, Corbaran's mother attempts to seduce one of the poem's protagonists: Richard:

Corbaran's mother flung her arms around him and attempted to drag him off to her room; it was just the right place for a bit of seduction or some intimate discussion with a young lady. This is because she wanted an heir from him. This was not something Richard would have contemplated even if he were to have his head cut off as a result. She gave him a sword with a pommel of pure gold: it used to belong to King Herod and was the one he used to slaughter the little Innocents before his wife's eyes; it was an excellent weapon which achieved notable feats.⁴¹

This passage contains many aspects of Crusader Orientalism. First of all, Corbaran's mother's sexuality is emphasized, following the tradition of the sexually available East. In addition, her sexual advances would have been against the norm expected of royal women, and would have further reinforced the presentation of the East as a place of breaking Christian norms.⁴²

Corbaran's mother also is shown to be dangerous not only because of her religion but her material connection to the biblical past. Herod was a well-known biblical villain and it would have made perfect sense to the audience that the Saracens would have possessed his sword.⁴³

Richard's heroic status is emphasized as he is desired by the woman, which in turn adds to his honor and enhances his masculinity. His rejection of her advances also shows how committed he is to the crusade cause and more explicitly Christianity. As a result of this scene, the danger of the Orient is shown while Richard is lauded for his resistance to the temptations of the East and

⁴¹ Anonymous, *The Chanson des Chétifs*, 80.

⁴² A further tension stems from the twelfth century obsession about bloodlines. Corbaran's mother would not have been an adequate match for the noble Richard. Some *chansons* who pair Saracen women and Christian men circumvent this problem by literally whitening the skin of the Saracen bride after her conversion to Christianity all but eliminating all Otherness. For more on this see Jacqueline de Weever's book *Sheba's Daughters*. Jacqueline De Weever, *Sheba's Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic*, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998).

⁴³ Anonymous, *The Chanson des Chétifs*, 80

becomes more heroic. Through the character of Corbaran's mother we see Crusader Orientalist ideas about the dangerous sexuality of the East, a common trope.

While Corbaran's mother's sexuality is not acceptable, she is still presented as desirable to the *chanson*'s Christian audience; otherwise Richard's rejection of her advances would have been a less powerful show of support for Christianity. This desirable white Saracen, while extremely prevalent in *chansons*, is less common in crusade chronicles. While feminine temptation does appear, it is not described in the same 'exciting' way and is more explicitly condemned. There are several reasons for this discrepancy. First, since the *chansons* were written as entertainment, a good plot was worth more than accuracy, and "exotic" women just added to the thrill. In comparison, Crusade chronicles were more concerned with recording events as they happened, and their authors and audience would have been clerics. Because of this, many chronicles share the sentiment that women (of any race) would distract the crusaders from their ultimate goal of capture of the Holy Sepulcher. This dismissal stems from the anxieties of the monks, priests or other religious figures who had a harsher perspective on sexuality. Their celibacy and concerns surrounding it was often reflected in their work. We can see this bias in the account of William of Malmesbury, a twelfth-century English historian and monk. While he did not witness the crusades first hand, his account can be used to understand contemporary ideas of the crusades. His history, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, "suggests that female sexuality is nothing more than a distraction from the main crusading activity of war and battle."⁴⁴ Guibert de Nogent's chronicle of the First Crusade has a similar tone towards women. He denounces

⁴⁴Kirsten A. Fenton, "Gendering the First Crusade in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*," in *Intersections of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*, eds., C. Beattie, and K. A. Fenton (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011),133.

Byzantine Emperor Alexios for attempting to use Eastern women as a motivation for crusading.

Guibert writes:

The emperor added that if neither the prevention of such evil, nor the love of the aforementioned saints [buried in Constantinople] inspired them to perform this task, then at least greed for gold and silver, of which there was a plentiful supply in his region, might entice them. Finally he offered an argument that has no power over men with self-control, saying they would be drawn by the pleasure of seeing the most beautiful women, as though the beauty of Greek women were so great that they would be preferred to the women of Gaul, and for this reason alone, the Frankish army would march [to Byzantium's aid].⁴⁵

Guibert, an abbot, condemns those who embarked on Crusade for carnal rather than heavenly aims. William and Guibert's accounts make it clear that women should remain separate from the holy act of crusading.

Another reason for this omission of 'good' Saracen women from the chronicles stems from the tendency of these texts to present the sexual excesses of the Orient and Islam as a major justification for crusading. Guibert De Nogent typifies this approach, writing:

The greater opportunity to fulfill lust, and, going beyond the appetites of beasts, by resorting to multiple whores, was cloaked by the excuse of procreating children. However, while the flow of nature was unrestrained in these normal acts, at the same time they engaged in abnormal acts, which we should not even name, and which were unknown even to the animals.⁴⁶

Crusade writers would not want to be accused of the same crimes as the Turks, and would likely downplay any sexual encounters with the Other in order to craft themselves into a foil for the extreme sexuality of the East. It is interesting to note the differences between Guibert's description of Eastern sexuality, and later colonial ones. While both types stress the sexual availability of the East, Guibert focuses on its corrupted sexuality, comparing eastern men to animals, and emphasizing their aggressive nature. An interesting continuation of this practice can

⁴⁵ Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through The Franks*, 38.

⁴⁶ Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through The Franks*, 35.

be found in much later traditionally Orientalist accounts. These often focus much more on the appealing side (far removed from the monks' celibacy) as described in Reina Lewis' book *Rethinking Orientalism*, which states, "For men, the harem women trapped in a cruel polygamous sexual prison was a titillating but pitiful emblem of the aberrant sexuality and despotic power that characterized all that was wrong with the non-Christian Orient."⁴⁷ The purpose of Guibert's account and later accounts of the harem are both intended to denounce the Orient, however, the difference in focus shows the disparity between Crusader Orientalism and the more fetishistic modern Orientalism.

Guibert's excerpt, while clearly exaggerated and problematic, is actually one of the more toned-down descriptions of Islamic sexuality found in Crusader chronicles. Far more common was the tendency to use the sexual assault of women as a justification for crusading, in an appeal for the protection of Christian femininity. It is unlikely that these accounts are based on historical sources, yet it is clear from the overwhelming response to the crusading call that European audiences believed these accounts wholeheartedly.⁴⁸ There are two main ways chroniclers described these atrocities. They either explicitly describe in detail the horrors of the rapes, or take the opposite approach, leaving it intentionally vague. Together they work to craft the East into a threateningly sexual place, it perfectly contrasts with the trope of the seductive East, which threatens masculine sexuality. Guibert de Nogent and Albert of Aachen both use the first rhetorical technique in their chronicles. Guibert writes:

[The Saracens] took virgins and made them public prostitutes, since they were never deterred by shame or feeling for marital fidelity. Mothers were violated in the presence of

⁴⁷Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 13.

⁴⁸Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham, "The *Chanson d'Antioche* as literary text," in *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans Edgington and Sweetenham (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2011), 81.

their daughters, raped over and over again by different men, while their daughters were compelled, not only to watch, but to sing obscene songs and to dance.⁴⁹

This passage, horrifying to modern and medieval audiences alike, made for a powerful call to crusade. These images were extremely influential, and the plight of these women was often presented as symbolic of the suffering of the city of Jerusalem. Once again, femininity became symbolic of space, with Jerusalem described in human terms, acting as a woman needing to be freed by a chivalric knight.⁵⁰ This tradition continued through the crusading period and many chroniclers use feminine and matronly language in descriptions of the city.⁵¹ This worked in conjunction with rhetoric of the sexual assault of Eastern women, in making it clear that the crusade was about protecting Christian femininity. In addition, Albert of Aachen's chronicle *Historia Ierosolimitana* contains numerous passages that describe the assault of Christian women by the Islamic Other. The most famous of these passages describes a story of a young nun who was captured by the Turks in a battle with Peter the Hermit's army and was forced into a "vile and detestable union by a certain Turk and others with scarcely a pause."⁵² After being freed, Albert describes that "she was granted forgiveness for her unlawful liaison with the Turk, and her repentance was made less burdensome because she had endured hideous defilement by wicked and villainous men under duress and unwillingly."⁵³ These passages are unambiguous as to what horrors women faced in the East, but other chroniclers took a completely opposite approach.

⁴⁹ Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through The Franks*, 37.

⁵⁰ David Morris, "The Servile Mother: Jerusalem as Woman in the Era of the Crusades", in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, eds N. Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 176.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 181. (Including the *Gesta Francorum*, Ralph of Caen, Guibert de Nogent Fulcher of Chartres Baldric of Dol, and Robert of Rheims.)

⁵² Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 127.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 127.

Writers in this tradition shy away from violent, detailed descriptions, instead they leave more to the imagination. Robert of Rheims' account of Pope Urban II's call to crusade illustrates this tradition stating, "What shall I say of the abominable rape of the women? To speak of it is worse than to be silent."⁵⁴ Together, both groups explicitly or implicitly make it clear that the East is a place that threatens the chastity of women, and Islam is a religion of violent lust.⁵⁵ This tactic works beyond inspiring outrage on behalf of the victims. Albert of Aachen makes it clear that is an attack on Christianity itself.⁵⁶ He emphasizes the attack, on nuns stating: "They [The Turks] took away only young girls and nuns, whose faces and figures seemed to be pleasing to their eyes, and beardless and attractive young men."⁵⁷ These descriptions would have been extremely offensive to a Christian audience, and further fueled anti-Muslim fervor in Christendom. In addition they speak to the anxiety surrounding mixed-race sexual relations and fear of Islamic pollution of the Holy Land. As a result of the popularization of this portrait, Fulcher of Chartres makes special note of the Franks' difference in conquest techniques, stating in the chaos after the 1098 Siege of Antioch, "When their [the Turk's] women were found in the tents, the Franks did nothing evil to them except price their bellies with lances."⁵⁸ It is clear that "the crusaders prided themselves on killing, but not raping, enemy women."⁵⁹ For them it was much better to murder innocents than to pollute their chastity. In addition, in restraining

⁵³ Robert of Rheims, "The Speech of Urban: The Version of Robert of Rheims", in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed., E. Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 27.

⁵⁵ Lust was also seen as a feminine trait, by portraying Eastern men as sexually out of control, Western writers further feminized them by showing their lack of masculine chastity.

⁵⁶ Another, account echoes the same sentiment, outlined in Malcolm Barber's book *The Crusader States* "In words reminiscent of Urban II's Clermont speech, he [Patriarch Eraclius] paints a picture of Muslims using the churches as stables and copulating with Christian women before the altars."⁵⁶ Barber, *The Crusader States*, 310.

⁵⁷ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 43.

⁵⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres*, 80.

⁵⁹ Léan Ní Chléirigh, "The Impact of the First Crusade on Western Opinion Towards the Byzantine Empire", in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. C. Kostick (Routledge: London, 2011), 243.

themselves from raping these women the Crusaders once again defined themselves as foils to Oriental practices, distancing themselves from the effeminate act of rape, as well as protection from sexual pollution of Muslim women.

Latin descriptions of Islamic sexuality do not limit its sexual assault to women, in a few accounts the victims are men. The presence of homosexuality or homosexual acts is not very common in crusader texts. Only the monks Albert of Aachen and Guibert of Nogent write about it in any significant detail, and both chronicles follow in the same descriptive patterns of heterosexual lust described earlier. Describing the aftermath of Peter the Hermit's army's defeat in Nicaea, Albert writes: "They [The Turks] took away... beardless and attractive young men."⁶⁰ This clearly falls into the category of protecting femininity; the men's masculinity is deliberately downplayed, as they are described as not having beards, however, being male, these victims illustrate how "unnatural" the actions of the Muslims are, adding to the anger against the lust of the Turkish enemy. Guibert's account is much more explicit. He writes:

Their lust overflowed to the point that the execrable and profoundly intolerable crime of sodomy, which was committed against the men of middle or low station, they also committed against a certain bishop, killing him. How can this urgent lust, worse than any insanity anywhere, which perpetually flees wisdom and modesty, and is enkindled more powerfully the more it is quenched, control itself among human beings, whom it befouls with couplings unheard of among beasts, actions to which Christians may not give a name.⁶¹

This quote has a lot to unpack: first of all, Guibert's emphasis of the target of this assault being a religious authority has clear significance, and his emphasis on the uncontrollable lust of the Turks follows his (and many others') tendency to describe them as animalistic and sexually uncontrolled, in contrast with the chaste Christians. More importantly, Guibert justifies the crusade as defending a member of the church in much the same way as protection of women was

⁶⁰ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 43.

⁶¹ Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through The Franks*, 37.

a motivator. This rhetoric makes the assault more than just a rape of a single person, but an attack against Christianity as a whole. It is clear that through images of Saracen temptresses, sexual assault, and a religion based on carnal pleasure that Christendom understood the East as a frighteningly sexual place. Islam was not only a threat to the chastity of Christian women (and men) but also the source of Muslim women's unchastity as well. For crusade writers, Islam was a religion focused on sexual, rather than spiritual, gratification, and as a result it was the antithesis of Christianity. Christendom created this series of depictions through Orientalist theory, defining itself as opposite to the Other.

Wealth of East

Alongside the trope of the hyper-sexualized East, Crusade chronicles also emphasize the wealth of the Orient. This trope also works to create the East-West divide and 'Oriental' wealth is often directly compared to the poverty of the West. The feminine nature of the East intersects this convention, as women are often symbolic of this wealth. Jacqueline de Weever describes this stating, "The [female] Easterner ... represents the wealth of the East, a desirable product the West hankers after."⁶² Not only are women specifically representative of the wealth of the East, these riches are specifically feminized. As mentioned earlier, cities such as Jerusalem are intentionally represented as feminine characters. Even 'Eastern' traits such as lust, temptation, and sexuality were all seen as feminine and thus negative. The symbolism of a feminine East worked to justify the conquest of eastern lands, as seen in the *chansons*, where the Saracen woman's beauty and wealth is a natural reward for the Christian knight who captures her in the

⁶² De Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*, 29.

same way the Crusaders captured the Holy Land.⁶³ Later, capturing Eastern wealth is acceptable, as it is analogous to a knight being rewarded with a beautiful woman after his quest. Alongside the trend of women symbolizing wealth, descriptions of the riches of the East can also take several different forms. The first and most obvious is the physical presence of jewels, gold, silver and other luxury goods. These work to portray the East as a place of abundant treasure and is often taken through conquest. Many of these passages are utopic, in that every crusader becomes rich through conquest.⁶⁴ Another trope is the depiction of so-called ‘magnificent cities’ these take the form of descriptions of the cities of the East and how amazing they are compared to European ones. These serve the purpose of giving honor to the Crusaders as many of these descriptions focus on the advanced technology of defense. In addition, these magnificent cities also serve to emphasize the wonders of the East, and especially when describing Jerusalem show the greatness of Christianity.

It is no exaggeration to say that *every* crusade chronicle has some elements of this depiction, and many authors describe the wealth of the East for pages on end. The *Gesta Francorum* is typical in its description of riches stating, after a successful battle, “we took much loot—gold, silver, horses, donkeys, camels, sheep, cattle, and so many other things that we did not know about.”⁶⁵ Being the earliest Crusade chronicle, it is significant that the *Gesta Francorum* does not problematize this looting as indicative of the Crusaders’ greed, but instead frames it as God’s reward to the crusading army for re-capturing the Holy Land. Many later

⁶³ The female Saracen is symbolic of the wealth attained on Crusade described through “the description of the rich gems adorning the Saracen women’s dress—gold and silver, garnets and sapphires, and the rich embroideries.” De Weever, *Sheba’s Daughters*, 30.

⁶⁴ This trope is also common in calls to crusade such as in Pope Urban II’s speech recorded by Baldric of Dol. Baldric of Dole, “Urban’s Call For a Crusade”, in *The Crusades: A Reader* eds., S.J. Allen, E. Amt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 40.

⁶⁵ Anonymous. *Gesta Francorum The Deeds of the Franks and Other Jerusalem Bound Pilgrims: The Earliest Chronicle of the First Crusade*, trans N. Dass. (Plymouth: Rowmand and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011), 43.

chronicles borrowed heavily from this text and as a result, wealth is treated in a similar way. The *Gesta Francorum* is actually one of the more brief and restrained sources in its descriptions of the wealth of the East. On the other side of the spectrum is the French Crusade Cycle, more specifically the second part titled *Chétifs*. This source written in the Crusader States is vital to understanding the mindset of the people of the Latin East, as the work's fictional nature allows an unfettered view of the Crusader Orientalism. One quote that illustrates the author of *chétifs* obsession with the wealth of the East, emphasizes the specific numbers of each individual type of riches, stating:

She [Corbaran's mother] took gold and bright silver from her own wealth and had it presented to Harpin of Bourges. Even the poorest received clothing and each had as much treasure as he wanted. Some received 1,000 bezants, some 80 and some 100; she rewarded all who were there richly. To Richard she gave 1,000 silk cloths and a fast steed, a rich tent to protect against storms and wind, and a packhorse laden with vessels.⁶⁶

While the *Chétifs* is a work of fiction, and a similar pattern of emphasizing wealth exists as a 'stock element' in many other medieval literary sources emphasis on this monetary excess is common in chronicles as well. William of Tyre's *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, shows that even chroniclers (working in the clerical tradition which would dismiss wealth as immoral) appreciated the wealth of the East and tried to justify it, often implicitly framing it as a gift from God. William states, "Our victorious troops returned to Antioch in exultation. They were laden with marvelous spoils, even to the point of satiety, so that they desired no more. With them they brought a great variety of booty—slaves, horses, herds, flocks, and tents, in fact, riches of all kinds."⁶⁷ Because of the crusaders' 'satiety' William shows how they are not motivated by greed and thus still acting as good Christians. Here it is clear that the riches of the

⁶⁶ Anonymous, *The Chanson des Chétifs*, 141.

⁶⁷ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 58.

East cannot be neutral. It is either used in highlighting the greed of the Other or as a divine reward for the good crusader.

The tradition of Eastern wealth traces back to *The Song of Roland*, which was composed around the time of the First Crusade. Despite the events of the *Roland* predating the First Crusade and not taking place in the East, this text provides much of the groundwork for later sources. Since the *Roland* does not take place in the East, the trope of the wealth of the East is instead manifested through the clothing and armor of the Saracen troops.⁶⁸ Describing one Saracen soldier's armor, the poet states, "He now goes to land a prodigious blow on his shield Which is covered in gems: amethysts and topaz, Diamonds and gleaming carbuncles. It was a gift from a devil in the land of Val-Metas."⁶⁹ Despite not being geographically situated in the East, it is clear to the reader that these Eastern peoples represent wealth.⁷⁰ The Saracen soldiers are described through stereotypes about the Orient, showing what the medieval audience would have believed about the region. The tradition of the *Roland* continues in Crusade sources.

Fulcher of Chartres gives a description of the Saracen's wealth on campaign, stating,

They entered the tents of the Saracens and found in them great riches, gold, silver, mantles, clothes, and precious stones. [He goes on at length describing every type of jewels present] ... They also found vessels and many kinds of useful things, such as golden helmets, the finest rings, wonderful swords, grain, flour, and many other things.⁷¹

The tents, like the Saracen soldiers in the *Roland*, allow the Latin protagonist to "see" the wealth of the Orient without being physically present in its cities. By following the logic of these texts, since the Saracens are not only wealthy, but so rich that they can bring these immense riches on a

⁶⁸ The Christian soldiers also have weapons and armor that could be seen as indicative of their wealth, however, their treasure is depicted in a different way, with less focus on its monetary value but as a weapon of war, seen in the poem's focus on Roland's sword. Anonymous, *The Song of Roland*.

⁶⁹ Anonymous, *The Song of Roland*, 52.

⁷⁰ In addition, there are soldiers that come from the East described in the Islamic army.

⁷¹ Fulcher of Chartres, *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres*, 95.

military campaign. The *Roland* states, “Generously fashioned from gold, amethysts, and jacinths. They are worth more than all the wealth in Rome.”⁷² To a medieval audience, the wealth taken on campaign would have been indicative of immense riches of the pagan cities. This quote also directly compares Saracen and European wealth, clearly strengthening the East-West dichotomy, further Othering the East.

In addition to the wealth of the East, most if not all crusade texts emphasize the magnificence of the cities of the East. These descriptions show Orientalist beliefs through the twin emphasis on wealth and holiness. Fulcher of Chartres describes Constantinople in these terms writing:

Oh, what an excellent and beautiful city! How many monasteries, and how many places there are in it, of wonderful work skillfully fashioned! How many marvelous works are to be seen in the streets and districts of the town! It is a great nuisance to recite what an opulence of all kinds of goods are found there; of gold, of silver, of many kinds of mantles, and of holy relics.⁷³

While the awe and wonder of Fulcher’s account echoes others that describe Eastern riches, his language also subtly casts the city as unnatural. Fulcher’s description as well as countless others portray the East as unbelievably wealthy. Yet it is clear that this wealth is not the result of God’s power. It is marvelous not miraculous, and human achievements in craftsmanship are emphasized over the divine. In the *Chétifs*’ description of Jerusalem a similar trope is utilized:

Alas! Jerusalem, imperial city! You are so rich in buildings and gardens, beautiful quarters and splendid open spaces, pure gold and silken cloths, of fine fabrics and rich sigladon of indigo, crimson and blue.⁷⁴

⁷² Anonymous, *The Song of Roland*, 24.

⁷³ Alongside the obvious economic and religious significance of this description, Fulcher’s chronicle also follows a weird literary convention found in these sources. His statement that “It is a great nuisance to recite what an opulence of all kinds of goods are found there” is a common convention. William of Tyre seems to copy Fulcher stating “Because of the immense amount of material, any attempt to describe in detail the wonders of those days would be utterly futile, even if a special traits were devoted to it.” Fulcher of Chartres, *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres*, 62; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 450.

⁷⁴ Anonymous, *The Chanson des Chétifs*, 207.

It is striking that there is no mention of the city's religious status, instead, only material riches are shown. There are numerous quotes within the *Chétifs* that laud the religious sites in Jerusalem but they are separate from those that describe the rich East. Once again wealth is problematized when in possession of the Other, and it is intentionally separated from religious description. It is clear that the wealth of the East through gold, jewels and other riches symbolizes the same thing as the wealth of the cities. Both types of descriptions work to emphasize the wealth of the Orient and separate it from the Christian self, through descriptions that add to the marvelous and unnatural portrait of the East.

In addition to descriptions of material and cosmopolitan wealth, Christian writers also emphasize the religious significance of the cities of the Levant. Jerusalem is the most prominent subject of this treatment due to its extreme importance as a Christian (as well as Jewish and Muslim) religious site and medieval 'center of the world.' The *Chanson d'Antioche*, part of the first phase of the French Crusade Cycle, embodies this viewpoint, stating, "Jerusalem is the navel of the Earth. It is a land more fruitful than any other, almost Earthly Paradise."⁷⁵ This description centering on the utopic traits of the East are echoed in Robert the Monk's crusade history in which he compares the failings of the West to the glory of the East stating:

Do not be held back by any possession or concern for your family. For this land you inhabit, ... is not overflowing with abundant riches and indeed provides scarcely enough food even for those who grow it. ... Set out on the road to the Holy Sepulchre, deliver that land from a wicked race and take it yourselves - the land which was given by God to the sons of Israel, as Scripture says a land flowing with milk and honey.⁷⁶

⁷⁵Robert the Monk, *Robert The Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans C. Sweetenham (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 81.

⁷⁶ Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 81.

In Robert's account, he takes the trope of Eastern wealth and contrasts it with European poverty,⁷⁷ deliberately setting up a dichotomy in which the self is defined by the antithesis of the Other. Robert's passage also contains direct allusions to the Bible, referring to Exodus 3's description of the Jewish Promised Land. Robert's placement of the Crusade in biblical terms is not unique. Suzanna Akbari argues, "Especially after the beginning of the crusades in 1095... Jerusalem appears both as a point of origin and as a place of return".⁷⁸ These holy sites were seen as familiar (a departure from emphasizing Eastern exoticism), and the campaign to Jerusalem is often framed as a sort of spiritual 'coming home.'⁷⁹ This return is framed in biblical terms and in all texts, the religion of the city's inhabitants be that Eastern Christianity or Islam is irrelevant to the descriptions of its wealth (material or religious). In these descriptions there is a sense that the cities predate the current inhabitants and the wealth found there does not belong to them. By emphasizing the timelessness and wealth of these cities crusade texts also show the merits of Christianity, as many of these cities are biblically important. This biblical framework is a major piece of Crusader Orientalism, as crusade writers use it to depict the East as temporally static, more proximate to its history than Europe.

The Timeless Orient

Modern depictions of the Middle East commonly portray the region as a place stuck in time, unburdened by the stresses of modern (Western) life, but also a place of medieval repression and backwardness. Edward Said argues that this representation began in the early days of Orientalist academic thought; as he writes, "Proper knowledge of the Orient proceeded from a thorough study of the classical texts, and only after that to an application of those texts to the

⁷⁷ This poverty is framed as a positive trait, as it is necessary to be a good Christian.

⁷⁸ Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 50.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

modern Orient.”⁸⁰ He further states that it was a common belief among Orientalist thinkers that “the Orient never changes, the new is simply the old betrayed by the new”.⁸¹ This is clearly seen in Edward Freeman’s 1849 *History of Architecture*, in which he depicts Islamic architecture as stuck in time, contrasted with the progressive and changing nature of Western architecture.⁸² In a similar vein, Kathleen Davis’ essay “Time Behind the Veil: The Media, The Middle Ages and Orientalism Now” argues that “Eastern societies are contested with the rich and organic connection of the present and the past in the West. They are pictured as static and undeserving of a glorious antiquity, which failed to pass its power and glory on to them.”⁸³ This portrayal of the static East is not a modern phenomenon, however; the most famous chronicler of the Crusader States, William of Tyre held a similar view.

In William’s chronicle, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, every time William introduces a new Eastern city he places it in the context of its Greek, Roman or biblical history, thereby shaping how his readers thought of the East, and revealing the way the East was framed for educated Christians. The very first words of his history are “The city of Tyre dates from very remote times,” and similar rhetoric is found throughout the text: Damascus is described as “the Phoenicia of Lebanon” and its people are described as descendants of Abraham. In addition, he introduces Gaza as “a very ancient city”.⁸⁴ These examples are not unique; adjectives such as “ancient” and “old” are constantly used to describe all the cities of the East. William does not describe Western cities in the same way. Rome is just Rome, he does not provide it with a classical past when he easily could. While this could be the result of him assuming that European

⁸⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, 79.

⁸¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 104.

⁸² John M. Ganim, “Native Studies: Orientalism and Medievalism,” in *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*, ed. J.C. Frakes (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 94.

⁸³ John M. Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism: Three Essays on Literature, Architecture and Cultural Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 65.

⁸⁴ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 187.

readers would be familiar with European history, it is more likely that William of Tyre was more concerned about the pre-Islamic history of the Orient. For William it is clear that the East's history is less temporally distant than the West's.

William's account follows in the tradition of earlier crusaders who saw their mission in the context of apocalyptic and biblical struggles. For example, Guibert de Nogent begins his account by justifying and placing the Crusade in the context of classical history, stating,

We admire foreign nations famous for military strength; we admire Philip for his merciless slaughter and victories everywhere, never without relentless shedding of blood. We commend with resounding rhetoric the fury of Alexander, who emerged from the Macedonian forge to destroy the entire East. We measure the magnitude of the troops of Xerxes at Thermopylae, and of Darius against Alexander, with the terrible killing of infinite numbers of nations.⁸⁵

This quote implicitly compares the 'modern' crusade to the Classical past, blurring the lines between history and modernity. He argues that in due time the Crusade will be seen in the same light as Alexander the Great's conquests. In addition, the naming of cities stems from Classical history. Cairo was never called Cairo despite Christians' awareness of its proper name. Instead it is commonly referred to by the biblical name "Babylon", despite the actual city of Babylon lying hundreds of miles away and having no real relation to the city.⁸⁶ It is clear that medieval Christians wished the East to be unchanging, romanticizing the last time when an opposing religion had not controlled the territory. The East is a place outside the European experience, where one can touch and be a part of biblical history. The discovery of the True Cross as well as countless other relics show that the material pieces of the Bible were closer in the East than the West. This, alongside the common portrayal of the Crusade as the first step in bringing about the apocalypse shows how important the past was to the perceptions of the East.

⁸⁵ Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through The Franks*, 27.

⁸⁶ Andrew Scheill, *Babylon Under Western Eyes: A Study of Allusion and Myth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 258.

Muslims as Pagans

The conception of the temporally static East not only shaped Christian descriptions of its cities, but also governed ideas about the Islamic Other. It made sense that for a region stuck in the past that its people would also reflect the same values.⁸⁷ As a result, Islam was conflated with the ancient, familiar Paganism of the Classical past. Historian Jerry Toner author of *Homer's Turk* argues that "Christian perceptions of Islam were filtered through a combination of the biblical and the classical, so that in the end they came to be based less on Islam itself than Christian preconceptions of divine history and antiquity."⁸⁸ The average medieval Christian who had any knowledge of Islam would have believed it to be a new resurgence of the Roman paganism that had opposed Christianity since its earliest beginnings.⁸⁹ As a result, the predominant picture of Muslims was as pagan, and polytheistic idolaters. This worked to frame Islam as a 'backwards' religion and further reinforcing the 'timeless' nature of the East. In the eleventh century leading up to the First Crusade, Christian polemicists argued that "The world had moved into a new stage of God's plan for humanity, and any new religion was seen to be turning the clock back to the times of pagan supremacy was both theologically flawed and highly dangerous."⁹⁰ Now, the East was not only the place of biblical and Classical events, it was also home to a people that had chosen to turn their backs on the word of God in favor of returning to paganism. John Tolan describes how writers like Peter Tudebode (a member of the First Crusade) cite Muslim 'paganism' as a motivating force in crusade recruitment:

⁸⁷ It is interesting that both Muslims as ancient Pagans and the idea of them not having an Eastern history overlap. It is clear to Christians that the Muslims do not have a true history in the Holy Land, it is hard to argue why this discrepancy exists, except perhaps as a defense mechanism for the capture of Eastern cities. It would make sense politically to dismiss the history of a previous people, especially in a place held as shakily as the Latin States. It is thus possible that this discrepancy is intentional, arguing that the Muslims had no legitimate hold on the Holy Land to weaken any resistance to the new rulers.

⁸⁸ Jerry Toner, *Homer's Turk: How Classics Shaped Ideas of the East* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 50.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁹⁰ Toner, *Homer's Turk*, 52.

Tudebodus's descriptions of Saracen paganism form a key element in his justification of the Crusade. Christianity has from the beginning been locked in a struggle with paganism: now the time has come—predicted both in scripture and in the stars—when Christ will vanquish the idols once and for all, and his people will come into his inheritance.⁹¹

Tuebodus's writings reinforce several key messages: He spreads the idea of an ancient East by arguing the Muslims are pagan. His ideas reinforce the dichotomy between East and West by simplifying historical reality in favor of the binary Christian versus pagan narrative. And finally, he promotes the apocalyptic nature of the Crusade. Instead of framing the crusade against a new unfamiliar threat, the crusaders believed they were continuing the fight against paganism, a struggle traceable from the Israelites to their present day.

Descriptions of Saracen idolatry were the result of Christendom placing the Islamic rise to power in the framework of the more familiar classical pagan past. John Tolan writes:

Scores of medieval texts, in Latin, French, and other languages, paint the Saracen language in the familiar hues of classical Roman idolatry: their Saracens prostrate themselves and sacrifice to idols inhabited by demons. Medieval sculptures and paintings also portray Saracen idolatry in nearly identical visual terms as classical Roman idolatry: often the acolyte's dark skin and turban are the only characteristics that allow the viewer to distinguish him as Saracen.⁹²

The specificity of these incorrect beliefs about Muslim idolatry is interesting. In Islam, Muslims are explicitly urged not to portray holy figures in any material way.⁹³ During the Islamic invasions of the seventh and eighth centuries, Muslim soldiers focused specifically on the destruction of idols and the temples that housed them.⁹⁴ However, Christians ignored this and

⁹¹ Peter Tudebode was a priest on the First Crusade whose work shares many traits of the *Gesta Francorum*, perhaps even being based on the same original lost source. Tolan, *Saracens*, 116.

⁹² Tolan, *Saracens*, 106.

⁹³ This is not the only time Christian authors explicitly accused Muslims of actions that Islam bans. *The French Crusade Cycle* contains numerous descriptions of Muslims getting drunk, and many of the polemical attacks on Muhammad have him devoured by pigs. What this means for the Christian knowledge of Islam is less clear, but it seems unlikely that these ideas came out of nowhere, it seems likely that Christians had more of a knowledge than is often supposed, despite them portraying it in the opposite ways.

⁹⁴ Tolan, *Saracens*, 33.

created the myth of Islamic idolatry in order to justify Crusading and to emphasize Roland's statement of "Pagandom's" wrongheaded nature.⁹⁵ These images of pagan idols are often tied up in the trope of the wealthy East, another example of Islam being the place in which Christian anxieties about sin are resolved. For example, Ralph of Caen's crusade chronicle describes the expensive materials used to create an idol of 'Mohamet' supposedly found after the capture of Jerusalem. He writes:

A cast image, made from silver, sat on the highest throne. It was so heavy that six men with strong arms could barely lift it, and ten barley sufficed to carry it. When Tancred saw this he said, 'alas, why is this image here which stands on high? What is the purpose of this image with its gems and gold? What is the purpose of this purple cloth?' For it was an image of Mohamet, entirely covered with gems, purple cloth and shining with gold.⁹⁶

This passage is typical of Christian description of idols, which typically emphasize the rich materiality of these objects. Here these associations work to reveal the false nature of Islam. For Christian writers, the emphasis on these idols is to show how superior Christianity is to the Eastern religion. Especially by placing this scene after the fall of Jerusalem, at the Crusade's peak, Ralph shows that even the immense wealth of the East is unable to help the pagans against the army of God.⁹⁷ Not only are Christians 'right' but they will also always win against the unbeliever, as they are backed by God. The Saracen's wealth, attained through sinful methods, was confiscated and appropriated to the deserving Christians. Paganism and idolatry were not the only religious constructions Christians had for Islam; they also believed that Saracens were in fact, Christian heretics.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 105.

⁹⁶ Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, trans B.S. Bacharach, D. S. Bachrach (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 144.

⁹⁷ Tolan, *Saracens*, 119.

The depiction of Muslims as pagans became less common in the eleventh century in favor of calling them heretics.⁹⁸ While the term ‘pagan’ lost favor in Europe, it is clear that both the pagan and heretic were important descriptors in crusading language. Depictions of heresy, like earlier ones of paganism, reinforced the dichotomous beliefs about the Orient bringing the beliefs of Muslims and Christians closer together. Kangas supports this, stating, “the Islamic world indeed represents for them [the authors of the *chansons de geste*] a perverse Christendom, a realm which was once truly Christian, but which became corrupted by Machomet, the wicked arch-heretic.”⁹⁹ “Authors of the Latin Lives of Muhammad, a series of polemical texts telling the story of the prophet’s life and rise to power make this connection clear. These authors draw comparisons through the character of a Christian monk who was said to be Muhammad’s teacher.¹⁰⁰ These texts worked to weaken Islam as an independent religion, constructing it as a heretical branch of Christianity and steered perceptions away from Islam as an independent religion. Furthermore, many Christian texts spread the belief that Muhammad was actually the Antichrist, demonizing the religion but also bringing it in closer proximity to Christianity as its natural opposite.¹⁰¹

In a wide variety of medieval Christian texts that discuss Muhammad, it is extremely common to portray him as the literal Antichrist. Every genre from polemical attacks, biographies, sermons, chronicles and *chansons* contains examples of this description.

⁹⁸ Christopher Taylor, “Prester John, Christian Enclosure, and the Spatial Transmission of Islamic Alterity in the Twelfth-Century West,” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed., J.J. Cohen (New York: St Martin’s Press, 2000), 53.

⁹⁹ Sini Kangas, “*Inimicus Dei Et Sanctae Christianitatis?* Saracens and their Prophet in Twelfth Century Crusade Propaganda and Western Travesties of Muhammad’s Life”, 152.

¹⁰⁰ Julian Yolles and Jessica Weiss, “Introduction”, in *Medieval Latin Lives of Muhammad*, trans J. Yolles, J. Weiss, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), xxxi.

¹⁰¹ This rhetoric would support apocalyptic motivations for crusading as many believed that the capture of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem would hasten the end of the world, a common goal for medieval Christendom.

This fits well into Orientalist theory as it places the leaders of the two religions in a natural binary. This belief is explained by Said in *Orientalism*: “One constraint acting upon Christian thinkers who tried to understand Islam was an analogical one; since Christ is the basis of Christian faith, it was assumed—quite incorrectly—that Mohammed was to Islam as Christ was to Christianity.”¹⁰² Tolan supports this statement, arguing, “If one imagines Muhammad as Antichrist one imagines that he occupies the same role in Islam that Christ occupies in Christianity. It seemed self-evident to many of these Christian polemicists that Muhammad had claimed to be the Messiah and that he had claimed he would resurrect.”¹⁰³ Robert the Monk illustrates Crusader ideas, stating, “And so the soldiers of Christ marched out against the acolytes of the Antichrist.”¹⁰⁴ Robert makes the dichotomy clear, applying the Christian model to the Islamic enemy. In addition to this dichotomous construction, Crusade texts often speak of two other Muslim Gods: Apollo (an clear reference to the Classical past), and Termagant. Together, these two allied with the antichrist Muhammad, to make up an “unholy Trinity”, framing the Eastern religion as opposite to Christianity. This unholy trinity is often described as being depicted in Saracen religious idols that are often described in parallel to the Christian saints. These descriptions work to demonize the Other through the ideas of Islamic idolatry as well as polytheism.¹⁰⁵ In crusade literature the unholy trinity is often placed in direct opposition to the Holy Trinity, as shown in this quote from *The Chanson d’Antioche*: “He was on the point of running to arm himself when his father swore that Mohammed and Apollo would not take kindly to it; it was time for Termagant to show his power and see which would come off best: him or

¹⁰² Said, *Orientalism*, 60.

¹⁰³ Tolan, *Saracens*, 92.

¹⁰⁴ Robert the Monk, *Robert The Monk’s History of the First Crusade*, 167.

¹⁰⁵ Helen J. Nicholson, “The Hero Meets His Match: cultural encounters in narratives of wars against Muslims”, in *Cultural Encounters During the Crusades*, eds., Kurt Villads Jenson, Kirsi Salonen, Helle Vogt, 105-118 (Campusevj: University of Southern Denmark Press, 2013), 106.

the God of the Franks.”¹⁰⁶ The earlier *Song of Roland* contains a similar quote describing the failure of the Islamic gods after Christendom’s victory, stating , “He serves Mohammad and prays to Apollo. But he cannot prevent disaster overtaking him.”¹⁰⁷ These depictions frame crusading as the ultimate showdown between religions, and whichever side came out victorious proved beyond a doubt who’s God was true.¹⁰⁸ Written after the success of the First Crusade, this text (and many others) are clearly arguing that Christianity is the one true religion. From these depictions it is clear that Islam (or paganism) is the Eastern foil of Christianity, an inverse of all that was good in Christianity, as constructed by its Christian inventors. These pagan or heretical identities, while not racialized in the modern way, nonetheless represent an important step in the historical creation of races. These broad divisions of groups with ascribed traits were interspersed with physical descriptions of ethnicity, which created visual signals for difference. While one could be a white Pagan, Crusade texts more often focus on the darker skin color as additional evidence for the difference of non-Christian peoples.

Geographical and Physical Difference

Medieval Christian ideas about race are thus inseparable from religion. In crusade texts religious monikers are, more often than not, coding for skin color and ethnic difference. The existence of specifically ‘white Saracens’ implies a deviation from the norm and shows that their skin color mattered to medieval writers. The racial hierarchy of the Crusader States was much more complex than this simple dichotomy between Pagan and Christian, however. It is hard to

¹⁰⁶ Anonymous, *The Chanson d’Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans S.B. Edgington, C. Sweetenham (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2011), 194.

¹⁰⁷ Anonymous, *The Song of Roland*, 34.

¹⁰⁸ The *Gesta Francorum* takes the comparison further, drawing comparisons between the Earthly aspects of each religion stating that Curbaram (whose mother attempted to seduce Richard) “had also been given permission to kill Christians by the caliph, their pope.” The existence of an Islamic Pope further supported the construction of Islam as a distorted mirror of Christianity. Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 71.

make generalizations about medieval beliefs not because of any variety in Christian viewpoints, but due to the plasticity of race and religion and the ill-defined nature of each. In addition, the diversity of the East further complicated categorizations. Eastern Christians and Jews were important groups in the East during this period, but, aside from denunciations of the Byzantines, receive a lot less attention compared to the Islamic Other. Despite this, medieval people used geographical space as one of the most important components of racial categories. Historian Allan Murray argues that in medieval Christian thought:

Nations were believed to possess various defining characteristics. A representative view of these was given at the beginning of the tenth century by Abbot Regino of Prüm, who in a much-quoted passage described how the diverse peoples of Christendom varied with regard to descent, customs, language and laws. Medieval people tended to have a fond belief that such characteristics were immutable and that therefore national communities were of great antiquity.¹⁰⁹

This belief set arose from Biblical explanations of the past in which the three corners of the world (the fourth was paradise) were settled by each of Noah's sons. Debra Higgs Strickland shows in her article "Monstrosity and Race in the Late Middle Ages" that "each son was assigned to procreate in particular parts of the world—Shem received Asia, Japheth inherited Europe, and the islands of the sea, and Ham got Africa," a division which "informed... the common understanding that humanity was divided into different races".¹¹⁰ Each region's population was believed to embody the personality traits of each son. Ham was cursed (indirectly through his son) and medieval Christendom applied this curse to the people of Africa, believing them to be cursed through their descent. This belief would impact many crusader texts, which describe Africans and supposed African physical traits as being cursed.

¹⁰⁹Alan V. Murray, "National Identity, Language and Conflict in the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1096-1192," in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed., C. Kostick, 107-130 (London: Routledge, 2011), 110.

¹¹⁰Debra Higgs Strickland, "Monstrosity and Race in the Late Middle Ages." In *The Ashgate Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, eds., A.S. Mittman, P.J. Dendle, 365-386, (Burlington: Assignee Publishing Limited, 2012), 369.

While the Crusades did not target any African cities until after the fall of the Latin East, Africans show up again and again in Crusade texts, and are portrayed essentially the same as the Pagan or heretical Middle Easterners except the darkness of their skin signifies a closer relation to the ‘monstrous races’.¹¹¹ *The Song of Roland* describes this relationship, stating, “Who [the King] rules over Carthage, Alfere, and Garmalie, And Etheopia, one of the accursed lands. He governs the race of black men; they have huge noses and flapping ears....”¹¹² These features would have been seen as physical indicators for the temperaments of these people, and the more grotesque they were, the more different from Christian norms they were. For medieval Christians, black skin and these bizarre features were physical signifiers of the cursed status of the Sons of Ham and distance to their ‘pure,’ white skin.¹¹³

This dichotomy is further reinforced by the portrayals of skin color in the texts, despite ethnicity being depicted as a spectrum ranging from white to black to monstrous.¹¹⁴ In the *chansons* Saracens who are lighter skinned (or become lighter skinned in the course of the poems) are more able to act nobly and, in the case of women in these texts, be presented as eligible for marriage to Christians.¹¹⁵ Whiteness is a signifier of group, and those who are not white are distinct from the white, Christian Franks. Akbari argues, “The Frankish-like Saracen is acceptable; the black Saracen remains unacceptable.” These beliefs around skin tone are used to code the character of the characters in the *chansons*. Specifically, in the *Song of Roland*, two scenes stand out in their obvious portrayal of skin tone as indicative of affiliation. The first is the

¹¹¹ While there was Crusading activity in North Africa in the early eleventh century, it was not treated the same way as East bound Crusades.

¹¹² Anonymous, *The Song of Roland*, 65.

¹¹³ This worldview was not the only way Christians saw the Other, Biblical ancestry was not the only way Christians explained racial difference. Climate and climatic effects were also major ways to understand the world. Temperature and sun were commonly cited reasons for the depraved behavior of the Eastern and Southern peoples. Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 3.

¹¹⁴ De Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*, xxii.

¹¹⁵ Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 156.

description that describes the Saracen army as “blacker than the blackest of ink, With only their teeth showing any whiteness”.¹¹⁶ Later, Roland sees a dead bishop and the inverse is emphasized, stating, “He has now crossed his fair white hands.”¹¹⁷ Where the enemy’s Otherness is emphasized, the Bishop is shown to be physically acceptable and his virtue is reiterated. Here, a rough set of racial connotations is being created. While skin tone is not the primary indicator of difference, it works alongside religious stereotypes to create associations of the Other. For Christians the Islamic Other was sexually unrestrained, wealthy, and unacceptable due to their religious practices. The Other’s dark skin was simply another place of difference, physically indicative of supposed Eastern traits.

Crusader Orientalism

Islamic Pagandom was a convenient entity in which to create a foil to Christianity allowing Christendom to resolve anxieties about sexuality, greed, and heresy while facing an enemy that was much more advanced in almost every respect. Defining the enemy in order to confront the Other on their own terms was a show of power, one that was increasingly rare and more meaningful as the Latin East weakened and fell. Before the early twelfth century, Christendom’s record of against-the-odds victories in the East seemed to make God’s approval of crusading clear. However, as the Crusader States began to weaken and eventually fall, this belief had to be reevaluated. In this context, Crusader Orientalism was reimagined, beginning in 1220, with the first of a series of fictional letters from the East attributed to Prester John, a mythical Christian king who lived on the Eastern side of the Islamic Empires. He was a Christian Oriental (a term reminiscent of Fulcher’s quote seen earlier) whose fictional kingdom acted as a

¹¹⁶ Anonymous, *The Song of Roland*, 66.

¹¹⁷ Anonymous, *The Song of Roland*. 76.

liminal space between Christian and Muslim, but where Christian was more powerful. This was extremely appealing to Christendom. The probable effect that the loss of the Crusader States would have had on Christendom's psyche was softened due to the belief in a Christian presence in the East. The reckoning of a Christendom that was weaker than the infidel and thus not divinely supported was avoided, and Orientalist beliefs of Western superiority could be reimagined in the Kingdom of Prester John.

Keagan Brewer writes that the *Letter's* "fantastic representation of Prester John's kingdom was the continuation of a vast tradition of scholarly representations of the Orient, so much that in many ways it was simply a new medium for old ideas."¹¹⁸ In other words, Crusader Orientalist beliefs did not disappear. Instead, Prester John's kingdom took the most appealing pieces of Islam and made them Christian and thus, acceptable.¹¹⁹ Christopher Taylor shows this through an examination of architectural beliefs, stating, "Whereas Muslims utilize their architectural genius for what Christians consider hedonistic pleasures, John, unaffected by the lure of material pleasure achieves in earthly life what Islam can only guarantee in the afterlife."¹²⁰ This can be seen as a direct appeal to the insecurities of Christendom, not only can an Eastern Christian embody Orientalist ideas, he can actually improve on them, eliminating the fear of sin that permeates many texts describing perceived Islamic excesses. This Christian refinement of Islam is also seen in the *Letter's* description of the Fountain of Youth in John's kingdom. The *Letter* frames it by placing it in both Classical and biblical terms:

This forest is situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, whence a clear spring emerges, which preserves flavours of all types within it.... it proceeds by a journey of three days not far from paradise, from which Adam was expelled. If any thirsty person drinks from

¹¹⁸ Anonymous, *Prester John: The Letter and its Sources*, trans. K. Brewer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 3.

¹¹⁹ Taylor, "Prester John, Christian Enclosure, and the Spatial Transmission of Islamic Alterity in the Twelfth-Century West", 49.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 51.

this fountain three times, he will suffer no illness from that day forth, and he will always be as though he is 32 years of age.¹²¹

This passage contains several biblical allusions: the fountain is placed close to paradise, making it miraculous instead of heretical, and the need to drink three times is a clear reference to the Holy Trinity. In addition to framing the East as temporally near to biblical events the fountain specifically keeps those who drink from it thirty-two years old, a clear reference to the Islamic Paradise, only in Prester John's land can this paradise be found on Earth— without having to convert to the false religion.¹²² Prester John's Kingdom is a place in which the pleasures of Christian heaven are able to be enjoyed on Earth, a direct response to the Christian ideas of Islam being a religion of Earthly pleasures. In Christian thought, "Islam was portrayed as a material religion whose followers were in the thrall of power, wealth, and sex."¹²³ Prester John's Kingdom takes all these tempting aspects of Islam and embraces them, a reversal of the earlier violent rejection of the Crusade movement. This new set of beliefs worked to craft the perfect utopia in which Oriental Christianity can embody Orientalist values--without the tension between Earthly pleasure and acceptance into Heaven. It is a liminal space in which Christian can become Oriental, but not in the way described by Fulcher of Chartres. In the unbounded nature of the fictional letter, westerners can become easterners in a flawless way, embodying only the positives of the East, excluding all negative aspects.¹²⁴ *The Letter of Prester John* is an evolution of the ideas of Crusader Orientalism, but its intentions are very different from the crusader's constructions of the East.

¹²¹ Anonymous, *Prester John: The Letter and its Sources*, 72.

¹²² Taylor, "Prester John, Christian Enclosure, and the Spatial Transmission of Islamic Alterity in the Twelfth-Century West", 50.

¹²³ Toner, *Homer's Turk*, 53.

¹²⁴ Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 124.

Crusader Orientalism as a part of a larger theological effort to demonize non-Christians purposefully, depicting the East in largely negative terms. Being the West's foil, the East was forced to embody traits that Christendom feared. This is clear in Crusader texts, which emphasize the sexually dangerous aspects of the East, as well as its status as the home of the Antichrist. Racial ideas literally color-coded different races' levels of piety, and helped create a dichotomy of as white-Christian versus dark-Pagan. Eastern wealth was cast in terms of heresy and sin, emphasized not only in contrast with the (holy) poverty of Europe, but often in tandem with images of paganism and idolatry. The idea of the 'timeless Orient,' common in both medieval and modern depictions, worked to dismiss Eastern civilization as stagnant, backward, and inferior, providing additional motivation for crusading in relation to the biblical nature of the East. Together, these texts created a propagandistic set of images, not entirely false but definitely not true, complicating Christendom's understanding of the East. With the fall of the Crusader States, and the propagation of the myth of Prester John, these ideas became less negative due to Christianity's weakness. No longer could writers point to the sin of the East as reason for their early defeats in the Crusades, now they had to explain how Islam now seemed to be backed by God in their victories while remaining extremely sinful. Prester John fulfilled this need as he could embody all these traits and still be the good Christian in the East.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Aachen, Albert of. *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the journey to Jerusalem*. Translated by Susan Edgington. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 2007.
- Anonymous. *Gesta Francorum The Deeds of the Franks and Other Jerusalem Bound Pilgrims: The Earliest Chronicle of the First Crusade*. Translated by Nirmal Dass. Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011.
- Anonymous. *The Song of Roland: and Other Poems of Charlemagne*. Translated by Simon Gaunt and Karan Pratt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Anonymous. *The Chanson des Chétifs*. In *The Chanson des Chétifs and Chanson de Jérusalem: Completing the Central Trilogy of the Old French Crusade Cycle*. Translated by Carol Sweetenham. Farnham: Ashgate, 2016.
- Anonymous. *The Chanson de Jérusalem*. In *The Chanson des Chétifs and Chanson de Jérusalem: Completing the Central Trilogy of the Old French Crusade Cycle*. Translated by Carol Sweetenham. Farnham: Ashgate, 2016.
- Anonymous. *The Chanson d'Antioch: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*. Translated by Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham. Burlington: Ashgate, 2011.
- Anonymous. *The King of Tars*. Edited by John H. Chandler. Medieval Institute Publications, Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2015.
- Anonymous. *Prester John: The Letter and its Sources*. Translated by Keagan Brewer. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015.
- Adelphus, "Life of Muhammad" in *Medieval Latin Lives of Muhammad*. In *Medieval Latin Lives of Muhammad* Translated by Julian Yolles, Jessica Weiss. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018.
- Caen, Ralph of. *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*. Translated by Bernard S. Bacharach and David S. Bachrach. Burlington: Ashgate, 2005.
- Chancellor, Walter the. *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars*. Translated by Thomas S. Asbridge and Susan B. Edgington. Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1999.
- Chartes, Fulcher of. *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*. Translated by F.R. Ryan. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969.
- Chartes, Fulcher of. *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartes, in The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartes and Other Source Materials*. Edited by Edward Peters. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- Comnena, Anna. *The Alexiad*. Translated by Edgar R. Ashton and Peter Frankopan. New York: Penguin Classics, 2009.
- Dol, Baldric of. "Urban's Call For a Crusade". In *The Crusades: A Reader*. Edited by S.J. Allen, Emile Amt. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.
- Ibn Munqidh, Usama. *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*. Translated by Paul M. Cobb. New York: Penguin Classics, 2008.
- Mainz, Embrico of. "Life of Muhammad". In *Medieval Latin Lives of Muhammad*. In *Medieval Latin Lives of Muhammad* Translated by Julian Yolles, Jessica Weiss. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018.
- Monk, Robert the. *Robert The Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*. Translated by Carol Sweetenham. Burlington: Ashgate, 2005.

- Nogent, Guibert de. *The Deeds of God Through The Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos*. Translated by Robert Levine. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997.
- Rheims, Robert of. "The Speech of Urban: The Version of Robert of Rheims". In *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*. Edited by Edward Peters. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- Tudela, Benjamin. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Travels in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Malibu: Michael A. Signer. J. Simon, 1983.
- Tyre, William of. *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Translated by Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Secondary Sources:

- Barber, Malcolm. *The Crusader States*. Yale University Press: New Haven, 2012.
- Bethencourt, Francisco. *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Bhabha, Homi K.. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Bhabha, Homi K.. *Nation and Narration*. Edited by Homi K. Bhabha. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Biddick, Kathleen. *The Shock of Medievalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Bishop, Adam M.. "Minorities in the Legal System of the Kingdom of Jerusalem." In *Religious Minorities in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Law (5th-15th Centuries)*. Edited by Nora Berend, Youna Hameau-Masset, Capucine Nemo-Pekelman, and John Tolan, 369-379. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.
- Boas, Adrian. *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Boyd, Matthieu. "Celts Seen as Muslims and Muslims Seen By Celts in Medieval Literature." Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse. Edited by Jerold C. Frakes, 21-38. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Burman, Thomas E.. *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Child, Peter, and Williams, Patrick. *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*. London: Prentice Hall, 1997.
- Chláirigh, Léan Ní. "The Impact of the First Crusade on Western Opinion Towards the Byzantine Empire." In *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*. Edited by Conor Kostick, 161-188. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Clark, Robert L.A.. "Queering Orientalism: The East As Closet in Said, Ackerley, and The Medieval Christian West." *Medieval Encounters* 5.3 (1999): N.A.
- Cohen, Jeffrey J.. *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*. Edited by Jeffrey J. Cohen. New York: St Martin's Press, 2000.
- Conklin Akbari, Suzanne. *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Conklin Akbari, Suzanne. "From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation." in *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*. Edited by Jerold C. Frakes, 19-34. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

- De Weever, Jacqueline. *Sheba's Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998.
- Edbury, Peter. "Cultural Encounters in the Latin East. John of Jaffa and Philip of Novara." In *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*. Edited by Kurt Villads Jenson, Kirsi Salonen, and Helle Vogt, 229-236. Campusevj: University of Southern Denmark Press, 2013.
- Ellenblum, Ronnie. "Settlement and Society Formation in Crusader Palestine." In *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. Edited by Thomas Evan Levy, 502-512. New York: Facts on File, 1995.
- Ellenblum, Ronnie. "Colonial and Anti-Colonial Interpretations." In *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Ellenblum, Ronnie. *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Davis, Kathleen. "Time Behind the Veil: The Media, The Middle Ages, and Orientalism Now." In *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*. Edited by Jerold C. Frakes, 105-122. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Fenton, Kirsten A.. "Gendering the First Crusade in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*." In *Intersections of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Cordelia Beattie, and Kirsten A. Fenton, 124-139. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Frake, Jerold C. *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*. Edited by Jerold C. Frakes. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Ganim, John M.. *Medievalism and Orientalism: Three Essays on Literature, Architecture and Cultural Identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Ganim, John M.. "Native Studies: Orientalism and Medievalism." In *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*. Edited by Jerold C. Frakes, 123-134. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Heffernan, Carol F.. "Two Oriental Queens From Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women: Cleopatra and Dido*." In *The Orient in Chaucer and Medieval Romance*. 45-62 Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003.
- Heng, Geraldine. *The Invention of Race in the Middle Ages*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Heng, Geraldine. "The Romance of England: Richard Coer De Lyon, Saracens, Jews, and the Politics of Race and Nation." In *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*. Edited by Jerold C. Frakes, 135-171. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Higgs Strickland, Debra. "Monstrosity and Race in the Late Middle Ages." In *The Ashgate Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*. Edited by Asa Simon Mittman, and Peter J. Dendle, 365-386. Burlington: Assignee Publishing Limited, 2012.
- Jenson, Kurt Villads. "Cultural Encounters and Clash of Civilizations. Huntington and Modern Crusader Studies." In *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*. Edited by Kurt Villads Jenson, Kirsi Salonen, and Helle Vogt, 15-26. Campusevj: University of Southern Denmark Press, 2013.
- Jotischky, Andrew. "Crusader Society." In *Crusading and the Crusader States*. 123-154. Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2004.
- Jotischky, Andrew. "Pilgrimage, Procession and Ritual Encounters between Christians and Muslims in the Crusader States." In *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*. Edited by

- Kurt Villads Jenson, Kirsi Salonen, and Helle Vogt, 245-262. *Campusevj*: University of Southern Denmark Press, 2013.
- Kangas, Sini. "First in Prowess and Faith. The Great Encounter in Twelfth-Century Crusader Narratives." In *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*. Edited by Kurt Villads Jenson, Kirsi Salonen, and Helle Vogt, 119-134. *Campusevj*: University of Southern Denmark Press, 2013.
- Kangas, Sini. "*Inimicus Dei Et Sanctae Christianitatis?* Saracens and their Prophet in Twelfth Century Crusade Propaganda and Western Travesties of Muhammad's Life." In *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*. Edited by Conor Kostick, 130-160. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Krüger, Jürgen. "Architecture of the Crusaders in the Holy Land: The First European Colonial Architecture ." In *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*. Edited by Conor Kostick, 216-228. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Kruger, Steven F.. "Fetishism, 1927, 1614, 1461" In *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*. Edited by Jerold C,193-208. Frakes. New York: Palgrave Macmillan., 2011.
- Lewis, Reina. *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004.
- Morris, David. "The Servile Mother: Jerusalem as Woman in the Era of the Crusades". In *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*. Edited by Nicholas Paul, Suzanne Yeager, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.
- Morton, Nicholas. *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Morton, Nicholas. "Encountering the Turks: The First Crusaders' Foreknowledge of Their Enemy; Some Preliminary Findings." In *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations Essays in Honour of John France*. Edited Simon John and Nicholas Morton, 47-69. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Murray, Alan V.. "National Identity, Language and Conflict in the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1096-1192." In *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*. Edited by Conor Kostick, 107-130. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Nicholson, Helen J.. "The Hero Meets His Match. Cultural Encounters in Narratives of Wars against Muslims." In *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*. Edited by Kurt Villads Jenson, Kirsi Salonen, and Helle Vogt, 105-118. *Campusevj*: University of Southern Denmark Press, 2013.
- Praver, Joshua. *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonization in the Middle Ages*. New York: Phoenix Press:, 1972.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.
- Scheill, Andrew. *Babylon Under Western Eyes: A Study of Allusion and Myth.*: Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- Taylor, Christopher. "Prester John, Christian Enclosure, and the Spatial Transmission of Islamic Alterity in the Twelfth-Century West. Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse. Edited by Jerold C. Frakes, 39-64. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Tinsley, David F.. "Mapping the Muslims: Images of Islam in the Middle High German Literature of the Thirteenth Century." *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval*

- Christian Discourse. Edited by Jerold C. Frakes, 65-101. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Tolan, John. "Afterword," In *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*. Edited by Jeffrey J. Cohen. New York: St Martin's Press, 2000.
- Tolan, John. *Saracens*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Toner, Jerry. "Classics and Medieval Images of Islam." In *Homer's Turk: How Classics Shaped Ideas of the East*. 49-72 Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Uebel, Michael. "Imperial Fetishism: Prester John Among the Natives." In *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*. Edited by Jerold C. Frakes, 261-282 New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Uebel, Michael. "The Pathogenesis of Medieval History." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 44.1 (Spring, 2002) N.A.
- Ramey, Lynn. *Christian, Saracen, and Genre in Medieval French Literature*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Ramy, Lynn. "Medieval Miscegenation: Hybridity and the Anxiety of Inheritance." In *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*. Edited by Jerold C. Frakes, 1-19. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Yarrow, Simon. "Prince Bohemond, Princess Melaz, and the Gendering of Religious Difference in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis." In *Intersections of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Cordelia Beattie, and Kirsten A. Fenton, 140-157. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Yolles, Julian, Weiss, Jessica "Introduction". In *Medieval Latin Lives of Muhammad* Translated by Julian Yolles, Jessica Weiss. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2018.
- Young, Robert J.C.. *Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.