

A NEW READING OF CAFFARO

Daniel W. Morgan

A thesis submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the History Department in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.

Chapel Hill
2015

Approved by:

Marcus Bull

Brett E. Whalen

Flora Cassen

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ABSTRACT

Daniel W. Morgan: A New Reading of Caffaro
(Under the direction of Marcus Bull)

This thesis analyzes the narrative structure and tropes of the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* by Caffaro di Rustico da Caschifellone. The goal of this project is threefold: first, to provide a closer reading of Caffaro's text than has previously been offered; second, to critique an historiographical paradigm that ineffectually categorizes and mediates narrative source materials for the First Crusade; and third, to gesture towards a potential methodological solution offered by the tools of narratology and the theoretical language of the linguistic turn. Through a consideration of how key narratological elements in this text functioned to create meaning, Caffaro's text is then placed in conversation with other First Crusade sources. A fuller understanding of Caffaro's narrative is possible only when it is considered alongside these other sources and as part of a larger crusade metanarrative.

To my mentors, old and new –
Jonathan Elukin, and Sean Cocco; Marcus Bull, and Brett Whalen.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY: WRITING THE FIRST CRUSADE

The Genoese accounts of the First Crusade by Caffaro have rarely made it into the main body of First Crusade sources. Compared to the works of Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres, Peter Tudebode, Albert of Aachen, Guibert of Nogent, Robert the Monk, and the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, Caffaro's *Annales ianuenses* seldom receive more than a salutary mention.¹ Recently, however, Caffaro's contribution to the revolution in literary production of the twelfth century has been reconsidered, having now entered an Anglophone source collection for First Crusade source literature with his own volume in the *Crusade Texts in Translation* series.² Scholars of the crusades may be thankful for this, for as the works of Caffaro become more familiar, and thus more fully analyzed, it will become possible to classify them in relation to the wider body of source literature mentioned above. Although Caffaro remains somewhat on the periphery still, his incipient reappraisal has begun to open the door to the sort

¹ Omitting Caffaro Entirely: August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants* (Merchantville, N.J.: Evolution Publishing, 2012); Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (eds.), *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image and Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012); Christopher Tyerman, *Chronicles of the First Crusade, 1096-1099* (London: Penguin, 2012). Briefly mentioning Caffaro: William Jay Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095 – c. 1187* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2008), 172-5; Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), chapter 3; Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, M.A.: Belknap Press, 2012), 66. And mentioning the Genoese expeditions recorded by Caffaro but not mentioning Caffaro by name: Jill N. Cluster, *Sacred Violence: The European Crusades to the Middle East, 1095-1392* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 104, 109; Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham, M.D.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 31, 40; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (New York: Continuum, 2009), 338 for index.

² Caffarus, *Crusade Texts in Translation 26: Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-century Crusades*, trans. Martin Hall and Jonathan Phillips (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2013). Hereafter "Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*."

of source assessment and organization that dominates crusade studies: first, reading, then categorization, and then deeper analysis. With this historiographical praxis, further research into Caffaro and his works could yet yield greater insight into these artifacts in isolation, the essential conceits of medievalist source literature and source categorization would remain unchallenged. Indeed, even as medievalists encounter new sources and apply cutting edge methodologies to them, the ways in which the field categorizes and archives sources has rarely been challenged.³

The medievalist's engagement with the crusades has relied to a certain extent on typologies: dividing texts into different sorts of accounts, knightly as opposed to ecclesiastical or religious sources, and implicitly practical⁴ as opposed to theological understandings of the events of the crusades.⁵ Even as sources become reassessed and reread in the historiography of the crusades, these sorts of binaries persist – one author may move from being considered an “eyewitness” to not,⁶ or one text may be reinterpreted as knightly rather than ecclesiastical, but the underlying understanding of categories is never fully dissolved. These terms have, it should be noted, remained far from static. What exactly makes one text more religiously than practically informed has perhaps changed more with the shifting definitions of those terms than the advent of any truly alternative reading of the sources themselves.⁷ Once again, however, the loose sense

³ Perhaps the most elegant elaboration of this problem can be found in Felice Lifshitz, “Beyond Positivism and Genre: ‘Hagiographical Texts’ as Historical Narrative,” *Viator* 25 (1994): 95-113 (especially 102-4, and 108-13).

⁴ Jeanette Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages* (Genève : Librairie Droz, 1981), 10; Peter Ainsworth, “Contemporary and ‘Eyewitness’ History,” in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Boston: Brill, 2003), 249-76 (especially 269-71).

⁵ Elizabeth Lapina, “‘Nec Signis Nec Testis Creditur . . .’: The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade,” *Viator* 38 (2007): 133-8; Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 87-110.

⁶ Yuval Noah Harari, “Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives,” *Crusades*, 3 (2004), 77-99.

⁷ This, at least, is my feeling. There is not to my knowledge any thoroughgoing summary of how medievalists have discussed the binaries of the secular and the sacred. Rather, one may read the historiography of crusade scholarship

of binaries persists. There is certainly a worthy project in tracing the nature of how crusade scholars have organized their sources and the implications this has for modern historiography. Such a project would take into account the conceptual backgrounds that inform the deployment of descriptive terms such as sacred and secular, paying close attention to the conceptual distance (or lack thereof) placed between secular/knightly sources and their religious contemporaries. However, this thesis is more concerned with moving beyond this taxonomic impulse.

By invoking a pervasive modern mentality with the question of religious imagination at its core,⁸ medieval source categorization and genre creation risk obscuring the ways in which texts actually interrelate. The sources for the First Crusades epitomize this mentality: crusade studies retain the pervasive habit of categorizing narratives according to what the writer presumably knew or believed. This approach to encountering texts such as those by Caffaro and attempting to understand his relationship to other crusader writers is essentializing – a blunt instrument of historical interpretation. Rather than imputing pervasive mentalities in the organization of source material (source organization schemes which are frequently the predominant cipher through which medievalists first encounter their materials), the field should gain much through concentrating instead on assessing narrative acts adhering within the structure of texts themselves. Then medievalists may acquire a much more specific understanding of how religious language, rather than modern understandings of religious paradigms, plays a role in interpreting them. Ultimately, by reading First Crusade texts with an eye to their narrative structures, rather than through a hermeneutics of data extraction and categorization, medievalists may avoid the pitfalls inherent in their traditional incorporation into scholarly source literatures.

in light of the modern academy's relationship to sacrality just as much as one could read this same historiography biographically or through intellectual genealogies.

⁸ Kathleen Davis, *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 11-13, 77-102.

Caffaro's texts provide the ideal opportunity for medievalists to reconceive the way in which crusade sources are read, if only for the reason that this author is so troubling to the way crusade authors are usually classified: Caffaro was an eyewitness who was not actually present for much of what he recounted; a member of the landed gentry who became deeply entrenched in the burgeoning urban elite of a maritime republic; a man who made a sacred vow to the cause of the crusade just as he may have sworn on the altar at San Siro when entering into the civic service of his commune.⁹ Rather than taking all of these facts as complicating factors, and leaving Caffaro as an outsider to the crusades, or – perhaps worse – making him some sort of proto-modern civic adjunct to the otherwise very *medieval* event of the First Crusade, an integration of Caffaro into a broader sense of crusade literature calls for a reassessment of that literature and what it can tell historians about the crusades.

Before proceeding on to the argument of this thesis proper, it is necessary to introduce the methodological approach. This thesis essentially proposes a reading of Caffaro that is sensitive to its narrative structure, and consequently its place among other similar intellectual artifacts. After drawing out the implications of this methodology, this section will conclude by proposing an argument for interpreting Caffaro and the historiographical implications of this exercise.

The tools of narratology offer a means through which historians may consider how each document functions as an independent meaning-making device within the context of a textual revolution around the time of the First Crusade. Rather than focusing on what may in fact be the *question mal posée* of how to characterize First Crusade sources, historians may instead begin to approach each document through a shared sense of narrative structure and characteristics.

⁹ Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 2-3; Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill, N.C.; London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 30-1; Chris Wickham, "The Sense of the Past in Italian Communal Narratives," in *The Perception of the Past in 12th Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), 172-6.

Caffaro's writings, hitherto either awkward or impossible to integrate into an older paradigm of classifying source materials, can perhaps be interrogated in a new framework, asking to what extent they may be regarded as part of a larger, textual world around the time of the First Crusade.

A narratological examination of Caffaro's writings reveals the way in which the memorialization of the First Crusade took place within an intertextual and sacral narrative.¹⁰ Narratology is, however, a broad church, encompassing a variety of different approaches. This thesis engages with narratology to the extent that it offers a methodological language through which to discuss the sequence of events depicted within the text and the role of the author within the text. In the language of narratology, this thesis focuses on the role of "order"¹¹ (alternatively referred to as "narrative discourse") and "focalization,"¹² especially as it becomes evident through rhetorical devices indicating some sense of the "implied author."¹³ As the terms will be employed below, order is taken to mean the textual location of events as they are revealed to the reader in the traditional linear experience of narrative; focalization is the position through which readers encounter events, sometimes alternatively referred to as "point of view,"¹⁴ and the implied author is not the actual creator(s) of the text, but the imagined sense of consciousness

¹⁰ "Sacral narrative" is here a term of my own making to refer to the particular and religiously symbolic nature of First Crusade texts as expressed through narrative content/subject, tropes in actors, places, and events, and the structure of narrative devices.

¹¹ Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay on Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), 33-85; H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 16-20, 31-2.

¹² Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 189-94; Abbott, *Introduction to Narrative, Second Edition*, 73-4; Dorritt Cohn, *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), especially Part II.

¹³ Abbott, *Introduction to Narrative, Second Edition*, 84-5; Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 149-68.

¹⁴ Though the nature of focalization and its relationship to "point of view" is hotly disputed, for the purposes of this thesis we can sidestep these methodological debates.

that is constructed and confronted by the reader as he or she experiences the text. None of these narrative devices can be considered in isolation, and the relationship between order and focalization is a key point of interest in this thesis. Simply put, what is the rhetorical and conceptual effect of the implied author emerging at various points in the narrative order? Furthermore what purpose do shifts in focalization serve in making meaning in this narrative? This is, without a doubt, an intentionally confined use of the tools of narratology. For the following examination, these narrative devices have been chosen for the unique way that they interact within the structure of Caffaro's text(s). In some small way they adumbrate, by their usefulness for this close reading of Caffaro, a response to source categorization.

The premise of this thesis, therefore, is that if Caffaro's writings cannot be adequately understood through a historiographical paradigm that typologizes and categorizes texts, then a fuller reading of Caffaro perhaps resides in a consideration of the structure of the text itself. Moreover, such a consideration hints towards the ways that Caffaro's text may be contextualized among other textual structures. There may have been a shared sense of structuring narratives around the time of the First Crusade, creating a common language for memorializing those events. This mutual understanding, adhering within the organizational structures of these works themselves, may be referred to as intertextual – that is, this structure is not indicated by discrete rhetorical or tropological conventions, but exists within the framework of the work itself.¹⁵ Its intertextuality was a series of liminal devices that informed the relationship between text, author, and reader; they transcend allusion, reference, or homage and subsist within the structure of the

¹⁵ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-15, 37-46, 196-207; Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 1-10, 229-246, 384-400; and for a comprehensive overview of post-structuralism, metatextuality, hypertextuality, and paratextuality, see: Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

text as an unconscious or semi-unconscious act on the part of the author.¹⁶ The intertextuality of a text is expressed through its reliance on certain modes of expression that form the primary verbal matrix through which experiences and thoughts are recorded. In the case of crusade intertextuality, the way in which the author fashioned and positioned himself was of crucial importance. It is indicative of what may be called a sacral narrative.

In crusade sources, the nature of authorship and eyewitnessing, informing the reader's encounter with the larger narrative of the text, indicates a specific sort of shared narrative model or perhaps even genre. This is the sacral narrative alluded to above: the memorialization of the First Crusade was structured in relation to an exegetical understanding of the events that Crusade.¹⁷ This was a narrative in so much as it placed material events and experiences within an imaginative framework that allowed for further reflection and internalization,¹⁸ and here it may be described as *sacral* in that it placed these events within "a system of symbols which [acted] to establish powerful, pervasive, and long lasting moods and motivations in [individuals] by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations [seemed] uniquely realistic."¹⁹ This system of symbols was rhetorically borrowed from scripture, and was readily accessible to an audience uniquely familiar with the practice of exegesis. Cumulatively, the sacral narrative is the effect of actively reading and interpreting a First Crusade text, but it is composed of three discrete

¹⁶ Gerald Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology, Revised Edition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 46.

¹⁷ On the medieval sense of the First Crusade being scripturally guided: Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187)* (Aldershot; Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2005); Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God*. (Mahwah, N.J.: Hidden Spring, 2003); for work being done on the medieval exegetics and scriptural narratives of the First Crusade: Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, eds., *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory* (Woodbridge; Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2014); Paul and Yeager, eds., *Remembering the Crusades*.

¹⁸ Abbott, *Introduction to Narrative, Second Edition*, 3-12, 35-7; Monika Fludernik, *An Introduction to Narratology* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009), 1-12.

¹⁹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 90.

elements: first, the content or subject matter of the work itself; second, its deployment of certain tropes throughout the story; and finally, the narratological features that this story used in order to inculcate meaning. Each of these elements existed in layers, and for the historian each requires a more specifically applied form of historical analysis to uncover. The content may be discussed cursorily as it deals only with identifying a work as primarily about the events of the First Crusade, while tropes may only be uncovered through careful identification, elaboration, and comparison. Finally, the narratological features of the text require a close reading. Taken together, they indicate a unique form of narrative that carried with it a call to a particular form of interpretation.

The intertextual nature of this narrative was key, for the narrative perhaps only attained emotional and conceptual force by resting “on the threshold”²⁰ of narrative crystallization – the textual, literary world of the First Crusade was activated through its invitation to interpretation.²¹

The following pages will explore this hypothesis primarily through an analysis of Caffaro’s *The Liberation of the Cities of the East* (*De liberatione civitatum orientis*). Not only will this thesis be concerned with a crusader on the periphery of the historiography, but on a document considered peripheral to the study of Caffaro himself.²² The *De liberatione civitatum orientis* is seemingly a strange later addition to Caffaro’s famous *Annales ianuenses*, a confined narrative concerned solely with Caffaro’s report on the Genoese contribution to the First Crusade that has understandably been overlooked in the historiography of both the First Crusade and

²⁰ Here I am intentionally conflating somewhat the boundaries between intertextuality and paratextuality as they pertain to how medieval peoples encountered narratives.

²¹ An interesting question regarding the extent to which some sources functioned more exegetically than others may be taken up here however, such considerations are outside the scope of this paper.

²² Undertreated especially in: John Dotson, “The Genoese Civic Annals: Caffaro and His Continuator,” in *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds. Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin, and Duane J. Osheim (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 55-86; Wickham, “The Sense of the Past in Italian Communal Narratives.”

Genoa. This brief narrative, with its exaltation of the events in the Holy Land, is difficult to integrate into the traditional story of Caffaro as proto-modern civic chronicler. By reading Caffaro's *De liberatione* with certain tropological and narratological considerations in mind (namely order, focalization, and the implied narrator), and by regarding these considerations as functioning intertextually, historians may suspend for a moment the need to describe his nature as a crusader.²³ The end goal of this reading of Caffaro is the attempt to more properly integrate this fascinating source into the wider scholarly literature on the crusades.

In order to address these issues, the programme of this thesis is as follows: The first section, "Who is Caffaro?," is aimed at elaborating the historical context of the twelfth-century author Caffaro and concluding with a call to pursue Caffaro as he existed within the text as the implied author. The second section, "What is the Text?," is a close reading of portions of the *De liberatione civitatum orientis*, highlighting its specific tropes and narrative exercises in order to make a clear genre-based claim to authority within the metatextual world of other First Crusade accounts. The third section, "What is the Sacral Narrative?," is an exploration of how Caffaro's narrative functioned intertextually with other narratives crafted in the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade. Finally, the conclusion will reflect on the significance of this reading of Caffaro and the implications it has for medieval scholarship.

By arguing for a change in perspective regarding how medievalists approach and relate to First Crusade source materials, this thesis also gestures towards a larger historiographical intervention. If scholars are to take the linguistic turn seriously, regardless of whether or not the

²³ This traditional need to describe the nature of Crusade authors can lead to empty prevarications on the matter, and in failing to answer their own research questions, defeating the point of this setting this research goal in the first place. For example: "First of all, Caffaro was plain in his understanding of the Genoese as committed holy warriors, as well as men of commerce and of civic pride. For him, these three characteristics sat comfortably alongside one another . . . In some ways Caffaro's texts reveal an approach to crusading that is almost identical to that of many contemporary crusade historians across the Frankish West; in other respects he offers us a unique, Mediterranean window on this complex and multi-faceted subject . . ." in Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 40-1.

concerns it has raised have remained current, then medievalists must confront sources with an eye towards reconceiving their organization and not just their isolated interpretations. In doing so, medievalists may discover a way to regard larger historical models intertextually as well. Rather than avoid or limit the implications of the linguistic turn, this thesis will hopefully gesture towards not only its application for one set of First Crusade sources, but towards a way of complicating the way in which medieval sources in general are categorized and encountered by scholars.

CHAPTER 2: WHO IS CAFFARO?

Caffaro di Rustico da Caschifellone was around twenty years old when he arrived in the Holy Land during the summer of 1100.²⁴ The sizeable Genoese fleet that Caffaro found himself in was tasked with the capture of as many ports and fortified harbors as possible and later that year took part in the siege and conquest of Caesarea on the Levantine coast. This was likely the third group of seafaring Ligurian warriors to arrive in the East, the first and second having departed Genoa in 1097 and 1099 respectively. Whatever the size and legal status of these first fleets, Caffaro's fleet can only be described as a true expeditionary force, dispatched to the Holy Land for the collective good of the commune and equipped for a long campaign. The young Caffaro, lord of the hill town of Caschifellone, was not in supreme command, but likely fought and travelled with this fleet for the duration of their operations until late 1101. In that same year, Caffaro completed the same sort of pilgrimage vow that had originally inspired so many men and women in 1095 and 1096 – to see Jerusalem and worship there.²⁵ This thesis is not, however, concerned with the specifics or even truth or falsehood of Caffaro's alleged actions in the Levant from 1100 to 1101. What is of greater concern, if less dramatic, are the events of Caffaro's life beginning in 1155.

²⁴ For Caffaro's biography see: R.D. Face, "Secular History in Twelfth-Century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa," *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980), 169-84; Elena Bellomo, *A servizio di Dio e del Santo Sepolcro: Caffaro e l'Oriente latino* (Padua: CLEUP, 2003); Wickham, "The Sense of the Past in Italian Communal Narratives," 172-6.

²⁵ Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 2; Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, 30-1.

It was around this year that Caffaro wrote the *De liberatione civitatum orientis*. Possibly intended as part of a formal letter or set of requests to bring Pope Adrian IV around to the Genoese side in arguing for their rights in the Levant,²⁶ this document was later appended to the *Annales ianuenses* by a subsequent chronicler of Genoa, Iacopo Doria.²⁷ By 1155, Caffaro had already served his commune as a diplomat to both the pope in Rome (1121 and 1123) and to the emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1154), as a military leader and admiral, a judge of pleas, and as an elected consul – an honor he earned six times over. In this time he travelled widely across the Mediterranean world, conducting embassies and military campaigns in places such as Barcelona, Minorca, Rome, and Tuscany. By the close of 1155, however, he had for the most part retreated from acting in an official capacity for the commune (with the notable exception of an embassy to Barbarossa in 1158) and had devoted himself to the composition of the *Annales ianuenses* and other works lauding the city of Genoa. He first presented the *Annales ianuenses* to the consuls of Genoa in 1152, avowing therein that they were a record of events that he had been keeping since 1101.²⁸ The *De liberatione civitatum orientis* served as adjunct to this, and regardless of the possible motivations for its creation, it was clearly the product of an elder statesman who had dedicated his life to city of Genoa (or perhaps only in so much as the text constructed by Caffaro would lead its readers to believe).²⁹

By the time of Caffaro's death in 1166, Genoa was arguably an ascendant power in the Western Mediterranean. Newly victorious in wars against its archrival Pisa, and deeply invested in Levantine trade through the connections they had secured earlier in the twelfth century, this

²⁶ Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 29.

²⁷ Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 107.

²⁸ Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 78-9.

²⁹ Face, "Secular History in Twelfth-Century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa," 172-6.

nascent urban community set between the sea and the steep hills of Liguria was sending her native sons and daughters across the sea to wage both war and trade. It would not be until later that the phrase *Genuesis, ergo mercator*³⁰ would become readily recognizable across the Mediterranean world, but the Genoese could be found everywhere – from scaling the walls of Jerusalem to capturing ships and cities on the Levantine coast; from building siege engines outside the city of Tortosa in Catalonia to raiding the coasts of North Africa and Sicily. And in the courts of both emperors and popes, the Genoese people were making a name for themselves and their little city that they referred to legally as a commune. By the middle of the twelfth century this group of Italian seafarers had gone from a group of opportunistic raiders, fisherman, tradesmen, and shepherds to a community that had the ambition to involve themselves with both Byzantine and Western emperors.³¹

Yet the Genoese were just one group amongst many that found their world vastly broadened by the advent of the crusades. The victory of the crusaders in the east in 1099 was a momentous event not only for its religio-cultural significance, but also for the fact that the societies of Latin Christendom were brought into radically closer contact with the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Principality of Antioch, and the Counties of Edessa and Tripoli were the inheritors to a historical moment that deepened the bonds of interest between Latin Christendom and the East.³² By necessity, the communities of the Franks

³⁰ “A Genoese, therefore a merchant.”

³¹ Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, 40-53; Epstein is currently the only English-language authority for the history of eleventh- and twelfth-century Genoa summarized above. Recently a study on rural and early medieval Genoa and its environs has been published, but there is clearly still much to be done regarding the history of the Genoese in the immediate aftermath of the founding of their commune. See Ross Balzaretto, *Dark Age Liguria: Regional Identity and Local Power, 400-1050* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

³² See especially: Benjamin Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, R.C. Smail, eds., *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem: Presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982).

of Outremer were bound to other communities of Latin Christians far across the sea; they depended on the West for the simple logistics of supplies and manpower, but were also linked through interpersonal networks stretching back to Europe. Even leaving aside the explosion in pilgrim traffic to the Levant in these years, other seasonal visitors such as merchants and raiders abounded. In peoples, goods, and ideas, the involvement with the world of the post-First Crusade Mediterranean was breathtakingly different.³³ Meanwhile, in Europe, writers from a variety of different communities responded to the strange and miraculous events through an outpouring of literary activity. These authors all endeavored to make sense of the events of the First Crusade, elaborating its significance and meaning through the careful reporting and framing of its events. They crafted narratives uniquely or substantially dedicated to the story of crusaders and their deeds done beyond the seas. These texts were not crafted in isolation, but were part of a shared textual world of passing manuscripts, fragments, copies and oral reports. The events of the First Crusade, to the extent that they are known to modern historians, have been primarily described through historical analysis of these documents.³⁴

Caffaro, as he may be understood through his text, can perhaps best be analyzed in light of these other texts. All the above information setting Caffaro in the era of the crusades and their immediate aftermath has been based on a particular reading of the sources that may be described as positivistic. By regarding medieval documents produced by and about Caffaro as transparent or somehow passively recording the events they attest to, historians have reconstructed the twelfth

³³ Barber, *The Crusader States*, 1-4, 65-121; Jonathan Philips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 1-17; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (New York: Continuum, 2005), 50-111; Prager, *The Crusaders' Kingdom*, 34-60, 352-54; Tyerman, *God's War*, 167-211.

³⁴ See Jean Flori, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes: Introduction critique aux sources de la Première croisade* (Genève: Droz, 2010); Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, eds., *Writing the early Crusades*.

century Caffaro.³⁵ Therefore, rather than make some effort to further contextualize the historical Caffaro³⁶ and place him within the current historiography of crusades studies, this thesis will not be focusing on the flesh-and-blood Caffaro of the twelfth century. Instead, what follows is an analysis of Caffaro as he is narratively constructed and inferred within the text – that is, not the author himself, but the implied author. The once-living author Caffaro has been set aside for this project in order to pursue the implied author as he was constructed as a set of rhetorical effects within the *De liberatione civitatum orientis*. The reason for this is that the implied author, especially as he is revealed through the practice of focalization, is essential for understanding the intertextuality of the text at hand.³⁷ By momentarily abandoning the search for real Caffaro, and instead pursuing his textual phantom as he chose to project (or perhaps merely as much as readers may summon him), a fuller understanding of the place this text held in the wider world of crusade literature may be achieved.

³⁵ For a more robust stance regarding the linguistic turn, which seems to propose that the social logic/function of texts is only recoverable as far as its internal elements are concerned and that no attempt to fully elaborate historical context may ever be successful, see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), especially chapter 6.

³⁶ And setting aside the sleight of hand used to present this individual as radically extracted from his texts and somehow knowable outside of them.

³⁷ For the narratological device of the “narrator” and its relationship to authorship see: Abbott, *Introduction to Narrative, Second Edition*, 68-77; Paul Cobley, *Narrative* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 1-12; Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 149-68; Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative, Third Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 18-29.

CHAPTER 3:

WHAT IS THE TEXT?

This section marks the beginning of a close reading of Caffaro's the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* proper. The bulk of the analysis which follows remains close to the *De liberatione civitatum orientis*, and cross-textual analysis and arguments regarding intertextuality have been suspended until the section marked, "What is the Sacral Narrative?". Instead, this section seeks to answer the question "what is the text?" through a tripartite sensitivity to Caffaro's work. By examining the subject matter of the work, its narratological structure, and its meaningful events and narrative episodes, it should become clear that this text can be more fully elaborated when these considerations are put in dialogue with other First Crusade sources.

The subject of Caffaro's *De liberatione civitatum orientis* is plainly a First Crusade narrative. From the outset, Caffaro makes his purposes clear to his readers: "Since almost everything which has been done or has existed on earth since the world began has been written down and expounded by learned and knowledgeable men, it seems worthwhile and useful that the truth be known by means of this written account now before you by Caffaro, of how and when the cities of Jerusalem and Antioch, together with other cities and coastal towns in the east, were freed from servitude to the Turks and Saracens."³⁸ The explicit subject of the text perhaps

³⁸ Latin: Caffarus, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, Luigi Tomasso Belgrano, Vol. 11 (Genova: Sordo-Muti, 1890), 99. Hereafter: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*: "Cum ab origine mundi omnia fere que in orbe facta sunt vero fuerunt, per doctores et sapientes scripta sunt et narrantur, ideoque bonum et utile esse videtur, quo modo et quo tempore Iherosolitana ciuitas et Antiocena, una cum ceteris orientalibus civitatibus et maritimis locis, a

hints towards its purposes, as Caffaro frames the narrative from the outset as concerned with a particular, confined set of events – “how and when the cities of Jerusalem and Antioch, together with other cities and coastal towns in the east, were freed from servitude to the Turks and Saracens.”

In considering the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* narratologically, and locating Caffaro-as-implied-author within, three essential questions emerge: first, to what extent is the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* a wholly linear and uncomplicated First Crusade summary wherein the speaking voice of Caffaro remains entirely subsumed; second, how can one characterize the order of the narrative as it follows a regular chronological sequence until the midpoint of the text where there begins a more explicit recounting of the Genoese contributions post 1100; and finally, what does it mean that this breakdown in narrative order occurred at the same place where the author reasserts himself in the text and goes on to claim eyewitness status? As Caffaro wrote, “And Caffaro who is dictating this account, was there and was an eyewitness” (*et Caffarus, qui hoc narrat, interfuit et vidit*).³⁹ Although, this clause of Caffaro is perhaps more accurately translated as: “And Caffaro, who narrates this [account], was present and he saw [these things].” Additionally, although this question perhaps cannot be answered immediately, what is the combined effect of Caffaro’s narrative for his readers? To help guide this question, it may here be posited that Caffaro’s text, crafted in the middle part of the twelfth century, was a response to a certain form of established crusade-writing strategies. The *De liberatione civitatum orientis* was a text that engaged with an increasingly established sacral narrative for the First Crusade and then wrote the Genoese into it. This “writing-in” is signaled through the rhetorically

servitute Turchorum et Sarracenorum liberate fuerunt, ut per praesentem scripturam *Caphari* veritas cognoscatur” [emphasis added]. Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 107.

³⁹ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 121. Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 122.

significant act of the implied author being wrapped up in the authoritative claims of eyewitness status.

The text of the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* itself begins with a brief introduction with the narrator of the text clearly revealed. Once again, the first line of Caffaro: “Since almost everything which has been done or has existed on earth since the world began has been written down and expounded by learned and knowledgeable men, it seems worthwhile and useful that the truth be known by means of this written account now before you *by Caffaro*, of how and when the cities of Jerusalem and Antioch, together with other cities and coastal towns in the east, were freed from servitude to the Turks and Saracens” [emphasis added].⁴⁰ This bears repeating if only to draw attention to the role of the implied author as immediately stated by Caffaro. As readers, individuals encountering texts are obliged to do so linearly. Therefore it is crucial to note that the first impression a reader would receive of Caffaro-as-implied-author, and implicitly the attitudes of the text, is in the context of both veteran and witness.

From this point onwards, the author’s positioning has subtly inflected the text. All events following the introduction within this narrative would naturally be taken by readers as described by Caffaro. The audiences would therefore be receiving the events described within the text as reported through the narrator’s point of view; the reader is to understand the narrative as related through a specific, named individual. Although much of the text is written from the third-person omniscient standpoint,⁴¹ the speaker remains the center of focalization for this text. All the events described are thus implicitly from the point of view of the author (by his own

⁴⁰ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 99.” Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 107.

⁴¹ For example, in the line immediately following the ones quoted above, Caffaro writes: “Let it therefore be clear to all men now living and yet to come . . .” Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 99: “Pateat ergo universitati virorum presentium et futurorum.” Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 107. Moreover, throughout the narrative concerning the Franks, Caffaro conjugates his finite verbs in the third person plural, thereby describing for his readers the events of First Crusade.

words), although, as noted above, Caffaro did not arrive in the Holy Land until 1100. The subsequent events of this narrative, however, take place between 1095 and 1101. The immediate suspicion on the part of modern readers attempting to make sense of this narrative may perhaps be that the author Caffaro is lying through omission – that by focalizing events through himself while not actually being present for the events which he describes, he is undertaking a sort of rhetorical sleight of hand. He is subtly claiming undeserved authorial authority. Yet later on in the narrative the first-person Caffaro reappears, reiterated with significance at a crucial turning point in the narrative structure.

After this single-sentence introduction, the narrative is first structured around a brief recounting of the First Crusade. Interestingly, the narrative begins by describing a pilgrimage by Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders. After receiving great pains and offence from the occupying Muslims, Godfrey and Robert arrive in Jerusalem only to suffer greater indignities. “When they [the pilgrims] wanted to pass through the gate to visit the Sepulchre of our Lord, the gatekeepers immediately blocked their entry until each of them paid one bezant . . . but Duke Godfrey . . . did not give a bezant as quickly as the others . . . One of the gatekeepers gave the duke a heavy punch on the neck.”⁴² Robert and Godfrey then meet at Saint-Gilles and join with Raymond to form a plan to retake the Holy Sepulchre. As Caffaro writes: “They formed a plan along these lines, that they would gather on the forthcoming Day of the Annunciation at Le Puy, and make proposals and firm commitments on what action they would take in performing their duty to God.”⁴³

⁴² Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 108.

⁴³ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 100: “Unum tale posuerunt consilium, ut veniente die sanctae Mariae ad Podium convenirent, ibique de servito Dei quid facturi essent ponerent et fimarent.” Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 108.

An anecdote is also supplied regarding a man named Bartholomew who received a visitation from the archangel Gabriel. As Caffaro wrote, “It happened during the night of the third day that the Angel Gabriel came in a dream to one of the 12 [men who were staying in the church of the Virgin at Le Puy], named Bartholomew, and said: ‘Bartholomew, arise!’ He said, ‘What are you, lord?’ ‘I am the angel of the Lord and the Lord’s wish is that His Sepulchre be freed from servitude to the Saracens; so receive this cross on your right shoulder.’”⁴⁴

Without belaboring the point in detailing these episodes, these initial events at the beginning of the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* are somewhat unique among crusade sources. Neither the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers, nor Fulcher of Chartres record the two aforementioned episodes in their accounts of the prelude to the crusade. Caffaro shares this episode solely with Albert of Aachen, a second-generation crusade chronicler and not an “eyewitness” in the same sense as the three just mentioned.⁴⁵ Although the point that Caffaro’s narrative was informed by a wider context of crusade literature should not be taken lightly, it should also be borne in mind that Caffaro’s account was in some ways unique. Narrative conventions serve as a framework for describing the world but do not obligate the creators of texts to create bland copies – the intertextuality of Caffaro’s account did not make it formulaic or necessitate any part of its creation, but rather functioned to enrich its meaning and attenuate its expression. This aside on Caffaro’s handling of the story of the origins of the First Crusade should not be taken as beginning a comparative analysis between crusade texts. Instead, this

⁴⁴ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 100: “Accidit in nocte diei tercii, quod angelus Gabriel ad unum de duodecim, Bertheolomeum nomine, in sopnium venit et dixit: *Bertholomee, surge*. Et ipse: *quid es in domine? Angelus Domini sum, et voluntas Domini est ut sepulcrum eius a servitute Saracenorum deliberetur; quare accipe crucem in dextro humero . . .*” Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 109.

⁴⁵ As this analysis is focused on considering Caffaro in light of other First Crusade “eyewitnesses,” there is not the time for what may be an otherwise fruitful consideration of the affinities and differences between Caffaro and Albert in depicting the same episode.

episode has been mentioned in so far as its uniqueness serves as a necessary caveat to the implication that crusade sources must have necessarily shared conventions or copied content from each other whole cloth.

After these initial events of the origins of the crusade, and until the taking of Jerusalem, the narrative goes through an intensely familiar (one might even say standard) account of the First Crusade: a list of crusade participants is given and the march begins, Nicaea is taken, Antioch is besieged and at length taken, Kerbogha arrives, the Holy Lance is found, Kerbogha is defeated, and finally Jerusalem is besieged and taken.⁴⁶ In this accounting of the First Crusade, however, as standard as it may appear at first, the deeds of the Genoese have been woven throughout the narrative.

For example, the Genoese have their own Le Puy recruitment moment in miniature outside their landmark church of San Siro where they make their own oaths to join the crusade;⁴⁷ a group of Genoese warriors camped outside of Antioch are counted among the brave martyrs who fell near the banks of the Orontes;⁴⁸ and the valor of the Genoese Embriaco brothers and their role in the taking of Jerusalem are recounted.⁴⁹ The standard account of the First Crusade ends here, but the narrative progresses with a linear chronological order through detailing the exploits of the various crusade leaders (and whether or not they remained in or departed from the Holy Land), the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the response of the Genoese to a request for maritime aid in the newly occupied territories of the crusader states.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 109-117.

⁴⁷ Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation.*, 110.

⁴⁸ Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation.*, 111.

⁴⁹ Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation.*, 116-17.

⁵⁰ Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 117-18.

They, Caffaro perhaps unrealistically notes, “cast aside the wars and feuds which were current amongst them, to such a degree that they had been in a state of disharmony and without consuls for a year and a half.”⁵¹ The narrative order here occurs entirely in linear time, with each event proceeding in the narrative from another as it would have in real time.⁵²

At this point in the narrative, however, there is a digression into a geographical survey of the Holy Land. Caffaro’s diversion to describe places and distances occurs outside of narrative time, and represents a radical break in the smooth sense of chronological order established by the preceding narrative. Signaling this odd digression outside of the established story-time of the text, the narrator also suddenly reappears: “After the capture of Antioch, the Franks performed all the deeds as recorded in the foregoing narrative by Caffaro. Because the names of maritime cities and towns from Antioch to Jaffa and Ascalon are not recorded, we need to rely on the memory of Caffaro for their names, the distances in miles from one city to another, and [for details of] who captured them and when.”⁵³

It is noteworthy that the section ends with the following summation: “These mileages are recorded on Caffaro’s authority, since Caffaro frequently marched by land and sailed by sea to Jaffa from Antioch, and, we are told, Caffaro explained that his estimation is of this order, on the

⁵¹ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 111: “. . . illico guerras et discordias quas infra se habebant, ita quidem quod per annum et dimidium sine consulatu et Concordia steterant . . .” Translation Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 117.

⁵² This, of course, does not take into consideration the narratological principle of “duration.” See: Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology, Revised Edition*, 24.

⁵³ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 112: “Antiocha capta principes Francorum omnia peregerunt, sicuti in preterita scriptura Cafari scriptum est. At quia nomina civitatum et locorum, que sunt iuxta mare, ab Antiocha usque ad Iopem et ad Scalonam scripta non sunt, necesse est nomina et miliaria quot sunt ad una civitate ad alteram, et a quibus capte et quo tempore per memoriam Cafari notificentur.” Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 118.

basis of his own calculations of all these distances.”⁵⁴ The earlier narrative order is then briefly restored with a section beginning, “However disparate the dates might have been when the foregoing cities were captured, let the sequence begin with the earliest captures.”⁵⁵

This break in order within the narrative can best be explained in relation to the position of the narrator and the relationship between the order of the text and the intertextual world that informed its reading and articulation.⁵⁶ The disjunction of narrative order occurs immediately prior to a recounting of the Genoese contributions to the capture of the eastern cities. The section immediately following the geographical information offered by Caffaro does not weave the Genoese participation into a series of events that exist outside of them, but rather is focused entirely on the actions of the Genoese. The linear order is perhaps abandoned here because Caffaro has gone off-script, leaving the established set of narrative conventions offered by other crusader memorializations in order to add to it. Still, Caffaro remained indebted to the rhetorical conventions for making sense of events occurring in the Holy Land, as he writes in the last instance where he places himself into the text again as a narrator: “Caffaro, who is dictating this account, was there and was an eyewitness” (*et Caffarus, qui hoc narrat, interfuit et vidit*).⁵⁷

What exactly Caffaro is claiming to witness through the structure of his narrative is a particular set of collective experiences among the Genoese. Through the fashioning of these experiences into a diachronic narrative, Caffaro was able to memorialize the Genoese within a

⁵⁴ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 116: “Predictae namque miliaria per arbitrium Cafari scripta sunt; quoniam Cafarus ab Antiocha usque ad Iopem sepe et sepe per terram militavit et per mare navigavit, et suum tale arbitrium per se cogitando, tot miliaria ut dictum est, esse narravit.” Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 120.

⁵⁵ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 117: “Alie vero predictae civitates, quamvis diversis temporibus capte fuissent, tamen a primis captionibus ordo incipiatur.” Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 120.

⁵⁶ Barring, of course, textual corruption or later interpolation, which is highly unlikely; see Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 118 n. 52.

⁵⁷ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 121. Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 122.

particular metanarrative on the First Crusade. This was accomplished tropologically, signaling narrative similarity through the deployment of rhetorically significant episodes. The discussion of tropes has been delayed until this point in the analysis because they, more overtly than the narrative structure of the text, hint towards the meaning of the narrative intertextually. For this project, the two tropes which are most important are, first, the association of the subjects of the narrative with the deeds of the Franks (understood as the crusaders proper); and second, the role of the phenomenally miraculous in pointing towards a grander noumenal lesson.

In the first case, the association of the experiences of the Genoese with those of the Franks, this has been mentioned above in the way in which Caffaro's narrative neatly divides its focus between the deeds of the Franks until 1100 and the role of the Genoese afterward. Additionally, key episodes at Antioch serve to highlight the association between Frank and Genoese. From the outset, the Genoese call to crusade at San Siro invited the Genoese to join with the sacred drama as enacted by the Franks. Caffaro writes: "They [the bishops and legates of the pope] urged them [the Genoese] to go to the eastern lands with galleys, on the journey to open the way to the Lord's Sepulchre, and to stand boldly and fight in partnership with the nobles I have mentioned."⁵⁸ On the arrival of Genoese reinforcements outside the siege of Antioch, Caffaro writes: "They [the Genoese] pitched their tents alongside those of the leaders and bravely did daily battle at the city gate with the Saracens from the city, shoulder to shoulder with the knights and foot-soldiers of the Franks."⁵⁹ Also, during the siege of Jerusalem, at the arrival of the heroic Embriaco brothers, Caffaro writes: "The Christians were delighted at the

⁵⁸ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 101-2: "Ita quidem ut ad deliberandam viam sepulcri Domini cum galeis aorientales partes irent, et in societate predictorum principium viriliter starent et pugnarent." Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 110.

⁵⁹ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 103: "Et iuxta tentoria principum sua posuerunt, et cotidie insimul cum militibus et peditibus Francorum cum Sarracenis de civitate ad protam civitatis viriliter preliabantur." Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 111.

arrival of the Genoese, and received them with due honours.”⁶⁰ The Genoese experiences here are made relevant through their association with those of the Franks. In fact, until the completion of the Frankish metanarrative in 1099 with the capture of Jerusalem, it could be posited that the Genoese experiences were integrally linked those of the Franks.

Second, the Genoese witness their fair share of miracles, observing God’s beneficence bestowed both on the Franks and on themselves. As mentioned above, part of Caffaro’s essential background for the crusade is the appearance of an angel of the Lord to Bartholomew. Moreover, the Genoese dead outside of Antioch are described in terms of martyrdom: “And ahead of the others who started down the road to the Sepulchre, they assumed the crown of martyrdom first, and the angels placed them as God’s martyrs on their heavenly thrones as companions to the Maccabees.”⁶¹ Also outside of Antioch, Caffaro writes on the Genoese witnessing the angelic hordes descending on the crusaders’ enemies: “They could see that they were to the rear of the Turks, and looking around they saw a host of armed knights with white armour and many white standards come down from higher up. It is [still] said and was said of them [at the time] that they were angels of the Lord . . .”⁶² Perhaps most striking of all, however, is that after the capture of Jerusalem and the close of the metanarrative of the First Crusade, Caffaro records yet another miracle. Behind the locked gates of Tripoli on the eve of the conquest of Tartus, the Genoese received a miracle explicitly calling them to fight and delivering their enemies into their hands.

⁶⁰ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 110: “Christiani vel de adventu Ianuensium multum laetantes, honorifice eos susceperunt.” Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 116.

⁶¹ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 103: “Qui ante quam alii qui viam sepulcri inceperant prius coronam martirii susceperunt, et uti martires Dei in coelesti sede illos angeli Machabeorum socio posuerunt.” Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 111.

⁶² Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 109: “Et cum ad sumitatem spacii fuerunt, et post terga Tuchorum se esse videtur, et prospicientes multos milits armatos de albis armis et cum multis signis albis desuper venire viderunt, de quibus dicitur et dictum fuit quod angeli Domini fuerunt.” Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 115.

Caffaro writes: “However it happened one night that the grace of God, who does not abandon those who place their hope in Him, revealed a miracle to the Christians [the Genoese], with the bells pealing spontaneously, and the gates of the city opening by themselves, with the result that the Christians believed that traitors had done this. But once they realized it had been a divine miracle, all the Christians in the city immediately streamed outside to do battle. They wounded and slaughtered the Saracens and strewed the plain with the dead all the way to Tripoli.”⁶³

By associating the experiences of the Genoese with those of the Franks, and by claiming the Genoese were both witnesses to and recipients of divine intervention, Caffaro was engaging in a tropological exercise whereby he could memorialize the Genoese within both the phenomenal (literal) and noumenal (spiritual) metanarratives of the First Crusade. Even as his ability to fluidly deploy the Genoese narrative in cohesive and internally consistent terms displays some fissures on the level of narrative structure (order), his deployment of certain tropes puts it into dialogue with other crusade texts.

The structure of the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* reveals the way in which one set of narrative conventions and a certain script or metanarrative could be used by a twelfth century author in order to elaborate new events and experiences contextually. The inner workings of the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* reveal a certain uneasiness, as the author struggles to articulate both his personal experiences and the imagined-collective experiences of the Genoese within the structure of a pre-existing narrative. Returning momentarily to the living Caffaro who authored the text, the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* represents a clear attempt at this new sort of

⁶³ Latin: Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 119: “Accidit tamen nocte una virtus Dei, qui non derelinquit sperantes in se, tale miraculum Christianis ostendens, quod campane per se sonaverunt, et porte civitatis per semet ipsas aperte fuerunt; ita quod Christiani hoc proditores decisse crediderunt. Sed postquam miraculum Dei fuisse cognoverunt, omnes illico Christiani qui in civitate erant ad bellum de foris exierunt, et vulnerando interficiendo usque ad Tripolim Sarracenos mortuos in campo relinquerunt.” Translation: Caffaro, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 121.

writing. His utilization of a First Crusade narrative structure to expressly memorialize the Genoese indicates if anything the power and attractiveness of this framework.

The claims to eyewitnessing and the tacit status of implied author as witness serve a threefold purpose: they make a claim to the authority of the text; they indicate an epistemological stance regarding the nature of the information reported; and they function as a trope that invites the reader to an intertextual reading of First Crusade texts.⁶⁴ This intertextual framework of shared tropes, signposted by the claim to witnessing and signaled by the author's disjuncture in order, may be best referred to as a metanarrative. The metanarrative that Caffaro was seeking to write himself and Genoa into, and what has been described above as sacral and existing intertextuality, can be revealed by considering the traits of Caffaro's narrative in contrast to other First Crusade "eyewitness" narratives.

⁶⁴ The first two of these points are discussed well in: Lapina, " 'Nec Signis Nec Testis Creditur . . .', 117-121.

CHAPTER 4:

WHAT IS THE SACRAL NARRATIVE?

The following comparative analysis seeks to put Caffaro into conversation with other “eyewitnesses” to the First Crusade as they have been traditionally construed. Although when writing the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* Caffaro was perhaps more contemporary with later, second order crusade writers, Caffaro sought to establish for himself authorial status as an eyewitness. Temporally, he may belong with the latter group, but conceptually there is more to be gained from putting him into conversation with earlier sources. Caffaro is perhaps best understood as having crafted a text that made the same sort of exegetical eyewitnessing claims as the first generation of crusade writers and deployed the same sort of narrative tropes. This section will engage primarily with the epistemological fixtures linking Caffaro to other First Crusade writers.

The defining conceptual features of the First Crusade metanarrative, at least as they were employed in the construction of the *De liberatione civitatum orientis*, were twofold: first, a special emphasis placed on the rhetorical device of eyewitnessing; and second, the invitational nature of the text itself. Texts such as the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* gained their full narrative force from being read within a growing canon of other sources that sought to memorialize the First Crusade. Furthermore, both of these traits may be understood through the lens of sacrality – that is, twelfth century readers would have understood these texts exegetically

as bound up in a matrix of other texts inculcating religious truths that could only be unlocked through particular reading practices.⁶⁵

Caffaro's *eyewitnessing* was not merely a means of claiming authority within the structure of his own text, but a tropological exercise within the genre of crusade-writing. When Caffaro wrote that he "*interfuit et vidit*,"⁶⁶ he was participating in the same conventions that led Fulcher of Chartres to write, "I have recorded in my unpolished style, as truthfully as possible, what is worth remembering and what I saw with my own eyes on that journey."⁶⁷ The events of the First Crusade from the first half of Caffaro's narrative had already been memorialized by First Crusade participants such as Fulcher, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers, and Peter Tudebode. The curious change in narrative ordering that can be seen clearly in *De liberatione civitatum orientis* reflects the author departing from the metanarrative of the First Crusade participants as he struggles to insert Genoa into its narrative structure.

Early First Crusade works produced in the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade created a sacred narrative schema for the miraculous events of 1095 to 1099. Crusade participant authors such as Peter Tudebode, Fulcher of Chartres, and Raymond of Aguilers helped to establish a certain form of crusade text reinforced through the narrative device of claiming eyewitness status. Textual expressions were shaped by the forms of literary convention as stories

⁶⁵ Here I do not mean to suggest that the exegetical interpretation would have been the only form of intertextual reading available to a medieval individual encountering these texts. However, for the purposes of characterizing one of the most salient ways in which texts functioned intertextually in the twelfth century, exegetics is a useful framework through which to approach these texts.

⁶⁶ Belgrano, *Annali genovesi*, 121.

⁶⁷ Latin: Fulcherio Carnotensi in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens Occidentaux, Tome Troisième* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1866), 319: "Stilo rusticano, tamen viraci, dignum ducens memoriae commendandum, prout valui et oculis meis in ipso itinere perspexi, diligenter digessi." Translation: Fulcher of Chartres, *The First Crusade, Second Edition*, edited by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 48.

became comprehensible through narrative;⁶⁸ the textual forms of crusade memories as they were first articulated by eyewitnesses and then soon after by writers such as Albert of Aachen and Robert the Monk, became programmatic. The act of committing these collective memories to writing therefore necessitated the use of older narrative conventions and arguably the creation of new ones.⁶⁹ By the time Caffaro was writing his *De liberatione civitatum orientis*, there was therefore a particular form for writing on the events of 1095 to 1099.

The earliest surviving narrative of the First Crusade is the anonymously authored *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*. The author never names himself in this account, and frequently refrains from using “I” statements, let alone making any comments on the text that would indicate a sense of narrative consciousness; there is little in the way of claiming authority, direct presence in the narrative, or even some sense of consciously composing the narrative through directly addressing the reader. However, one of the most notable places where the anonymous author comments on his texts reads as follows: “I can not enumerate all the things which we did before the city was captured, because there is no one in these regions, whether cleric or layman, who can at all write or tell just how things happened. Nevertheless, I will say a little.”⁷⁰

Peter Tudebode in his *Historia de Hierosoloymitano Itinere*, much like the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, was sparing in his use of self-reference. Throughout much of his account, he remains a passive observer, rarely commenting on the nature of the information he is presenting or his role as an eyewitness. However, after the fall of Jerusalem, reporting on the

⁶⁸ Although not directly related to exegesis of the First Crusade per se, see M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307, Third Edition* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 262-300.

⁶⁹ This broad point regarding twelfth-century Latin literati was drawn from Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), especially chapter 7.

⁷⁰ Krey, *The First Crusade*, 173.

celebrations at its capture, he writes: “This was believed by him who first wrote this, since he was in the procession and saw it with his worldly eyes – namely, Peter Tudebode.”⁷¹ It is worth noting Peter Tudebode’s assertion that he witnesses with “worldly eyes” (*oculis carnalibus*). The capture of Jerusalem was a theologically complex event, as the earthly city was subdued by force of arms even as the heavenly city (which in turn was prefigured by its earthly counterpart) was spiritually reclaimed.⁷² Witnessing the capture of Holy Jerusalem with “worldly eyes” is a tacit assertion of witnessing the miraculous. Tudebode was essentially claiming that he was privy to witnessing the phenomenal half of the physically and metaphysically significant events of 1099.

Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers are noteworthy for their frequency of self identification compared to the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode. Not only do both rely on frequent “I” statements, with their respective texts replete with “ego Fulcherus” and “ego Raimundus,” both make clear some sense of consciousness as narrators within the text. Much like the passages quoted above, these texts rely on establishing the implied author as eyewitness as an essential trope.

In addition to the passage from Fulcher quotes above, there is one instance where he claims eyewitness that is relevant here. Fulcher writes: “I, Fulcher of Chartres, who went with the other pilgrims, afterwards diligently and carefully collected all this in my memory for the sake of posterity just as I saw it with my own eyes.”⁷³ Here the act of collection into memory for

⁷¹ Translation: Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosoloymitano Itinere*, trans. J.H. Hill and L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974), 61; quoted from Lapina, “ ‘Nec Signis Nec Testis Creditur . . .’ , 133; Latin: Petri Tudebodi seu Tudebovis in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens Occidentaux, Tome Troisième* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1866), 106: “Credendus est qui primus hoc scripsit, quia in processione fuit et oculis carnalibus vidit, videlicet Petrus Tudebovis Sivracensis.”

⁷² Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 21-34.

⁷³ Fulcher, *RHC Occ.* Vol. 3, 327: “Ego Fulcherus Carnotensis cum ceteris iens peregrinis, postea sicut oculis meis perspexi diligenter et sollicite in memoriam posteris collegi.”

the sake of posterity is perhaps spiritually significant. In the act of remembering, Fulcher must by necessity discard certain memories and more fully reconstruct others. Those ones that he chose to reconstruct may have had spiritual resonances that demanded expression and elaboration for the sake of “posterity.”

For Raymond of Aguilers, his form of eyewitnessing is incumbent upon his very soul as a matter of salvation.⁷⁴ Not only did Raymond claim that he was under threat of eternal damnation should he outright lie or commit untruths, but also if he failed as a witness he could be consigned to the vault of fire anyway. This is perhaps why Raymond spent so much of his narrative on the discovery of the Lance and the prophesying of Peter Bartholomew: the importance of eyewitnessing here was likely not out of some sense of skeptical incredulousness, but rather an acute spiritual need to absorb as much as possible from the spiritual meanings of the events he claims to have witnessed. His rhetorical earnestness in this regard may even carry over mimetically to his reader, calling upon the reader as witness to his imaginative reconstructions to also strive to comprehend as much as possible from the narrative.

Claiming eyewitness status had deep resonances within the scriptural tradition of relating to and understanding texts in Latin Christendom.⁷⁵ Claiming to witness the events of the First Crusade was more than claiming to have been present at various battles and embassies. It was to imply to the reader a certain form of spiritual authority, that is, that one had attained some personal understanding of the miraculous and the noumenal. If the events of the First Crusade

⁷⁴ Raymond of Aguilers, *Le “Liber” de Raymond Aguilers*, ed. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris: L’Académie Des Inscriptions Et Belles-Lettres, 1969), 107-9: “Oro igitur et obsecro omnis qui hec audituri sunt, ut credant hec ita fuisse. Quid si quicumque ego preter credita et visa studio, vel odio alicuius aposui, aponat michi Deus omnes plagas inferni, et delect me de libro vite. Etenim licet ut plurima ignorem, hoc unum scio quia cum promotes ad sacerdotium in itinere Dei sim, magis debeo obedire Deo testificando veritatem, quam in texendo mendatia, alicuius muneris captare dispendia.”

⁷⁵ Lapina, “‘Nec Signis Nec Testis Creditur . . .’, 119-21; Allison A. Trites, *The New Testament Concept of Witness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), especially chapters 9 and 10.

could be read as the fulfillment of God's plan in biblical history (or sacral time), and the battles, travels, and sufferings of the crusaders were part of a grander spiritual drama,⁷⁶ then to claim eyewitness status was to claim a certain epistemological relationship to divinely ordered events. Perhaps the closest biblical parallel to this would be the conversion of Paul on the road to Damascus. This act of conversion, fundamentally described as an act of spiritual witnessing so profound that it struck the sight from the apostle's eyes, did not even occur near the events of Christ's life and Passion with the other apostles.⁷⁷ Later in life, when Paul took up Christ's, he went on to assure those he preached to, writing in the First Epistle to the Corinthians: " 'What no eye has seen, what no ear has heard, and what no human mind has conceived' the things God has prepared for those who love him— are the things God has revealed to us by his Spirit."⁷⁸ In this way, if the events of the First Crusade are to be taken as miraculous, then those who record them may claim eyewitness status as a form of spiritual witnessing transcending the limitations of place and normal knowledge – they are perhaps not merely making factual claims as to what they have seen, but as to what they have been allowed to know in an age of revelation.

The eyewitnesses to the First Crusade, understood religiously, were creating more than a shared body of literature recording events as they transpired in the Holy Land. They were creating a new genre of sacred texts, themselves the products of having witnessed divinely ordained events, and thus open to a whole world of exegetical understandings.⁷⁹ Texts by authors such as Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres, and certainly by trained exegetes

⁷⁶ See especially Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 1-16.

⁷⁷ Acts 9 and 22 [here and below the New International Version is used]

⁷⁸ I Corinthians 2:9

⁷⁹ Although not directly related to the study of the crusades, for an analogous intellectual discussion see Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 1-12.

such as Albert of Aachen and Robert the Monk, would have necessarily invited others such as Caffaro⁸⁰ to interpret and recreate aspects of this narrative. If read as part of a metanarrative, these texts provided readers with a universalizing system that could be unlocked through the one text's relationship to other religious texts.

Moreover, Caffaro shared a number of distinct tropological similarities with the other First Crusade authors. Like them, Caffaro conceived of the Franks as central actors in a great spiritual drama, and that the events of the First Crusade contained noumenal and well as phenomenal significances. Such tropological exercises signal a shared understanding of the purposes that may be called a First Crusade metanarrative, or rather the sacral narrative of the First Crusade.

The sacral narrative of the First Crusade may be understood as intertextual even as it depends upon an exegetical relationship established by the reader encountering multiple crusade texts. That is, in the case of Caffaro, as perplexed as modern scholars may be by the addition of the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* to the *Annales ianuenses*, or even considering it as an isolated document, twelfth century readers would have perhaps been prepared to engage with it as a easily contextualized within a crusade metanarrative. Its use of focalization as a device subordinating order signaled the special status of eyewitnessing-as-epistemological-claim within, and therefore its place amongst the other sacral texts of the crusade.

⁸⁰ This is not to say that we can prove which narratives Caffaro necessarily must have been familiar with, let alone which books he had available when creating his narrative. Then again, there is far too much in common between the narrative conventions of Caffaro and the First Crusade sources to explain through simple coincidence.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSION: A NEW MEDITERRANEAN HISTORY

Regarded textually, the First Crusade could not have been a passing embrace of the irrational, the culmination of centuries of intellectual conflict over the ideal of justice and the nature of war, or the obfuscation of garden-variety greed through the language of faith.⁸¹

Alternatively, the First Crusade may be understood as the inauguration of an enduring model for making sense of life and experience in the premodern Mediterranean.

The narratological approach outlined above is not meant to provide a master key for either Caffaro in particular or First Crusade texts in general. Instead it is meant to serve as a minor *exemplum* of how the methodologies of the linguistic turn may be used to avoid troublesome and deeply rooted historiographical paradigms.

By approaching disparate texts through an analysis conscious of what has been discussed in the preceding sections as the “sacral narrative,” seemingly disparate texts may be reread to different and perhaps more nuanced purposes. An analysis of narrative structures and their influence on intertextuality offers the crusade historian an incipient awareness of the connectivities between texts. This point is perhaps best conveyed by examples, and so now this analysis will turn towards a relatively obscure fourteenth-century Catalan “grand chronicler” by the name of Ramon Muntaner. Through the application of the methodological stance taken towards Caffaro above, Muntaner’s *Crònica* (one part war memoir and one part royal

⁸¹ For the mid-twentieth century shift to assessing the nature (occasionally even in moral or aesthetic terms) of the crusaders, see Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), 182-211; Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 77-121.

chronicle) and its curious narrative regarding his mercenary exploits against the Turks may gain a greater degree of conceptual depth.

A reappraisal of Muntaner's "secular" *Crònica* through the sacral narrative (what has been regarded as either precociously looking forward to the rise of Spanish political hegemony, or somehow presciently understanding the role of Aragon in establishing a Mediterranean naval empire)⁸² therefore is an attempt to understand the ways in which it reflects how certain narrativized forms of crusade literature persisted. Within the structure of Muntaner's *Crònica*, the story of the Catalan Grand Company and its travails against the Turks, three key rhetorical devices emerge: first, Muntaner explained the history of the mercenary *Almogavars* in sacral terms; second, Muntaner described the workings of the Catalan Grand Company in terms analogous to the warriors of the Levantine crusades proper; and third, Muntaner positioned miraculous events at key turning points in his narrative. Taken together, these rhetorical devices would suggest that there is a deep cultural metanarrative that outlives the era of the First Crusade proper that has informed Muntaner's narrative.

From his prologue, Muntaner perhaps makes the purpose of his narrative clear: "In the name of our Lord the true God Jesus Christ, and His blessed Mother, Our Lady Saint Mary, and all His blessed saints, Amen . . . it is right that, amongst the rest of the men in the world, I, Ramon Muntaner, native of the town of Peralada and citizen of Valencia, give great thanks to Our Lord the true God and to his Blessed Mother, Our Lady Saint Mary, and to all the Heavenly Court, for the favour and grace He has shown me and for my escape from many perils I have

⁸² Jaume Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 82-9.

been in.”⁸³ The doxological beginning to Muntaner’s *Crònica*, and his reflection on mortality after all that he survived, cannot be excused as a poetic form or antiquated convention. Rather, the blessings with which Muntaner began his work are important in that they reveal one of the primary devices that allowed memory to coalesce into text. The eyewitnesses to the First Crusade adopted similar liturgical tones in their introductions or prologues, as the daily experience of the sermon helped shape the form of their own personal histories.

Yet the sacral language of Muntaner’s text goes even further, as Muntaner describes the apparition of God that commanded him to write his *Crònica*: “One day, I being at my farm called Xiluella . . . and asleep in my bed, there came to me in a vision an old notable, dressed in white, who said to me, ‘Muntaner, get up and prepare to make a book of the great marvels that thou hast seen, which *God has worked in the wars in which thou has been*. For it is God’s pleasure that by thee they should be manifested’ ”⁸⁴ [emphasis mine]. Muntaner, like crusader chroniclers before him, saw his effort at memorialization as a form of both phenomenal and spiritual witnessing.

Within Muntaner’s sacred time, the work of God is displayed by a number of actors, but his favor is principally displayed in the acts of the Almogavars. Thus, one of the places where the influence of the Almighty is most evident for Ramon Muntaner is on the field of battle. Not only was it by grace alone that Muntaner had survived to write the *Crònica*, but God’s own hand could be seen in the travails of the Catalan Grand Company. As quoted above, Muntaner was asked to record those divine acts which “God has worked in the wars in which thou has been,”⁸⁵ intrinsically linking the act of righteous war with the sacred. The House of Aragon was not

⁸³ Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, translated by Lady Goodenough (Cambridge, Ontario: In Parenthesis Publications, 2000), 2.

⁸⁴ Muntaner, *Crònica*, 3.

⁸⁵ Muntaner, *Crònica*, 3.

senselessly chosen as the Lord's own, nor was Aragon an intrinsically holy nation. Rather, the efforts of distinct groups and individuals engaging in divinely sanctioned violence (in this case, the Catalan Grand Company's fights against zealous Turks and treacherous Greeks), made them worthy of God's protection and memorialization through Muntaner. When closing a passage on the military exploits of the Catalan Grand Company, Muntaner wrote: "I have told you about this very pleasing adventure in order that each of you understands that it was simply a question of God's power; for all this was not the result of our valour, but of God's power and grace."⁸⁶ These lines are perhaps eerily reminiscent of Raymond of Aguiler regarding the crusader's impending battle against the atabeg Kerbogha: "If anyone should refuse to fight, let him be classed with a Judas, the betrayer of the Lord, who deserted the apostles and sold his Lord to the Jews. Let him fight in the faith of Saint Peter . . . And let your battle cry be "God help us!" and verily God will help you."⁸⁷

Moreover, the Almogavars were analogous to the Franks. The Catalan Grand Company, resituated in the geography of the Levant, did not just behave as holy warriors. They became, body and soul, "Franks." Time and time again Ramon Muntaner self-identified as a Frank, referring to the Company as "we Franks,"⁸⁸ "the Company of the Franks,"⁸⁹ and "the Frankish Army."⁹⁰ Muntaner supplanted the Catalan identity with a more meaningful contingent identity in the East, as the Grand Company was no longer Catalan among Christians, but Frankish among

⁸⁶ Muntaner, *Crònica*, 96.

⁸⁷ Krey, *The First Crusade*, 219.

⁸⁸ Ramon Muntaner, *The Catalan Expedition to the East from the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner*, trans. Robert D. Hughes with an introduction by J.N. Hillgarth (Barcelona; Woodbridge: Barcino Tamesis, 2006), 61.

⁸⁹ Muntaner, *The Catalan Expedition to the East*, 65.

⁹⁰ Muntaner, *The Catalan Expedition to the East*, 99.

Greeks and Turks. It is worth noting that this transformation occurred after the first engagements against the Turks near Philadelphia.⁹¹

One of the motifs that allowed Muntaner to elaborate the actions of the Catalan Grand Company within the scheme of the crusade metatext was the way in which battle itself became the stuff of miracles. God not only favored the holy warriors of the Catalan Grand Company as He did earlier crusaders, but their piety and purpose allowed them to surmount otherwise impossible odds. On the eve of the Catalan Grand Company possibly facing annihilation, “When we had sung these hymns, and just as the standard of Saint Peter was being raised, everyone fell to singing the *Salve Regina*. And the day was fine and bright, for there was not a cloud in the sky. But as the standard was being raised, a cloud appeared over us and covered us all in rain while we were kneeling and this lasted for as long as it took us to sing the *Salve Regina* . . . What can I tell you? On account of their sins and the full justice of our cause, they were defeated.”⁹² Likewise, in crusade narratives such as Raymond of Aguiler’s, gore, the miraculous, and the judgment of God all comingled: “Wonderful sights were to be seen. Some of our men (and this was more merciful) cut off the heads of their enemies; others shot them with arrows, so that they fell from the towers; others tortured them longer by casting them into the flames. Piles of heads, hands and feet were to be seen in the streets of the city. It was necessary to pick one's way over the bodies of men and horses. But these were small matters compared to what happened at the Temple of Solomon, a place where religious services are normally chanted . . . in the Temple and the porch of Solomon, men rode in blood up to their knees and bridle reins. Indeed it was a just and splendid judgment of God that this place should be filled with the blood of unbelievers since

⁹¹ Muntaner, *The Catalan Expedition to the East*, 55.

⁹² Muntaner, *The Catalan Expedition to the East*, 83-4.

it had suffered so long from their blasphemies . . . This is the day the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it.”⁹³ And perhaps more directly analogous to Ramon Muntaner’s understanding of the miracle of battle would be Fulcher’s description of the scene at Antioch: “Yet the Lord, not unmindful of the Franks, appeared to many. Often they asserted this. Being present, in comforting them, He promised that the people would rejoice in victory.”⁹⁴

Yet, one of the most startling incidents that occurred in Muntaner’s *Crònica* was the betrayal of the paragon of Christian virtue, and commander of the Grand Company, Roger de Flor by the Byzantines. What followed, however, before the major battles that pitted the intrepid Almogavars against the Greeks, was a series of killings of Catalan captains. Many noble Catalan men died due to Byzantine treachery in this way, and Muntaner had this to say before returning to the then stranded Company: “So you can appreciate how cruel an act was this which the Emperor had carried out upon these men who were but envoys. But rest assured that in times to come the Company, with God’s assistance, wrought as terrible a vengeance as had ever been wrought before. And in that gulf [where the quartered bodies of the Catalans officers had been thrown], a great miracle takes place, for you can always find certain streaks of blood there which are as large as a coverlet, though some there are larger and some smaller. That gulf is always full of such streaks of fresh blood . . . And seamen gather up that blood, transporting it from one end of the world to the other to serve as relics.”⁹⁵

As this cursory tropological examination of Ramon Muntaner perhaps suggests, the idea of approaching medieval documents through the framework of the sacral narrative may thus have an explanatory power beyond the immediate context of First Crusade sources.

⁹³ Krey, *The First Crusade*, 317-18.

⁹⁴ Peters, *The First Crusade*, 77.

⁹⁵ Peters, *The First Crusade*, 78.

By way of conclusion, the possibilities of reconsidering the textual world of the First Crusade through narratology should be noted. Beyond the advantages that a new reading based on narratology could offer the field of crusade scholarship, there is perhaps an interesting historiographical opportunity: to allow the linguistic turn to inform the relationship between texts rather than work to isolate them gestures towards a new way of conceiving history in the *longue durée*. In this instance, medievalists may begin to approach the crusades as the creation of a new system for making meaning in the Mediterranean world. Conceived as a primarily textual event, the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 inaugurated a new way of locating the self that has arguably stretched through Mediterranean history long after the confined events of the crusades themselves. It was through the tropological exercise of crusade-writing, the development of narrative patterns, that Latin Christendom slowly came to realize itself, not purely through some clash of civilizations. The crusades were not a series of events that can be easily consigned to a pre-modern era of superstition and barbarity, but were rather a deep current of Mediterranean history.

This position then suggests that a wide variety of texts may be regarded as sources for the history of crusades – what is being advocated here is nothing less than reconceiving the nature of crusading as a primarily rhetorical act. This in turn suggests a reorientation of the field that not only allows the historian to handle and contextualize seemingly anomalous texts such as Caffaro's, but to address the textual imaginary as an underlying structure of human history. Through reconsidering the implications of the linguistic turn as they may bind texts together, historians may arrive at a sense of the past that not only traces deep currents in economics, politics, honor and shame, and environmental sensibilities in Mediterranean society, but also the way in which texts conditioned and described that world as well.

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