THE FRENCH OF OUTREMER

Communities and Communications in the Crusading Mediterranean

LAURA K. MORREALE AND NICHOLAS L. PAUL

EDITORS

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

New York 2018

WHAT WE KNOW AND DON'T YET KNOW ABOUT OUTREMER FRENCH

Laura Minervini

The label *Outremer French* refers to an Old French dialect used in the Latin East with specific features distinguishing it from other Old French dialects. Its existence is not a new discovery: among the pioneers of this field were Antoine Thomas and Edith Brayer in the early 1920s and '30s, followed by Gianfranco Folena and Valeria Bertolucci in the following generation.[1] The sources for their study of the language came primarily from texts published in the monumental collection *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*,[2] as well as texts they edited themselves. Although Folena never edited an Outremer French text, he made ample use of Jean Richard's important collection of Cypriot documents,[3] and his work with Outremer French was principally the byproduct of his efforts to document the spread of the Venetian dialect in the eastern Mediterranean. On the whole, this group of scholars worked on a relatively limited corpus of texts that were often not carefully edited from a philological point of view. Despite these restrictions, the keen insight of these early scholars is praiseworthy, and their groundbreaking research remains valuable today.

The impressive results achieved by Thomas, Brayer, Folena, and Bertolucci in documenting the presence of a French-speaking community in the Latin East, with its own well-documented dialect, was unfortunately disregarded by most authors of Old French handbooks and histories of the French language. It is to the credit of Alain Rey, Frédéric Duval, and Gilles Siouffi to be the first to devote a chapter to the diffusion of French in the eastern Mediterranean in their recent book, *Mil ans de langue française*.[4]

What changed in the last few years in terms of understanding Outremer French was, on the one hand, a greater availability of reliable editions of the texts produced in Outremer, including Philip of Novara's *Mémoires*, the *Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre*, John of Ibelin's *Law Book*, and the *Acre Bible*.[5] In addition, historical research on the social and cultural history of Outremer has also advanced, led by scholars such as Joshua Prawer, David

Jacoby, Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer, Jean Richard, Michel Balard, Bernard Hamilton, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Peter Edbury, to name but a few. Although their works were first published in the 1970s, philologists did not become aware of them until much later due to lack of curiosity, academic habits, or cultural and disciplinary fences. The conditions are now more favorable for the development of research on Outremer French, and initial attempts have been undertaken by Cyril Aslanov, Pierre Nobel, Fabio Zinelli, and myself, from different perspectives and using different methodological tools.[6] Many other, more junior scholars are now also engaged with this material from various disciplinary perspectives.

What, therefore, is new about Outremer French? What have we discovered that was previously unknown to the "founding fathers and mothers" of our field of research? I would suggest two main directions. The first concerns the social diffusion of the language, not only in the French ruling class, but also among the lower strata of society. The second attempts to identify the specific linguistic features that distinguish Outremer French from other Old French dialects.

It was previously believed that French in the Latin East, Flanders, and Italy did not give rise to its own literary tradition, nor to a peculiar linguistic variety. In the words of Serge Lusignan, "aucune de ces implantations artificielles du français n'a donné naissance à une littérature propre, ni produit un registre original de la langue écrite, ainsi que ce fut le cas en Angleterre."[7] The question remains open as to whether the situations of Italy and Flanders should be considered instances of "artificial implantation" of French, and if so, what characteristics these implantations might have shared. In fact, the cultural and political situations within the two regions varied greatly, since southern Italy was home to a French- and Occitan-speaking social elite following the late thirteenth-century arrival of the Angevins, a French-speaking dynasty, while a network of cultural influences was at work in Flanders and other areas to the north. The Latin East, however, was another story: as it is well known, in the wake of a mostly French-speaking ruling class, a stream of settlers from northern and southern France arrived overseas, in the newly founded Crusader States—the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1291[–1489]),[8] the Principality of Antioch (1098–1268), the counties of Edessa (1098–1149) and Tripoli (1104–1289). Such a process of migration makes the social situation of the Crusader States comparable—according to some scholars—to that of modern colonies.[9]

The ruling class of the Crusader States, and of Cyprus and Morea from the thirteenth century, was mainly composed of members of the northern- and southern-French aristocracy. Jonathan Riley-Smith has demonstrated that most of the "first crusaders"—that is, the participants in the military expedition of 1096–1099—left the Holy Land after the conquest.[10] However, their expeditions to the East opened the way to subsequent waves of migrating nobles, along with their attendants. The research of Alan Murray and Thomas Asbridge has demonstrated that the Principality of Antioch, founded by Bohemond de Hauteville after the First Crusade, was largely ruled by Normans in the first thirty years of the twelfth century.[11] Jean Richard came to a similar conclusion for the Occitan nobility in the county of Tripoli, founded by Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles.[12] More newcomers arrived from Anjou, Poitou, Champagne, and other French regions over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[13] Other components of Frankish society in Outremer were also native French or Occitan speakers and included officers of the chanceries, the upper ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchies, and the core members of the religious orders, most notably the Templars and Hospitallers.[14]

It is more difficult to recognize the origin and linguistic competence of members of lower social classes, including settlers residing in the coastal cities or in inland towns and villages. Research on onomastical data, however, shows evidence of the prominent role of the French,[15] and similar conclusions can be drawn from an analysis of "new town" foundations.[16] But one must acknowledge that much information is still lacking in this field.[17]

Demographic data does help to explain the choice of French as opposed to other vernacular forms as a written language for vernacular texts from the thirteenth century on. Occitan might have been a likely competitor, but it ultimately was not: although much of the aristocratic elite of the Crusader States originated in southern France and dialects of Occitan were probably used in speech, there is no evidence that they were ever used in writing in the Latin East. This may be due to the fact that when the vernacular was first used for practical texts in the late 1220s, the eastern branch of the Toulousian dynasty no longer existed[18] and relationships between the county of Tripoli and the Pays d'Oc had weakened considerably.[19] To the data concerning demography may be added the fact that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries no vernacular language in Europe was as prestigious as French for a cluster of cultural, political, and social reasons.[20]

In the Latin East, French was both an ethnolect, used by the Franks' sociocultural group and symbolically associated with it, and a vehicular language, allowing communication between peoples of different native languages. In the Crusader States a number of legal barriers divided the Latins (or Franks) from the indigenous populations, composed of Muslims, Christians, and Jews who were mostly native speakers of Arabic or Greek. The Franks themselves were not linguistically homogeneous: besides French and Occitan speakers, they included groups of individuals—Italians, Germans, English, Spanish—of differing linguistic backgrounds. Most notable was the sizable population of Venetian, Pisan, and Genoese merchants and sailors who lived in coastal city settlements, where they were allowed special quarters with partially autonomous administration. The linguistic diversity of the settlers is a key element, since the need to find a common ground finally helped to promote the use of French, competing with Latin as a written language of the Frankish community.

Contacts between the Franks and the indigenous population were indeed frequent and sometimes even rich and fruitful, although the topic of acculturation is much debated and deserves a deeper discussion.[21] Such contacts imply the use of a common language that was possibly, though not necessarily, French. What has been forgotten is that the same need for a common language of exchange applies to social interactions among Franks of diverse origin.

It is important to note that French was not the only bridge language in the region. In the Middle East and in Northern Africa, Arabic was also used in both speech and writing. Greek and Italian dialects also functioned as vehicular languages in the eastern and western Mediterranean. All of these languages—whose *status* was not the same within their own speech communities—were used with various degrees of competence by different kinds of speakers and writers: one has to assume a *continuum* of forms and registers, from the most careful and literary to the most shabby and broken. At the one end of this continuum there were written texts, following a more or less codified set of grammatical rules and stylistic conventions; at the other end, there were possibly pidginized, reduced, and simplified varieties of these languages, but such varieties were seldom written down and are therefore not recorded. Although the Mediterranean lingua franca was at one time thought to have originated in the Crusader States, this thesis is based on fantasy rather than reality: there is no historical connection

between the languages used in the Latin East in the Middle Ages and the Italian-based pidgin documented on the coast of Northern Africa from the sixteenth century on.[22]

French in the Latin East was employed for literary texts, be it in translations from Latin or in original French-language works. French was used in documents, especially in the case of legal texts, treatises, and charters.[23] The public dimension of French in the Latin East was further enhanced by its use in coins, seals, and inscriptions.[24] Inscriptions in particular are of great symbolic relevance, since inscriptions are seen to represent the highest degree of written expression in literate societies.[25]At times, French even replaced Latin as a language of international relations. This was particularly the case in situations where Western diplomatic tradition was unknown, such as in the context of treaties with Armenian and Arabic allies or enemies.[26]

Onomastic and toponomastic use of French was also widespread: there is much evidence that personal names or by-names were often French. Among the surnames found in the Latin East are the distinctly French Picard, Langlois, Lefevre, Laleman. Many place names, most famously including Chastel Neuf, Blanche Garde, Chastel Pelerin, Casal Imbert, Belfort, Le Caroublier, Cale du Marquis, Puis du Connestable, Montmusard, and Lordermer can be found in both French and non-French sources.[27] Finally, French was commonly perceived as a medium of social integration: the jurist Philip of Novara wrote only in French, and the Hospitaller officer Guillaume de Saint-Étienne, who has also been identified as the Lombard Guglielmo di Santo Stefano, patronized French translations of Latin works and wrote his own legal compilation to accompany a collection of the order's French-language documents.[28] French funerary inscriptions in Cyprus of individuals of Syrian and Italian origin point in the same direction.[29]

Oral usage is an extremely elusive element in historical linguistics. In the Latin East, French was used as a second language (what linguistics scholars would designate as "L2") by an increasing number of foreign-language speakers. As modern research on migration experiences suggests, passive competence—that is, the ability to understand—was more widespread than active competence, meaning the ability to speak; but the latter was probably not restricted to the social elite. The process of language acquisition could be more or less successful and entailed a certain amount of interference

from the speakers' native languages—that is to say, mainly from Occitan and Italian and from Arabic and Greek to a lesser degree.

The prominent role of French in the multilingual situation of the Latin East is documented in contemporary sources, both historical and fictional. In the *Dialogus miraculorum* by the Cistercensian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach (ca. 1180–ca. 1240), for example, a dialogue between a Christian friar and noble Saracen is described as taking place in French. The Saracen even claims to have learned French at the royal court in Jerusalem:

> Pater meus erat vir nobilis et magnus, et misit me ad Regem Jerosolymitanorum, ut Gallicum discerem apud illum, ipse vero versa vice misit patri meo filium suum ad discendum idioma Sarracenicum (My father was a great and noble man, and sent me to the king of Jerusalem in order to learn French there, and he [the king] conversely sent his own son to my father in order to learn Arabic).[30]

And according to a crusading proposal prepared soon after the Second Council of Lyon (1274), French was used during the farewell sermon delivered in the Church of the Holy Cross in Acre by Tedaldo Visconti, who had been elected pope while visiting the Holy Land (1271). The new pontiff is said to have addressed the crowd first in Latin, then afterward in French, commenting, "Filii mei karissimi, quod in latino dixi, exponam vobis in gallico." (My dear children, what I just said in Latin, I will explain to you in French.)[31]

Further evidence of the availability of French as a spoken language is provided by an Arabic-French glossary in Coptic script, copied in a sixteenth-century manuscript.[32] It consists of a collection of words and sentences about topics including commerce, religion, and navigation and of a phrasebook for daily communicative needs. The work's target audience included Coptic travelers to the Holy Land, and the glossary therefore supports the argument that French was employed in speech in the instances of linguistic contact between Latin and Arabic speakers.

As a consequence of its historical context, Outremer French acquired its own peculiarities and characteristics. Through careful examination of the corpus of writings coming from the Latin East, it is possible to identify several graphic, phonological, and morphological features that characterize French texts written or copied in the Latin East. Although some of the features are found in other Old French (and sometimes Occitan) dialects, the

combination of these characteristics within individual texts is unique to Outremer French.[33] Among them are the following:

- -h- (for -s-), e.g., *ahne, batehme, ihle, mahle, tehmoigne* (Wallonian)
- -z- (for -s-), e.g., *assize, choze, espouze, iglize, mezure* (Champenois, Lorrain, and Occitan)
- -e- (<-ei- <lat. Ē), e.g., *aver, borgés, dret, enveer, hers* (western and northwestern French dialects)
- -ou- ~ -o- (<lat. Ŏ), e.g., *colour, soul, nevou, perillose, seignor* (western and eastern French dialects)
- -au ending (<-al), e.g., *chevau, generau, leau, mareschau, ospitau* (Poitevin, Limousin, and Perigordin)
- *dou* (<de le) as standard form of the contracted article (several French dialects)[34]

More hallmarks of Outremer French are found in the lexicon. It includes several Occitan, Italian, Arabic, and Greek loanwords, some regional French words, and a few (seemingly) original Outremer words. Among them are:

- Occitanisms, e.g., *aigue*, "water"; *cuisinat*, "soup"; *feuc*, "fire"; *jeuc*, "play"; *leuc*, "place"; *pile*, "basin"; *segre*, "follow";
- Italianisms, e.g., *boire*, "northeast wind," "north"; *bonace*, "dead calm"; *canton*, "corner"; *casal*, "village"; *corsaire*, "pirate"; *esplage*, "seaside"; *nave*, "ship";
- Arabisms, e.g., *barde*, "saddle"; *berquil*, "reservoir"; *carat*, "carat"; *daye*, "nanny"; *farise*, "mare"; *fonde*, "marketplace"; *jarre*, "jar"; *mathesep*, "public officer";
- Hellenisms, e.g., *apodixe*, "quittance"; *commerc*, "customs"; *metre*, "unit of capacity (for liquids)"; *prestrie*, "village"; *segrete*, "treasury"; *turcople*, "cavalryman";
- regional French words, e.g., *gregier*, "to burden"; *delier*, "December"; *mermiau*, "minor"; *segur*, "safe";[35]
- Outremer words, e.g., *appaut*, "lease"; *grifon*, "Greek"; *poulain*, "native of the Latin East"; *profinel*, "sack"; *ziaus*, "eyes."[36]

It is worth noting that the group of Occitanisms and Italianisms may overlap: some words, so-called Mediterranean words,[37] were shared by Occitan and Italian dialects, and this could have promoted their diffusion in

Outremer French. Moreover, originally Occitan words often spread into the French dialects in the areas bordering the Occitan-speaking area, blurring the distinction between Occitanisms and regional French words. For example, *aigue*, commonly found in Outremer French texts, may be considered an Occitan loanword or a regional French word—probably it was both, and it won out over its competitors (*eaue*, *iaue*, *ewe*) simply because it was used in many different dialects.

Medieval scribes tended to neutralize the most salient graphic, phonological, and (less) morphological features of the vernacular texts they copied, but the lexicon was often left unaffected. Hence it is possible to detect typical Outremer French words even in manuscripts copied in Europe, whose texts were originally composed in the Latin East. For example, *farise* (< Ar. *farasa*) and *carat* (< Ar. *qīrāt*) are found in the encyclopedic *Livre de Sidrac*, which was supposedly written in Outremer in the late thirteenth century and circulated afterward in France and England, where it was copied and reworked several times.[38] The same word *farise*, in the plural form (*farises*), appears in Matthew Paris's famous *Itineraire de Londres à Jérusalem*: Matthew was working in the 1250s at St. Albans Abbey (Hertfordshire), but he was using a sort of French "pilgrim's guide" written in the Holy Land.[39] One of these guides, which spread successfully throughout Europe and whose text was variously cut and pasted, includes some Outremer French lexical items, such as *boire*, *casal*, and *grifon*.[40] Not many Outremer French words, however, circulated in general French beyond the sea: some of them were carried by written texts, as those mentioned previously; others were conveyed in speech and enjoyed a wider, even if usually short-lived, diffusion.[41]

On the whole, Outremer French may be described as a new dialect that arose in a situation of dialect mixture and, at the same time, of languages in contact.[42] In such a process of confluence, a special imprint was left by French Western dialects, particularly Norman, Angevin, and Poitevin. Occitan too played an important role, whereas the contribution of Italian, Arabic, and Greek seems to have been limited to the lexicon. The situation was different in oral communication, whose complex and fluid dynamics are not faithfully reproduced in written texts. Variations in speech could be determined by topic and social context, as well as by other circumstances that elude modern examination based on textual evidence. There are, however, a few Cypriot texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries written

by Greek speaking scribes that offer a glimpse of a situation of language contact and interference that many denizens of the Latin East might have experienced.[43]

As an attentive reader could have noticed, the previous pages are full of hypothetical statements and cautious conjectures. This is due to the fact that there are not many positive and indisputable facts in the linguistic history of the Latin East. In the words of William Labov, "historical linguistics can then be thought of as the art of making the best use of bad data. The art is a highly developed one, but there are limitations of the data that cannot be compensated for."[44]

And here, as we set off in this volume on a journey to discover a better definition of the French of Outremer, Labov's whole paragraph deserves to be quoted:

> Historical documents survive by chance, not by design, and the selection that is available is the product of an unpredictable series of historical accidents. The linguistic forms in such documents are often distinct from the vernacular of the writers, and instead reflect efforts to capture a normative dialect that never was any speaker's native language. As a result, many documents are riddled with the effects of hypercorrection, dialect mixture, and scribal error. Furthermore, historical documents can only provide positive evidence. Negative evidence about what is ungrammatical can only be inferred from obvious gaps in distribution. . . . We usually know very little about the social position of the writers, and not much more about the social structure of the community. Though we know what was written, we know nothing about what was understood.

William Labov is absolutely right. His last sentences call attention to the social reality that is the matrix of the texts: we know very little about the position of the writers and the structure of the community, and—it could be added—about the audience of the texts and the way they were received, interpreted, and disseminated. But we could know more, with the help of historians, archeologists, art historians, literary critics, codicologists, paleographers. Too often, for too long, each branch of research about Outremer has gone its own way, without an appreciation for the research done in contiguous fields. It is pointless to repeat how harmful this attitude was, and still is, to our common field of study. The time is ripe for a different, multidisciplined approach to the French of Outremer.

NOTES

1. Antoine Thomas, "Notice sur le manuscrit latin 4788 du Vatican contenant une traduction française avec commentaire par maître Pierre de Paris de la *Consolatio Philosophiae* de Boèce," *Notice et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 41 (1923): 29–90; Thomas, "L'ancien français *pichar* et l'étimolojie du franç. *cloporte*," *Romania* 66 (1930): 161–77; Edith Brayer, "Un manuel de confession en ancien français conservé dans un manuscrit de Catane (Bibl. Ventimiliana, 42)," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 69 (1947): 155–98; Gianfranco Folena, "Introduzione al veneziano *de là da mar*," in *Culture e lingue nel Veneto medievale* (Padua: Editoriale Programma, 1990), 227–67; Folena, "La Romània d'oltremare: Francese e veneziano nel Levante" (Padua: Editoriale Programma, 1990), 269–86 (the essays were first published in 1970 and 1974 respectively); and Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, "Testamento in francese di un mercante veneziano (Famagosta, gennaio 1294)," *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa: Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 18 (1988): 1011–23.

2. *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, 16 vols., ed. Académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Paris: Imprimerie Royale / Impériale / Nationale, 1841–1906).

3. Jean Richard, ed., *Chypres sous les Lusignans: Documents chypriotes des Archives du Vatican (XIVe et XVe siècles)* (Paris: Geuthner, 1962).

4. Alain Rey, Frédéric Duval, and Gilles Siouffi, *Mille ans de langue française, histoire d'une passion* (2007; repr. Paris: Perrin, 2011), 1:343–49.

5. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223–1242)*, ed. Silvio Melani (Naples: Liguori, 1994); *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. Laura Minervini (Naples: Liguori, 2000); John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Leiden: Brill, 2003); *La Bible d'Acre: Genèse et Exode*, ed. Pierre Nobel (Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2006).

6. Cyril Aslanov, "Languages in Contact in the Latin East: Acre and Cyprus," *Crusades* 1 (2002): 155–81; Aslanov, *Le français au Levant, jadis et naguère: À la recherche d'une langue perdue* (Paris: Champion, 2006), 33–108; Pierre Nobel, "Les translateurs et leur public: L'exemple de la *Bible d'Acre* et de la *Bible Anglo-Normande*," *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 66 (2002): 251–72; Nobel, "Écrire dans le Royaume franc: La *scripta* de deux manuscrits copiés à Acre au XIIIe siècle," in *Variations linguistiques: Koinés, dialectes, français régionaux*, ed. Pierre Nobel (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2003), 33–52; Fabio Zinelli, "Sur les traces de l'atelier des chansonniers occitans IK: Le manuscrit de Vérone, Biblioteca Capitolare, DVIII et la tradition méditerranéenne du *Livre dou Tresor*," *Medioevo Romanzo* 31 (2007): 7–69; Laura Minervini, "Gli orientalismi nel francese d'Oltremare," in *Sprachkontakte in der Romania: Zum 75. Geburtstag von Gustav Ineichen*, ed. Volker Noll and Sylvia Thiele (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004), 123–33; Minervini, "Le français dans l'Orient latin (XIIIe-XIVe siècles): Éléments pour la charactérisation d'une *scripta* du Levant," *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 74 (2010): 121–98.

7. "None of these artificial implantations of French engendered a literary tradition on its own, nor an independent register of written language, as was the case in England"; Serge Lusignan, *La langue des rois au moyen âge: Le français en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2004), 156. It should be noted, however, that Lusignan reconsidered the issue in his *Essai d'histoire sociolinguistique: Le français picard au moyen âge* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2012), 80–81.

8. Since 1268, under King Hugh III of Lusignan, the Kingdom of Jerusalem was united to that of Cyprus; after the fall of Acre (1291) the capital moved to Nicosia.

9. See Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972). Prawer's viewpoint has been recently challenged by a new generation of historians; see, e.g., Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

10. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

11. Alan V. Murray, "How Norman Was the Principality of Antioch?," in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 349–59, now in his *The Franks in Outremer: Studies in the Latin Principalities of Palestine and Syria, 1099–1187* (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2015), vi; Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000).

12. Jean Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine* (Paris: Geuthner, 1945); Richard, "Les familles féodales franques dans le Comté de Tripoli," in *Le comté de Tripoli: État multiculturel et multiconfessionnel, 1102–1289*, ed. Gérard Dédéyan and Karam Rizk (Paris: Geuthner, 2010), 7–30.

13. See Hans E. Mayer, "Angevins *versus* Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem," in his *Kings and Lords in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), §IV; Bernard Hamilton, "King Consorts of Jerusalem and their Entourages from the West from 1186 to 1250," in *Die Kreuzfahrenstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft: Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (Munich: Oldenburg, 1997), 13–24; 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. Conor Kostick (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 107–30.

14. See Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Einwanderer in der Kanzlei und am Hof der Kreuzfahrerkönige von Jerusalem," in *Die Kreuzfahrenstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, 25–42; Rudolf Hiestand, "Der lateinische Klerus der Kreuzfahrenstaaten: Geographische Herkunft und politische Rolle," in *Die Kreuzfahrenstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, 43–68; Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1994), 229–79; Alain Demurger, *Les Hospitaliers: De Jérusalem à Rhodes 1050–1317* (Paris: Tallandier, 2013), 205–11.

15. See Iris Shagrir, *Naming Patterns in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Prosopographica et Genealogica 12 (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2003); Shagrir, "The Medieval Evolution of By-Naming: Notions from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 49–59.

16. See Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 74–82.

17. Recent attempts to understand the origin of the settlers through the analysis of oxygen and strontium isotopes in teeth from excavated human skeletal remains seems promising, although very expensive and demanding; see Piers D. Mitchell and Andrew R. Millard, "Approaches to the Study of Migration during the Crusades," *Crusades* 12 (2013): 1–12.

18. After the death of the heirless Raymond III (1187), the county of Tripoli was ruled by the princes of Antioch.

19. See Richard, "Les familles féodales franques dans le Comté de Tripoli," 19–23.

20. See Lusignan, "Langue française et société du XIIIe au XVe siècle," in *Nouvelle histoire de la langue française*, ed. Jacques Chaurand (Paris: Seuil, 1999), 93–143; Rey, Duval, and Siouffi, *Mille ans de langue française*, 1:155–259.

21. See Benjamin Z. Kedar and Cyril Aslanov, "Problems in the Study of Trans-Cultural Borrowing in the Frankish Levant," in *Hybride Kulturen in mittelalterlichen Europa: Vorträge und Workshops einer internationalen Frühlingschule*, Europa im Mittelalter 16, ed. Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), 277–85; David Jacoby, "Intercultural Encounters in a Conquered Land: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Europa im Geflecht der Welt: Mittelalterliche Migrationen in globalen Bezügen*, ed. Michael Borgolte et al. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 133–54.

22. See Laura Minervini, "La lingua franca mediterranea: Plurilinguismo, mistilinguismo, pidginizzazione sulle coste del Mediterraneo tra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna," *Medioevo Romanzo* 20 (1996): 231–301; Minervini, "Lingua Franca (Italiano come)," in *Enciclopedia dell'Italiano*, ed. Raffaele Simone (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 2011), 2:802–4 (online http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lingua-franca-italiano-come_(Enciclopedia_dell'Italiano); Aslanov, *Le français au Levant, jadis et naguère*, 16–26.

23. For the use of French in written documents in the Crusader States, see Rudolf Hiestand, "La langue vulgaire dans les chartes de Terre Sainte avec un regard sur la chancellerie royale française," in *Von Outremer bis Flandern: Miscellanea zur Gallia Pontificia und zur Diplomatik*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Waldemar Könighaus (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 271–301; Laura K. Morreale, "French-Language Documents Produced by the Hospitallers, 1231–1310," *Journal of Medieval History* 40 (2014): 439–57.

24. See Sabino De Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291): Testo, traduzione, annotazioni* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1974); Alex G. Malloy, Irene Fraley Preston, and A. J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States 1098–1291* (New York: Attic, 1994; 2nd. ed. Fairfield, Conn.: Berman, 2004); Brunehilde Imhaus, ed., *Lacrimae Cypriae: Corpus des pierres tombales de Chypres*, 2 vols. (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 2004); Denys Pringle, "Crusader Inscriptions from Southern Labanon," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 131–51; Pringle, "Notes on Some Inscriptions from Crusader Acre," in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani*, 191–209; Cécile Treffort, "Les inscriptions latines et françaises des XIIe et XIIIe siècles découvertes à Tyr," in *Sources de l'histoire de Tyr: Textes de l'Antiquité et du moyen âge*, ed. Pierre-Louis Gatier and Julien Aliquot (Beirut: Presses de l'Université Saint-Joseph and Presses de l'Ifpo, 2011), 221–51; Pierre-Vincent Claverie, "Les difficultés de l'épigraphie franque de Terre sainte aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," *Crusades* 12 (2013): 67–90. See also Alan Stahl's study of coins in this collection.

25. See Armando Petrucci, "Il volgare esposto: Problemi e prospettive," in *"Visibile parlare": Le scritture esposte nei volgari italiani dal Medioevo al Rinascimento*, ed. Claudio Ciociola (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1997), 45–58.

26. See Marco Pozza, ed., *I trattati con Aleppo 1207–1254*, Pacta Veneta 2 (Venice: Il Cardo, 1990), 60–63; Alessio Sopracasa, ed., *I trattati con il regno armeno di Cilicia 1201–1333*, Pacta Veneta 8 (Rome: Viella, 2001), 57–60, 69–79, 89–93. See also Michael Kohler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. Peter Holt (1991; repr. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), for a systematic survey of such diplomatic arrangements in the twelfth century.

27. See Shagrir, "The Medieval Evolution of By-Naming," 56–57; Jacoby, "Aspects of Everyday Life in Frankish Acre," *Crusades* 4 (2005): 73–105.

28. See Filippo da Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente*, 37; Elisa Guadagnini, ed., *La 'Rectorique de Cyceron' tradotta da Jean d'Antioche* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2009), 4.

29. See Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae*, 2:15, 18–19, 26, 36, 122, 151 (nn. 15, 21, 26, 62, 242, 281).

30. Caesarius Heisterbachensis, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange (Cologne: Heberle, Lempertz, 1851), 1:187 (Dist. IV, Cap. XV). The dialogue is echoed in Mandeville's travels, dropping all linguistic references; see Jean de Mandeville, *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, ed. Christiane Deluz (Paris: CNRS, 2000), 278–80.

31. Jacques Paviot, ed., *Projets de croisade (v. 1290–v. 1330)* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2008), 237–38.

32. Aslanov, *Le français au Levant, jadis et naguère*, 44–108.

33. For the vexed question of the relations between local dialects and regional

writing traditions (*scriptae*), see Jakob Wüest, "Le rapport entre langue parlée et langue écrite: Les scriptae dans le domaine d'oïl et d'oc," in *The Dawn of Written Vernacular in Western Europe*, ed. Michèle Goyens and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 215–24; Martin Glessgen, "Trajectoires et perspectives en scriptologie romane," *Medioevo Romanzo* 36 (2012): 3–23.

34. Final notes in parentheses refer to the medieval situations, meaning, e.g., medieval Poitevin, not modern Poitevin, whose borders have since moved. The forms more commonly found in Central French texts (among the so-called *parlers centraux*) are: *asne, batesme, isle, masle, tesmoigne, assise, casal, chose, espouse, eglise, mesure, aveir / avoir, borgeis / borgeois, dreit / droit, enveeir / enveoir, heirs / hoirs, coleur, seul, neveu, perilleuse, seigneur, cheval, leal, general, mareschal, ospital, du.* These refer to the Old French dialects used in Île de France and surrounding regions, including Orléanais and Touraine. For a more comprehensive analysis, see Minervini, "Le français dans l'Orient latin," 148–50, 155–58, 173–76.

35. The emergence of a regional lexicon (i.e., neither local nor general) in medieval France is discussed, from different viewpoints, in the collective volume *La régionalité lexicale du français au moyen âge*, ed. Martin Glessgen and David Trotter (Strasbourg: EliPhi, 2016).

36. For further details, see Minervini, "Le français dans l'Orient latin," 172–73; Minervini, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, 40–42, 403, 425–26, 439; Minervini, "Les emprunts arabes et grecs dans le lexique français d'Orient (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)," *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 76 (2012): 111, 123–24, 127, 140, 146–47, 160–61, 163–64, 166–74; Fabio Zinelli, "Espaces franco-italiens: Les italianismes du français-médiéval," in *La régionalité lexicale du français au Moyen Âge*, 207–68.

37. The label was first proposed by Zinelli, "Espaces franco-italiens," 213–22.

38. Cf. *Sydrac le philosophe: Le livre de la fontaine de toutes sciences; Edition des enzyklopädischen Lehrdialogs aus dem XIII Jahrhundert*, ed. Ernstpeter Ruhe (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000), 75, 383, 384. Ruhe's edition is based on the MS. Add. 17914 of the British Library, dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

39. See Henri Michelant and Gaston Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français au XIe, XIIe and XIIIe siècles* (Geneva: Fick, 1882), 139. In spite of the existence of four autograph manuscripts of Matthew Paris, Micheland and Raynaud's edition is based on MS Lansdowne 253 of the British Library (ca. 1590), which is probably a copy of MS Royal 14 C VII of the same library. For the composition of this important text, see Salvatore Sansone, *Tra cartografia politica e immaginario figurative: Matthew Paris e l'Iter de Londinio in Terram Sanctam* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2009).

40. The complicated story of this text, preserved in six manuscripts, is studied by Gabriele Giannini, "Guides de pèlerinage, Orient latin et anglo-français," in

Anglo-français: Philologie et linguistique, ed. Oreste Floquet and Gabriele Giannini (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015), 63–90; and Giannini, *Un guide français de Terre Sainte, entre Orient latin et Toscane occidentale* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2016).

41. See Zinelli, "Espaces franco-italiens," 222–27.

42. For dialectal contact and the formation of new dialects, see Peter Trudgill, *Dialects in Contact* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Trudgill, *New-Dialect Formation: The Inevitability of Colonial Englishes* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); and Trudgill, *Investigations in Sociohistorical Linguistics: Stories of Colonisation and Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

43. See Richard, *Chypre sous les Lusignan*, 76–110; Daniele Baglioni, *La scripta italoromanza del regno di Cipro: Edizione e commento di testi di scriventi ciprioti del Quattrocento* (Rome: Aracne, 2006), 175–83.

44. William Labov, *Principles of Linguistic Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 1:11.