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Curating the enemy? Re-reading the *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens orientaux*

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ABSTRACT

Published under the auspices of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* between 1872 and 1906, the *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens orientaux* contains partial editions and French translations of medieval Arabic sources relating to the crusading period. Today, the five volumes of the *Recueil* remain the only access point to several important texts for non-Arabists when writing the history of the crusades. This article examines a series of curatorial and linguistic choices made by the *Recueil's* editors, and traces the impact of these decisions upon the field of crusade studies. Particular emphasis will be placed upon the nineteenth-century translations of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's (d. 1262) *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab* ('The Cream of the Milk of the History of Aleppo'). The first part of the article provides an overview of the modern historiographical debates on the counter-crusade paradigm, the main analytical model used to interpret Islamic experiences of the Levantine crusading movement. The second part reviews the *Recueil's* paratexts, related academic reports and editorial correspondence to reconstruct the chronology underpinning this influential translation project. The third part compares the translations themselves with the underlying Arabic manuscripts and editions, in order to evaluate the impact of specific linguistic choices and textual omissions. The conclusion then reflects upon how the nineteenth-century curation of medieval Arabic texts in the *Recueil* has shaped, and continues to shape, the way modern crusade historians conceptualise and interact with this key source base.

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The *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens orientaux* and the field of crusade studies

Since their publication between 1872 and 1906, the five Oriental volumes of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens orientaux* (hereafter: *Recueil*) have dominated the footnotes of modern crusade studies.[1] The *Recueil* contains abridged editions and French

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[1] *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens orientaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1872–1906) [*RHC Or*]. See for example, Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (London, 1952); Jean Richard, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris, 2012); Hans Eberhard

translations of fifteen different Arabic chronicles, written by twelve authors. Generations of researchers have depended upon this collection to write the history of the crusades. Yet, despite their hugely influential impact upon the field, very little research has focused upon how the Arabic materials contained in the *Recueil* were compiled, beyond a few concise but pointed criticisms of the French translations.[2] The one exception is Robert Irwin's short study exploring the importance of Orientalist scholarship in the early development of crusade studies.[3]

Any assessment of the *Recueil* requires engagement with ongoing discussions surrounding the legacies of Orientalism and Medievalism upon the inter-connected fields of medieval and crusade studies. Debates over Orientalism, and the perpetuation of colonial-era epistemologies have continued to rage in the decades following the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978.[4] Over the intervening forty-five years, the Saidian model of *Orientalism* has been heavily critiqued, particularly for a perceived lack of nuance when dealing with the careers of individual scholars, such as the celebrated French Orientalist Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy.[5]

Majid Daneshgar has lamented how one consequence of the debates provoked by Said's work is that 'we almost ignore how the mechanism of translation, its distribution, readers groups, and so on and so forth, was accomplished'.[6] The *Recueil* translations therefore make up an excellent new testing ground for some of Said's conclusions. If Colonialist or Orientalist attitudes can be detected in the translations, then it is important for those who still rely on these materials to understand this. Conversely, a lack of clear evidence would undercut some of the harsher and more dogmatic critiques of early European Orientalist scholarship.

With the exception of William McGuckin de Slane's (d. 1878) translations of Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 1382) *Muqaddima* ('The Introduction') and *Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-dīwān al-mubtadaʾ wa-l-khabar fī ayyām al-ʿArab wa-l-ʿAjam wa-l-Barbar* ('Book of Lessons, Record of Beginnings and Events in the History of the Arabs and the Berbers'), the

Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart, 2005); Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (London, 2009); Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (London, 2017).

[2]Claude Cahen branded the editors of the Oriental volumes of the *Recueil* as 'colonialist'. Claude Cahen 'Le Recueil des historiens des croisades. À propos d'une réimpression anastatique', *Journal des savants* 2 (1970): 94–104, at 100; ʿAziz ʿAtiya, *The Crusade: Historiography and Bibliography* (Bloomington, 1962), 84–5; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), 14; Carole Hillenbrand, 'Sources in Arabic', in *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources 1025–1204*, ed. Mary Whitby (Oxford, 2007), 283–340, at 318.

[3]Robert Irwin, 'Orientalism and the Early Development of Crusader Studies', in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2003), 2: 214–31. See also: Henri Déhérain, 'Les origines du recueil des "historiens des croisades"', *Journal des Savants* 5 (1919): 260–6; Paul Cobb, 'Contemplating Books with Usāma ibn Munqidh's Book of Contemplation', in *Bestsellers and Masterpieces: The Changing Medieval Canon* (Manchester, 2022), 23–48. For studies on Arabic translations by Spanish scholars, see: Anna Gil-Bardají, 'Academic Discourse and Translation from Arabic: A Case Study from the Spanish Tradition', *Babel* 55 (2009): 381–93.

[4]Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1973). For a detailed analysis of the influence of Orientalism on modern crusade historiography, see: Kristin Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug: Die Macht der Beschreibung in der mittelalterlichen und modernen Historiographie* (Münster, 2015), 20–36, 486–98; Daniel G. König, 'Islamic Studies: A Field of Research under Transcultural Crossfire', *The Journal of Transcultural Studies* 7 (2016): 101–35.

[5]Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies* (London, 2007), 3–4, 141–50, 277–9; Alain Messaoudi, *Les Arabisants et la France Coloniale, 1780–1930* (Lyon, 2015); Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism Said and the Unsaid* (Seattle, 2007), 290–306; John Tolan, 'The Historiography of Medieval Christian-Muslim Relations (1960–2020)', *De Medio Aevo* 12 (2023): 115–23.

[6]Majid Daneshgar, 'Lost Orientalism, Lost Orient, and Lost Orientals: An Overview', in *Deconstructing Islamic Studies*, ed. Majid Daneshgar and Aaron W. Hughes (Boston, 2020), 338–57, at 344.

process by which medieval Arabic historiographical texts were translated by nineteenth-century scholars has largely been ignored.[7] This is despite a growing appreciation of the insights that the study of translation can provide into specific historical periods.[8]

The popular and political reception of medieval crusading phenomena in nineteenth-century Europe, and the development of 'crusader medievalism', may also have influenced the way in which these Arabic texts were translated.[9] Mike Horswell recently defined crusader medievalism as 'the use and memory of the crusades and crusading rhetoric and imagery in the modern period'.[10] Despite being a popular subject of historical enquiry in Europe from the seventeenth century onwards, the nineteenth century witnessed a surge in popular interest in the crusades, as demonstrated by the success of historical novels such as Sophie Cottin's *Mathilde* (1805), Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819) and *The Talisman* (1825), in addition to non-fiction best sellers like Jean François Michaud's *L'Histoire des croisades* (1811).[11] Michaud's impact is particularly relevant. A member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* from 1814 onwards, Michaud is largely credited with popularising the narrative that the crusades represented the quintessential clash of civilisations between Islam and Latin Europe, and latterly between Islam and France.[12] As will be discussed below, the compilers of the *Recueil*, some of whom knew Michaud personally, were very much aware of the popular resonance of the subject with which they were dealing.

In order to assess the effect that these ideas may have had upon the *Recueil*, and therefore their impact on the field at large in a practical manner, particular emphasis will be placed on one text, Ibn al-ʿAdīm's (d. 1262) *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab* ('The Cream of the Milk of the History of Aleppo', hereafter: *Zubda*). Ibn al-ʿAdīm was an Aleppine teacher, diplomat, and specialist in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), who is best known for his historical writings, namely the *Zubda*, and a hugely detailed biographical dictionary of the same city, *Buġyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab* ('The Desired Object of Seeking in the History of Aleppo').[13] The *Zubda* provides the most detailed chronological

[7]Ramzi Rouighi, *Inventing the Berbers* (Philadelphia, 2019), 145–63; Robert Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton, 2018), 167–8, 179–80; Abdelmajid Hannoum, 'Translation and the Colonial Imaginary: Ibn Khaldûn Orientalist', *History and Theory* 42 (2003): 61–81; Alain Messaoudi, 'Entre érudition et colonisation, de Slane éditeur et traducteur d'Ibn Khaldoun (1840–1868)', in *Dans Figures d'Ibn Khaldûn: réception, appropriation et usages*, ed. Houari Touati and Kllani Mondhe (Algiers, 2010), 1–14; Milouda Medjahed, 'Traductions coloniales et (post)coloniales à l'épreuve de la neutralité', in *Et si la recherche scientifique ne pouvait pas être neutre?*, ed. Laurence Brière, Mélissa Lieutenant-Gosselin and Florence Piron (Québec, 2019), 81–94.

[8]Christopher Rundle, 'Translation as an Approach to History', *Translation Studies* 5 (2012): 232–40.

[9]Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusades: Images of the Crusaders in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (London, 2000), 6; Adam Knobler, 'Holy Wars, Empires, and the Portability of the Past: The Modern Uses of Medieval Crusades', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48 (2006): 293–325; Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug*, 45–59, 87, 186; Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester, 2011), 142–3; Mike Horswell, *The Rise and Fall of Crusader Medievalism, c. 1825–1945* (London, 2018), 32.

[10]Horswell, *The Rise and Fall of Crusader Medievalism*, 3.

[11]Tyerman, *The Debate*, 105–21; Kim Munholland, 'Michaud's *History of the Crusades* and the French Crusade in Algeria under Louis-Philippe', in *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy*, ed. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel P. Weisberg (Princeton, 1994), 144–65; Robert Irwin, 'Saladin and the Third Crusade: A Case Study in Historiography and the Historical Novel', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. Michael Bentley (London, 1997), 139–52; Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007), 18–23.

[12]Joseph-François Michaud, *L'Histoire des croisades*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1825), 1: 1: 'Quel tableau, en effet, que celui des peuples de l'Asie et de l'Europe armés les uns contre les autres, de deux religions s'attaquant réciproquement et se disputant l'empire du monde' (What a picture, indeed, that of the peoples of Asia and Europe armed against each other, of two religions attacking each other and vying for the empire of the world!).

[13]David Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable and His World* (Leiden, 1994); Anne-Marie Eddé, 'Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar Ibn al-ʿAdīm', in *Medieval Muslim Historians and the Franks in the Levant*, ed. Alex Mallett (Leiden, 2015), 109–35.

account of Aleppine history between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, and has been an important source of contemporaneous historical information about the crusading period since the nineteenth century.

This is demonstrated by the fact that the *Zubda* was the subject of at least four separate translations during the nineteenth century.[14] Additionally, there are only two surviving manuscripts of the *Zubda*, of which the one located in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris is the oldest and most complete.[15] This means that the nineteenth-century editors had access to the best manuscript, which was not the case for all of the materials included in the *Recueil*.[16] To date, there has been no updated translation of the *Zubda*, which means that the version included in the *Recueil*, and the later continuation by Edgard Blochet, are still relied upon today by non-Arabists to teach and research the history of the crusades.

This article begins with a discussion of modern historiography on the Muslim 'counter-crusade' movement. The 'counter-crusade' is based upon the premise that the arrival of the European crusaders provoked a comparable religious and military reaction in the Muslim Levant over the course of the twelfth century. As it remains the main interpretative framework through which modern historians have approached Islamic perspectives on the crusading movement, it is important to first understand the debates surrounding this concept, before questioning whether we can trace its origins back to the curation of Arabic texts by nineteenth-century Orientalist scholars. The second part gives a short overview of the chronology underpinning the *Recueil* project and the process by which texts were selected for inclusion. The third part assesses a series of linguistic and editorial decisions which inflate the importance of the crusaders within the translations – such as the rendering of '*jihād*' as holy war, the repeated insertion of the phrase 'the enemy' and textual omissions – while also presenting some potential explanations for these choices. The conclusion then reviews the epistemic legacies of this editorial process within the field of crusade studies, with particular reference to the counter-crusade paradigm.

The counter-crusade paradigm

The phrase 'counter-crusade' is generally used by modern historians as a broad-brush narrative framing device to encompass almost all Islamic reactions to the crusading movement. Yet only recently have the origins of the term begun to be examined in any detail.[17] This is despite several books and decades of discussion on the meaning of the term 'crusade'.[18] The field at large has therefore engaged in extensive debates about the application of the concept of crusade to Christian groups, institutions and

[14] *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, ed. and trans. Georg Wilhelm Freytag (Paris, 1819); *Historia Merdasidarum ex Halebensibus Cemaleddini annalibus excerpta*, ed. and trans. Johann Joseph Müller (Bonn, 1829); Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, trans., 'Extraits de l'histoire d'Alep', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1874–8), 1: 208–338; *RHC Or*, 3: 573–690; Edgard Blochet, trans., 'Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep par Kemal ed-Dîn', *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3–6 (1895–1898): 3: 509–64, 4: 145–320, 5: 37–107, 6: 1–49.

[15] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (hereafter: BnF), MS Arabe 1666.

[16] See Cahen, 'Le Recueil', 95, 100, 102.

[17] James Wilson, *Medieval Syria and the Onset of the Crusades* (Edinburgh, 2023), 151–4.

[18] For a good overview of the debates on the polysemy of the term crusade, see: Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 7–22.

individuals, but has given little consideration to the problems associated with applying this same term to all Muslims who experienced the Levantine crusades.[19]

Writing in 1934, the French historian René Grousset was the first to coin the alliterative phrase 'contre-croisade' (counter-crusade) and apply it to all Islamic reactions to the crusading movement.[20] But it was the Israeli scholar Emmanuel Sivan who fully defined and propagated a coherent historical narrative for the development of the counter-crusade that is still widely accepted today.[21]

Sivan laid out a fairly simple, linear chronology for the counter-crusade movement. In the decades that followed the first crusaders' arrival in 1098, they faced only limited and disjointed military resistance from the Islamic Near East's political elite.[22] This trajectory changed in the 1150s with the victories of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī, 'la plaque tournante' (the pivot), which later rose to 'l'apogée' (the apogee) under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb (Saladin), resulting in the Muslim recovery of Jerusalem in 1187.[23] This was followed by a sixty-seven-year period of 'détente' (relaxation of tensions) under Ayyubid leadership, before the Mamluk 'renouveau' (renewal) of the counter-crusade movement from 1260 onwards, culminating in the fall of the last crusader stronghold of Acre in 1291.[24]

In recent years, two aspects of the framework which Sivan articulated have come under heavy scrutiny. On the one hand, the validity of the paradigm's theological foundations has been disputed by Suleiman Mourad, James Lindsay, Kenneth Goudie and Benedikt Reier, who have closely examined the ideological development and reception of the *Ḥadīth* literature during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[25] On the other, Michael Köhler, Paul Cobb and Alex Mallett have questioned the political framework. Mallett attempted to distinguish between the political counter-crusade, and the religious anti-Frankish *jihād*, while Cobb concluded that the entire concept of the counter-crusade is flawed, as it does not take into account the nuances of individual agency.[26] This has led to a great deal of confusion about the meaning and validity of the term counter-crusade, resulting in its conflation with the concept of the anti-Frankish *jihād*.

Of the scholars cited above, it would be possible to draw a clear distinction between Arabist and non-Arabist researchers. It is indisputable that Arabists who have engaged with more recent critical editions, and the underlying manuscripts, would not have been influenced by decisions made by the editors of the *Recueil* in the same way as

[19]For a rare exception, see: Hussein Fancy, 'Muslim Crusaders: Guzmán el Bueno and the Limits of Secular History', *al-Masāq* 30 (2018): 248–65.
[20]René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934–6), 1: 162.
[21]Emmanuel Sivan, *L'islam et la croisade: idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades* (Paris, 1968). See also: Stefan Leder, 'Sunni Resurgence, Jihād Discourse and the Impact of the Frankish Presence in the Near East', in *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean, 12th–14th Centuries*, ed. Stefan Leder (Baden-Baden, 2011), 81–101.
[22]Sivan, *L'islam et la croisade*, 23–58.
[23]Ibid., 59–130.
[24]Ibid., 165–203.
[25]Suleiman A. Mourad and James Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period* (Leiden, 2013), 33–7; Kenneth Goudie, *Reinventing Jihād* (Leiden, 2019), 4–9, 195–200; Benedikt Reier, 'The Reception of Jihād Literature in the Crusading Period', *Crusades* 21 (2022): 65–90.
[26]Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1991; repr. 2014); Michael Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. Peter M. Holt, revised by Konrad Hirschler (Leiden, 2013); Paul Cobb, *The Race for Paradise* (Oxford, 2014), 274; Alex Mallett, *Popular Muslim Reactions to the Franks in the Levant, 1097–1291* (London, 2018), 60, 89, 145.

their non-Arabist contemporaries. How then can it be argued that the *Recueil* has impacted, and continues to impact, contributions made by Arabists to the debate on the counter-crusade paradigm?

First of all, there are some practical reasons as to why we should accept that ambiguities exist between Arabists and non-Arabist scholars of the crusades. For example, it is good academic practice to check new translations against earlier readings of the same text. But more importantly, Arabists still have to situate their findings within the wider historiographical framework of crusade studies. Most scholars with the linguistic abilities to interact with Arabic sources have understandably prioritised the reconstruction of coherent Islamic 'counter' narratives of the crusading period. While incredibly important for diversifying the traditionally Eurocentric focus of crusade studies, this collective *idée fixe* has also led to special attention being given to military interactions and the careers of charismatic political figures.[27]

Although Konrad Hirschler and Alex Mallett have demonstrated the benefits that can be gained by adopting discrete historiographical approaches to individual authors and their texts, little consideration has been given to how the counter-crusade paradigm influences how crusade historians – both Arabists and non-Arabists – engage with medieval Arabic literary sources.[28] As Robert Irwin pointed out in 2003, simply mining Arabic sources for details about the crusading movement can be problematic:

> On the whole, the chronicles have mainly been used merely to provide information to confirm or supplement the Western materials. There has been little attempt to, as it were, get inside these sources and recreate the *Einfühlung* (emotional framework) of the Muslim counter-crusade.[29]

While Irwin also noted that historians in the field risk 'distorting' the history of the Middle East by 'overemphasising' the significance of the crusades, it could be argued that the counter-crusade paradigm perpetuates this tendency.

Over fifty years ago, Claude Cahen observed that the crusaders and Franks were not the focal point for Arabic 'historians of the crusades'.[30] Yet the counter-crusade paradigm incentivises researchers to engage with Arabic sources based upon the premise that their primary value lies in the insight they provide into Muslim reactions to the crusading movement. This means that even if these authors are no longer viewed as Arab 'historians of the crusades', their written works are still treated as histories of the 'counter-crusade' by most specialists.

If we are to address the methodological issues brought about by recent critiques of the counter-crusade paradigm outlined above, we need to first understand how we got here.

[27]Suleiman A. Mourad, 'A Critique of the Scholarly Outlook of the Crusades: The Case for Tolerance and Coexistence', in *Syria in Crusader Times: Conflict and Coexistence*, ed. Carole Hillenbrand (Edinburgh, 2020), 144–60.

[28]Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors as Actors* (London, 2006); Alex Mallett, ed., *Medieval Muslim Historians and the Franks in the Levant* (Leiden, 2014); Alex Mallett, ed., *Arabic Textual Sources for the Crusades* (Leiden, 2024).

[29]Irwin, 'Orientalism and the Early Development', 230–1.

[30]Cahen, 'Le Recueil', 98: 'Naturellement, les historiens orientaux, arabes ou autres, ont écrit de leur point de vue des ouvrages qui n'avaient aucune raison d'être centrés sur les Croisades ; ce ne sont donc pas des "historiens des Croisades", mais des historiens dont les écrits peuvent par endroits servir à reconstituer l'histoire des Croisades' (Naturally, from their point of view, Eastern historians, Arab or otherwise, wrote works that had no reason to focus on the crusades; they are therefore not 'historians of the crusades', but historians whose writings can in some places be used to reconstruct the history of the crusades). For a contrasting view, see: Abbès Zouache, 'Croisade, mémoire, guerre: perspectives de recherche', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 168 (2010): 517–37.

It is therefore important to gain an understanding of early European attempts to edit and translate some of these Arabic texts, and the motivations of those involved in these projects.

Compiling the *Recueil*

> Ayyūbid and Mamlūk historians included details that ours [old French and Latin chroniclers] overlooked, or had no knowledge of, as they largely contented themselves with the actions of Christian princes, and gave only little attention to those of Mahometan princes.[31]

The publication of the first volume of the *Recueil* in 1872 was the culmination of a drawn-out process that spanned more than two centuries. While Latin texts relating to the crusading movement were first published by Jacques Bongars in 1611, it took several decades for seventeenth-century scholars to reflect upon the ways in which Arabic texts could enhance their understanding of this period.[32]

Although Antoine Galland, quoted above, is usually credited with being the first person to understand the potential importance of Arabic literary sources for crusade historians, he was actually at least the second.[33] In 1670, Louis Ferrand wrote to Edward Pococke in Oxford, requesting that 'the Doctor supply him with what such Arabic books, as he has read, say of the French history, and chiefly of the Expeditions made by them to the East, or at least, to direct him to the books, wherein memoirs of this sort can be found'.[34] Ferrand was trained in 'Oriental languages' by an 'Arabian merchant' during his formative years in the harbour town of Toulon. He later travelled to Paris to continue his education, where Ferrand spent time in the 'king's library' and was 'taken notice of by Mr Colbert'.[35]

Jean-Baptiste Colbert's (d. 1683, First Minister of State under Louis XIV of France) manuscript collection activities laid the literary foundations for the development of French Oriental studies over the following two centuries.[36] The presence of Ferrand within Colbert's circle coincided with Arabic manuscripts dealing with the crusading period being swept up in this broader effort to obtain textual artifacts from the ancient and medieval Near East. Copies of key chronicles written by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) and Ibn ʿAdīm, that were later included in the *Recueil* collection, both entered into Colbert's library catalogue during this period.[37]

A second wave of manuscripts were transferred to Paris from 1739 onwards as part a planned section dedicated to the crusades in the first iteration of the *Recueil des historiens*

[31] Antoine Galland writing in the introduction to: Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1697), 1: vii: 'En effet, les Historiens des Aïoubites & des Mamelucs en ont écrit des particularitez que les nôtres avoient obmises, ou dont ils n'avoient pas eu connoissance, s'étant contentez de rapporter les actions des Princes Chrêtiens, & n'ayant donné que fort peu d'attention à celles des Princes Mahometans'.

[32] Jacques Bongars, ed., *Gesta dei per Francos*, 2 vols. (Hanau, 1611).

[33] Nicholas Drew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford, 2009), 26–7, 123.

[34] Leonard Twells, *The Theological Works of the Learned Dr. Pocock*, 2 vols. (London, 1740), 1: 66.

[35] Ibid., 1: 66–7.

[36] Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters* (Boston, 2018), 17–19, 25–33; Jacob Soll, *The Information Master* (Ann Arbor, 2009), 104–8. For the impact of this manuscript acquisition upon scholarship in the Arabic speaking world, see: Ahmed El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics* (Princeton, 2020).

[37] Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Colbert, BnF, MS Baluze 101, fol. 90v; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fol. 1r; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Taʾrīkh al-bāhir fī l-dawlat al-atābākiyya*, BnF, MS Arabe 1898; Benedikt Reier, 'Bibliophilia in Ottoman Aleppo: Muḥammad al-Taqawī and his Medical Library', *Der Islam* 98, no. 2 (2021): 473–515.

des Gaules et de la France.[38] This project was instigated by the Benedictine congregation of Saint Maur, based in Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris. Working under the leadership of Dom Martin Bouquet, the Maurists produced what Christopher Tyerman judged to be 'poor' editions of Latin and Old French texts relating to the crusading period.[39] Bouquet was assisted by Dom Jean Baptiste Haudiquier, who attempted to learn Arabic in order to 'translate the historians who wrote in this language about the crusades'.[40] In 1740, Louis XV of France also agreed to support a failed attempt to lure the eminent Vatican librarian Giuseppe Simone Assemani to Paris so he could 'review' Arabic translations relating to the crusading period.[41] Although Haudiquier did not publish anything of note, his participation in this project overlapped with the *Bibliothèque nationale*'s acquisition of works by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī and Ibn Wāṣil, most of which were incorporated into the *Recueil*.[42]

The eighteenth century also saw the publication of Latin translations of some Arabic texts that feature in the *Recueil*. In 1732, Albert Shultens produced translated excerpts in Latin relating to the career of Saladin taken from the works of Abū l-Fidāʾ and Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, and between 1789 and 1794 a former student of Johann Jakob Reiske posthumously published his five-volume edition and Latin translation of Abū l-Fidā"s *al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* ('The Abridged Work on the Accounts of Mankind').[43] Another edition and Latin translation of Abū l-Fidā"s *al-mukhtaṣar* based upon the Paris-based manuscripts was produced by Heinrich Fleischer in 1832.[44]

But no real progress was made on the Paris-based texts until 17 June 1769, when Dom Georges Françis Berthereau was granted 2,000 *Francs* to produce Arabic editions and accompanying Latin translations of the sections relevant to the crusades.[45] For a seven-year-period from 1770 onwards, Berthereau was assisted in this task by Joseph Chahin (Yūsuf Shāhīn), a Syrian Maronite scribe from Aleppo, who was a native Arabic speaker.[46] According to William McGuckin de Slane, one of the later editors of the *Recueil*, Chahin produced partial editions of thirteen different chronicles that were included in the final version of the collection, while Berthereau worked predominantly on producing Latin translations of these extracts.[47] This included the chronicles of

[38] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 23 vols. (Paris, 1869–1904) [RHGF].
[39] Tyerman, *The Debate*, 69–70; Paul Riant, 'Inventaire des matériaux rassemblés par les Bénédictins au XVIIIe siècle pour la publication des Historiens des croisades', *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884): 105–30.
[40] René Tassin, *Histoire littéraire de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1770), 1: 699.
[41] Henri Omont, 'Sainte-Palaye et Assemani', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 77 (1916): 522–32.
[42] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, BnF, MS Arabe 1500; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Miʾrāt al-zamān fī taʾrīkh al-aʿyān*, BnF, MS Arabe 1506, fol. 1r; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār banī Ayyūb*, BnF, MS Arabe 1702, BnF, MS Arabe 1703. For details of these acquisitions, see: Henri Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1902), 2: 787, 789–90, 798.
[43] *Vita et res gestae Sultani*, ed. and trans. Albert Schultens (Leiden, 1732); *Abulfedae Annales Muslemici, arabice et latine*, ed. and trans. Jacob Adler and Johann Reiske, 5 vols. (Copenhagen, 1789–94).
[44] *Abulfedae Historia Anteislamica, arabice e duobus codicibus Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis, 101 et 615*, ed. and trans. Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (Leipzig, 1831).
[45] 'Collections historiques et littéraires entreprises par les Bénédictins', BnF, Moreau 307, fol. 32; Xavier Charmes, *Le Comite des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques (Histoire et documents)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886), 1: 293–5; A.-G. Camus, 'Rapport fait sur la continuation de la collection des Historiens de France et de celle des Chartes et Diplômes', *Mémoires de l'Institut national des sciences et arts. Littérature et beaux-arts*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1798–1804), 2: 25–43, at 33.
[46] Silvestre de Sacy, 'Notice des manuscrits laissés par D. Berthereau, religieux bénédictin de la congrégation de Saint-Maur, mort en 1794', *Magasin Encyclopédique* 2 (1801): 7–26, at 8–10.
[47] *RHC Or*, 1: iii–iv. These editions and translations have been preserved in the BnF in Paris. See: 'Matériaux rassemblés par les Bénédictins, au XVIIIe siècle, pour la publication du recueil des Historiens des Croisades', BnF, MS Français 9065–9069, 9071–9072.

Abū l-Fidāʾ, Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Abū Shāma, comprising all of the lengthier texts chosen for inclusion in the *Recueil*. The outbreak of the French revolution and Berthereau's death in 1794 meant that none of their joint efforts would be published.

Berthereau's most tangible legacy would be inspiring Silvestre de Sacy to begin working with medieval Arabic texts.[48] De Sacy refined his Arabic language skills by completing a partial French translation of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Zubda* during his youth.[49] Following Berthereau's death, de Sacy inherited responsibility for this translation project. De Sacy personally advocated for the French government to purchase Berthereau's manuscripts, including Chahin's editions. In a letter written to the German Orientalist Johann Eichhorn in 1801, de Sacy placed emphasis on the importance of Chahin's '1,100 folios of Arabic extracts', while describing his former mentor's translations as 'rough'.[50] The documents were eventually purchased from Berthereau's family by the French state in 1813.[51]

As these negotiations dragged on, the *Institut de France* publicly reiterated its commitment to the translation of Arabic texts relating to the crusades in 1799 and 1801.[52] But the real turning point in the *Recueil* project did not come until 19 October 1832, just two years after Charles X launched the French invasion of Algeria. On this date, the president of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Pierre-Claude-François Daunou, and future president Joseph Naudet, gave a speech which would shape the format of *Recueil*, and with it the field of crusade studies for generations. Daunou and Naudet proposed separating the *Recueil* from the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*.[53]

Quoting Michaud, and heavily influenced by the increasing politicisation of crusader history during the French colonisation of Algeria, Daunou and Naudet essentially facilitated the creation of a new subfield within medieval studies, with its own set of translated primary source texts.[54] The Arabic sources on the crusades went from one special volume, to several volumes, requiring new editorial oversight. On 5 July 1833, Étienne Quatremère and Joseph Toussaint Reinaud were appointed as the first editors of the Oriental volumes of the *Recueil*.[55]

Reinaud and Quatremère were both former students of Silvestre de Sacy with experience of working with Arabic texts relating to the crusades. Reinaud had translated the Arabic excerpts for the fourth volume of Joseph-François Michaud's *Bibliothèque des croisades* (Library of the Crusades), while Quatremère had worked on producing extracts

[48]De Sacy, 'Notice des manuscrits', 8.
[49]A copy of the translation is still extant in manuscript form, and it was later published by Reinhold Röhricht, see: Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków, Berol. Ms. Gall. Qu. 78; de Sacy, 'Extraits de l'histoire d'Alep', 208–338.
[50]'Sacy (Silvestre de) à Eichhorn', Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, MS 2375, fol. 273. Cited in: Déhérain, 'Les origines', 263–4. For more details on de Sacy's contacts with German Orientalist scholars, see: Michel Espagne, 'Silvestre de Sacy et les orientalistes allemands', *Revue Germanique Internationale* 7 (2008): 79–91.
[51]*RHC Or*, 1: ii.
[52]Camus, 'Rapport', 33–4; A.-G. Camus, 'Compte rendu des travaux entrepris par l'Institut national, ou exécutés sous sa direction', *Mémoires de l'Institut national des sciences et arts* 3 (1801): 1–9, at 3–4.
[53]Pierre-Claude-François Daunou and Joseph Naudet, 'Rapport sur la continuation du recueil des Historiens de France', *Mémoires de l'Institut de France* 12 (1839): 4–29, at 9–10.
[54]Daunou and Naudet, 'Rapport', 7, 8, 11. On the politicisation of crusade studies during the nineteenth century, see: Munholland, 'Michaud's *History*', 152–65; Tyerman, *The Debate*, 106–8.
[55]Daunou and Naudet, 'Rapport', 29.

in French translation of al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-sulūk lī-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk* ('Book of the Path to Knowledge about the Kings' Dynasties').[56]

As part of the first report given to the to the *Académie* on 10 January 1834, the editors advocated publishing the Oriental texts with French, rather than Latin translations.[57] It was claimed that the 'national idiom' was becoming the norm for 'our skilful Orientalists' when translating and commenting on Eastern authors. Another justification was that a French translation would make these texts more accessible to a wider audience, who held 'a laudable curiosity' in 'the history of the French'.[58] This is a clear acknowledgment that the popular appeal and potential marketability of crusader history was also taken into consideration from the early stages of the editorial process.

In terms of the texts selected for inclusion, the *Recueil* focuses exclusively on the Levantine crusades and 'les colonies chrétiennes de la Syrie' (Christian colonies in Syria), with a particular focus on sections relating to the twelfth century.[59] The first joint report only names one Arabic text, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī's biography of Saladin, whose work was not actually contained in the final version of the *Recueil*.[60] A plan for the publication of the *Occidental* or Western historians was developed by Auguste-Arthur Beugnot shortly after the project was approved by the *Académie*.[61] But there is less evidence that such foreplaning went into deciding which sources would be included in the Arabic sections. Instead, a more fluid system of editorial autonomy seems to have been adopted for the Oriental volumes.

Most of the space in volumes one, two, four and five is dedicated to the writings of Ibn al-Athīr and Abū Shāma.[62] A focus on these two authors is also evident in the early reports given by the editors to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. In January 1835 Silvestre de Sacy related that Reinaud had begun work on Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh* ('The Complete History'). Meanwhile Quatremère started preparing the introduction of the first volume, and some Armenian sections, before switching his attention to Abū Shāma's *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn* in July 1845.[63]

Reinaud's progress on Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil* was initially delayed by a lacuna in the Paris manuscript for the early crusading period.[64] These gaps were to be filled by a series of copies made at the editors' request from an alternative manuscript of Ibn al-Athīr's chronicle housed in Istanbul. These copies have survived in the archive.[65] Yet, in January 1837, shortly after these reproductions arrived from Istanbul, Reinaud, with

[56]Joseph-François Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1825–9); Étienne Quatremère, trans., *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1837–45).

[57]For more detail on the practice of publishing medieval Arabic texts in Latin during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see: Daniel König, 'Latin-Arabic Entanglement: A Short History', in *Latin and Arabic: Entangled Histories*, ed. Daniel König (Heidelberg, 2019), 31–121, at 102.

[58]Auguste-Arthur Beugnot, 'Rapport sur la publication du recueil des Historiens des Croisades', *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France* 12 (1839): 30–49, at 47.

[59]Tyerman, *The Debate*, 143. This phrase is used several times by William McGuckin de Slane in the introduction and footnotes of the first volume: *RHC Or*, 1: li, lx, 380, 381.

[60]Beugnot, 'Rapport', 44.

[61]'Plan du Recueil des historiens occidentaux des Croisades', Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, MS 2739.

[62]*RHC Or*, 1: 187–755, 2/1: 1–180, 2/2: 3–375, 4: 1–516, 5: 1–216.

[63]Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, 'Rapports semestriels du Secrétaire perpétuel', *Mémoires de l'Institut de France* 12 (1839): 209–77, at 221.

[64]Ibid., 221.

[65]Ibid., 221, 226, 231, 236. For the reproductions of the Istanbul manuscripts, see: 'Fragments de la grande chronique ou Kamil d'Ibn al Athir', Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, MS 3993.

the support of the 'commission', elected to include abridged French translations of Abū l-Fidāʾ's universal history.[66] A similar degree of editorial freedom can be seen in the decision to include extracts from Ibn al-ʿAdīm's writings in the third volume of the collection. This choice was made in July 1881, just three years prior to publication of volume three.[67] After the deaths of Quatremère and Reinaud in 1857 and 1867 respectively, William McGuckin de Slane (d. 1878), Charles Defrémery (d. 1883), Charles Schefer (d. 1898), and Charles Barbier de Meynard (d. 1908) took up the task of completing the *Recueil*.[68]

Overall, then, this was a translation project that spanned more than two centuries, dating from the 1670s until 1906. The *Recueil* phase took seven decades, and was enriched by the expertise of at least six different editors with an eclectic range of linguistic abilities. The continuing use of these translated materials by experts in the field today is testament to the philological and historical skills of those involved.

Curating 'the enemy'

In their first report to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* on 10 January 1834, the editors of the *Recueil* echoed Antonie Galland's thoughts on the benefits of using Arabic authors vis-à-vis their Western counterparts to gain a more nuanced understanding of the crusading period:

> This series will include those documents relating to the crusades that are least well known; placed alongside the chronicles of the West, so to speak, they will make it easier to check accounts that have sometimes been altered by passion – more often by ignorance – and will provide a wealth of information on the political, moral and religious situation in the countries invaded by the crusaders, information that would be sought in vain from historians of the West.[69]

In other words, the Oriental volumes of the *Recueil* were motivated by a desire to provide insight into Arabic-Islamic experiences of the crusading movement. Such sentiments lend support to Robert Irwin's view that the Arabic sections of the *Recueil* should be viewed as 'Galland's literary grandchildren', and therefore indicative of a more dispassionate attitude towards Islamic history typical of the 'Republic of Arabic Letters'.[70] But there is also a certain naïveté in adopting this approach to these Arabic texts. Like all medieval historiography, these sources were written by authors with their own biases and agendas, and each may have had distinct perspectives on the crusaders and the

[66]de Sacy, 'Rapports semestriels', 242.
[67]Henri Wallon, 'Troisième section. Actes académiques du 1er janvier 1880 au 31 décembre 1884', *Mémoires de l'Institut de France* 33 (1884): 101–82, at 108–9, 112.
[68]For more details on the careers of these individuals and Silvestre de Sacy, see: Gustave Dugat, *Histoire des orientalistes de l'Europe du XIIe au XIXe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1868–70), 1: 187–220; Johann Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa* (Leipzig, 1955), 140–57, 202, 222; Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing*, 141–6, 148–9, 159; *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, ed. François Pouillon (Paris, 2008), 47–8, 114–15, 269–70, 794–5, 810, 896–8, 902–3.
[69]Beugnot, 'Rapport', 30–49, at 43: 'Cette série comprendra ceux des documents relatifs aux croisades qui sont le moins connus; mis pour ainsi dire en regard des chroniques de l'Occident, ils donneront la facilité de contrôler des récits altérés quelquefois par la passion, plus souvent par l'ignorance, et fourniront sur la situation politique, morale et religieuse des pays envahis par les croisés, une foule historiens de renseignements que l'on demanderait vainement aux historiens de l'Occident'. Reinaud expressed similar thoughts in parts of his introduction to the Arabic volumes of the *Bibliothèque des croisades*: Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades*, 4: v–vi.
[70]Irwin, 'Orientalism and the Early Development', 215. For more on the 'Arabic Republic of Letters', see: Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, 200–3.

states they established in the Levant.[71] The edited materials also encompass a variety of different literary genres, including universal histories, local histories, biographical dictionaries, and biographies.

Unfortunately, William McGuckin de Slane's introduction to the first volume of the *Recueil* provides little insight into the methodological approach adopted during the translation process, as well as no editorial assessment on the potential limitations of the source base. The focus is instead on outlining the different manuscripts and documents used to compile the Oriental volumes of the *Recueil*, and offering short biographies of the authors, notes on transliteration and genealogical tables for the Islamic dynasties who ruled the Near East during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[72] All of the translations in the *Recueil* are supplemented by a short one- or two-page preface, which provides additional contextual information about the author and the selected text.

The first editor, Joseph Toussaint Reinaud, did articulate some opinions on these matters in an introduction to the fourth volume of Joseph-François Michaud's *Bibliothèque des croisades*. Although Reinaud demonstrated the ability to successfully identify biases within certain texts in this introduction, for example in Ibn al-Athīr's depiction of Saladin's career, this more analytical reading of individual authors seems to have been routinely discarded in favour of a broad-brush stroke approach towards the sources.[73] This decision may also have been related to the popular appeal and perceived marketability of the translations, resulting in more emphasis being placed on the careers of certain individuals and specific dynasties.

Reinaud wrote fairly sweeping judgements about the 'extreme simplicity', lack of 'logical order' and 'often trivial' linguistic style he found in the Arabic texts when compared to 'European authors', which he linked to the limiting nature of the Arabic language.[74] Another good example of this tendency would be Reinaud's claim that all Muslim authors were strongly influenced by religious sentiments, 'especially at a time when the Christian and Muslim religions were, so to speak, at loggerheads, and for them it was a fight to the death'.[75] According to Reinaud, this mindset was especially applicable to authors who had been granted honorific titles linked to religion, such as ʿIzz al-Dīn (Supporter of the Religion) or Kamāl al-Dīn (Perfection of the Religion) – two designations that are particularly common among the Arabic writers included in the *Recueil*. Reinaud interpreted the acceptance of these titles as a public commitment by the authors to turn 'their talents and experience to the defence of Islam' through their writing.[76]

From this introduction it is clear that, at least in 1829, Reinaud endorsed Michaud's clash-of-civilisations master narrative, viewing these Arabic texts as windows into a 'time when the religious spirit was still in all its strength, and when communications between the two nations [Islam and Christian Europe] were very rare'.[77] These ideas will be familiar to those who have engaged with the work of Henri Pirenne or Bernard Lewis, both of

[71]Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography*, 1–6; Hillenbrand, 'Sources in Arabic', 283–340.
[72]*RHC Or*, 1: i–lxxi.
[73]Joseph Toussaint Reinaud, 'Observations de M. Reinaud sur les chroniques Arabes', in Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades*, 4: xlvi.
[74]Reinaud, 'Observations de M. Reinaud', xli–xlv.
[75]Ibid., xl.
[76]Ibid., xl-xli.
[77]Ibid., vi.

whom voiced similar theories regarding the economic and intellectual 'iron curtain' that was supposedly drawn across the Christian and Muslim poles of the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages.[78]

Most damningly, Reinaud demonstrated a willingness to disregard evidence that contradicted this interpretation of the crusades. For example, Reinaud accused the Arabic-Islamic authors of displaying an 'impartiality' that 'is sometimes mistaken for indifference'. Reinaud attributed this tendency to 'the spirit of resignation natural to Easterners' who were 'accustomed to the yoke of despotism'.[79]

Despite being granted an honorific title that included the word religion, Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm does not fit easily into Reinaud's grouping of authors writing 'in defence of Islam'. Modern historians generally view Ibn al-ʿAdīm as one of the more balanced and dispassionate Arabic historiographers of the crusading period.[80] This historical rigour led Silvestre de Sacy to praise Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Zubda* as 'one of the best and special histories written by the Muslims'.[81]

Although none of the final volumes of the *Recueil* were published during Reinaud's lifetime, he was the longest-serving editor of the Arabic volumes, occupying this position for thirty-four years between 1833 and his death in 1867. As someone who was present in this role from the project's inception, it is safe to assume that Reinaud would have had a great deal of influence upon the overarching editorial approach.

It is also possible to identify a series of linguistic and editorial decisions in the French translations of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Zubda* that seemingly correspond with the sentiments Reinaud articulated in this introduction. Many of these choices have the effect of reinforcing the importance of the crusaders or '*al-firanj*' (the Franks) within the translated texts. These curatorial choices also lend support to a clash-of-civilisations reading of the crusading period, which is then transmitted into modern scholarship through a continued reliance upon these nineteenth-century materials.

A good illustration of this is the translation of the complex and multifaceted concept of '*jihād*' as holy war. As mentioned above, Silvestre de Sacy was the first to produce a translation of the *Zubda*. The German historian Friedrich Wilken received a copy of de Sacy's translation during a visit to Paris in the spring of 1811.[82] This makes it one of the earliest, if not the first Arabic text relating to the crusading period to be partially

[78]Henri Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne* (Paris, 1938); Bernard Lewis, 'The Muslim Discovery of Europe', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20 (1957): 409–16, at 411. For critiques of these interpretations, see: Daniel König, *Arabic Islamic Views of the Latin West* (Oxford, 2015), 90–1, 328; Kristin Skottki, 'The Dead, the Revived and the Recreated Pasts: "Structural Amnesia" in the Representations of Crusades History', in *Perceptions of the Crusades from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century: Engaging the Crusades, Volume One*, ed. Jonathan Phillips and Mike Horswell (London, 2018), 107–32, at 120–3.

[79]Reinaud, 'Observations de M. Reinaud', xli.

[80]For more details on Ibn al-ʿAdīm's life and writings, see: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb*, ed. David S. Margoliouth, 20 vols. (New Delhi, 1980–1982), 16: 5–57; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. Helmut Ritter et al., 32 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1962–2013), 22: 421–6; Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, 1–2, 122–43, 151–73; Eddé, 'Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar Ibn al-ʿAdīm'.

[81]Friedrich Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge nach morgenländischen und abendländischen Berichten*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1807–32), 2: ix–x: 'C'est ici une des meilleures histoires particulières, composées par les Musulmans; et nous ne craignons pas d'assurer que, parmi les historiens orientaux, Kemaleddin est un de ceux dont l'ouvrage mériteroit le mieux de voir le jour' (This is one of the best and special histories written by the Muslims, and we are not afraid to assure you that, among Oriental historians, Kemaleddin is one of those whose work most deserves to see the light of day). This letter or note from Silvestre de Sacy is quoted by Friedrich Wilken in the introduction to the second volume of his *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. I have been unable to identify the original document.

[82]Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2: vii–x.

translated into French. The version de Sacy gave to Wilken, of which a copy has survived in the *Biblioteka Jagiellońska* in Kraków, was later published in 1874.[83]

In this early translation, de Sacy was seemingly reticent to translate *jihād* as holy war. Instead, vague phrases such as 'marcher contre les Francs' (to march against the Franks), 'une promesse avec serment de combattre vaillamment […] sans épargner leur vie et sans céder à la crainte' (a promise with an oath to fight valiantly […] without sparing their lives and giving in to fear) or 'se préparât à marcher du côte d'Alep' (to prepare to march towards Aleppo), were used.[84] This changed between de Sacy's 1811 version, and the abridged translations of Charles Barbier de Meynard in the *Recueil* from 1884, and the continuation by Edgard Blochet published between 1885 and 1898. In the *Recueil*, '*jihād*' is typically translated as 'la guerre sainte' (the holy war or holy war).[85] At one point, it is also rendered as 'combattre les Chrétiens' (to fight the Christians).[86]

In his later continuation, Blochet also translates '*jihād*' as 'la guerre sainte' (holy war).[87] Although on several occasions, Blochet also inserts 'holy war' or 'the infidels' into his translation without '*jihād*' or '*al-kuffār*' (the infidels), being present in the Arabic original.[88] In one instance, Blochet translated the following section: "ويطلبُ منهم أن يحثّوا المسلمين على الغَزَاة" (and he requested from them [religious leaders] that they would urge the Muslims to go on the attack [against the Franks]) as 'et il les a priés d'exciter les Musulmans á la guerre sainte contre les Infidèles' (he asked them to incite the Muslims to holy war against the Infidels).[89] On others, Blochet omits '*jihād*' from his translation altogether, or replaces it with the phrase 'préparatifs belliqueux contre les Infidèles' (warlike preparations against the Infidels).[90]

One possible explanation for this discrepancy between de Sacy and the later editors could be an article written by Antoine Joseph du Caurroy, director of the French Language School in Constantinople, that was published in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1851. In a note preceding his article, du Caurroy argues that, especially from a Ḥanafī Aleppine perspective – and Ibn ʿAdīm was an Aleppine religious scholar and diplomat born into a family with a proud lineage of Ḥanafī *Qāḍīs* (religious judges) – '*jihād* we will translate as holy war; '*jihād* is in fact nothing more than a religious war, initiated by Muslims against non-Muslims, and later retaliated for by the crusades'.[91] This is an important master narrative which has survived in the work of Jaques Le Goff and

[83]Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków, Berol. Ms. Gall. Qu. 78; de Sacy, 'Extraits de l'histoire d'Alep', 208–338.
[84]Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków, Berol. Ms. Gall. Qu. 78, fols. 28, 35, 50, 94, 132; de Sacy, 'Extraits de l'histoire d'Alep', 235–6, 242, 255, 285, 323.
[85]*RHC Or*, 3: 596, 617, 659.
[86]*RHC Or*, 3: 602.
[87]Blochet, 'Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep', 3: 515. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fol. 170v; ed. Sāmī al-Dahān, 3 vols. (Damascus, 1951–68), 2: 291; ed. Suhayl Zakkār, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1997), 2: 41–2.
[88]Blochet, 'Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep', 3: 539, 555. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fols. 178r, 184r; ed. al-Dahān, 2: 319, 338; ed. Zakkār, 2: 61–2, 76.
[89]Blochet, 'Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep', 3: 539; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fols. 178r; ed. al-Dahān, 2: 318–319, 3: 161; ed. Zakkār, 2: 61–62.
[90]Blochet, 'Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep', 3: 536, 5: 46; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fols. 177r, 234v; ed. al-Dahān, 2: 315, 3: 161; ed. Zakkār, 2: 59, 198.
[91]Antoine Joseph du Caurroy, 'Legislation Musulmane Sunnite. Rite Hanèfi. Code Civil. Livre IV', *Journal Asiatique* (February–March 1851): 211–55, at 211, 228–55: '*djihad*, que nous traduirons par *guerre sainte*; le *djihad* n'est, en effet, qu'une guerre de religion, dont les musulmans ont pris l'initiative contre les non-musulmans, et dont les croisade ont ensuite été les représailles'.

Thomas Madden.[92] Basically, du Caurroy viewed *jihād*, holy war and crusading as synonymous. As Joseph Reinaud served as President of the *Société Asiatique* between 1847–1867, we can assume that he and his colleagues would have been familiar with du Caurroy's thoughts on this matter.

The conflation of the Western notion of holy war with the many possible interpretations of *jihād* used by the different authors of these texts is, of course, problematic but, hermeneutically speaking, it is not necessarily an erroneous reading of the Arabic. James Lindsay and Suleiman Mourad have recently stated that when the Arabic authors of these texts used *jihād* 'they invariably meant warfare against the enemies of God and the Muslims'.[93] Yet, by depicting these events as just another military engagement as de Sacy does, or analogous to holy war as is the case with Barbier de Meynard and Blochet, the translators lend support to a simplistic narrative of religiously motivated conflict between Islam and Christianity, with a uniformity of motive attributed to both sides of this irrevocable doctrinal divide. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that one Muslim writer, ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 1106), did classify Frankish activities in the early crusading period as '*jihād*'.[94] As Paul Chevedden has pointed out, this means that at least one scholar drew direct parallels between these two variants of justifying warfare on a religious basis, even if al-Sulamī's ideas were only disseminated to a small audience.[95]

It also seems likely that these specific choices would only have had a limited impact upon the reader due to the relative paucity with which the term *jihād* appears in the *Zubda*. Throughout the entire chronicle, Ibn al-ʿAdīm's uses the word on just thirteen occasions.[96] Although nine of these references fall within the crusading period, and six occur during the first five decades of Frankish settlement, it remains a marginal leitmotif within a text that runs to over one-hundred-thousand words, especially when compared to references to *jihād* in the works of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's contemporaries, such as Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn al-Qalānisī. Saladin is never presented as participating in *jihād* activity by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, and the explicit variant 'جِهاد الفِرَنج /*jihād al-firanj*' (*jihād* against the Franks) can only be found once in the *Zubda*.[97] This linguistic restraint fits within a wider trend. Suffixed curses such as 'لِعَنهُم الله /*li-ʿanahum Allah*' (Allah curse them), which Reinaud claimed 'usually' preceded references to 'Christians' in the Arabic source corpus, can be found on just one occasion in the *Zubda*.[98] Similarly, the word '*al-kuffār*'(the

[92]Jacques Le Goff, *La civilisation de l'occident médiéval* (Paris, 1964), 183–91; Thomas Madden, *The Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham, 2013), 1–8; Kristin Skottki, 'The Other at Home? On the Entanglement of Medievalism, Orientalism and Occidentalism in Modern Crusade Historiography', *Eckert Dossiers* 4 (2011): 1–15, at 14–15.

[93]James E. Lindsay and Suleiman Mourad, ed. and trans., *Muslim Sources of the Crusading Period: An Anthology* (Indianapolis, 2021), xvi, 248–9.

[94]ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir al-Sulamī, *The Book of the Jihad of 'Ali ibn Tahir al-Sulami*, ed. and trans. Niall Christie (London, 2015), 43, 207.

[95]Paul Chevedden, 'The Islamic Interpretation of the Crusades: A New (Old) Paradigm for Understanding the Crusades', *Der Islam* 83 (2006): 90–136; Mourad and Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation*, 33–7.

[96]Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fols. 35r, 108r, 127v, 131r, 138v, 152r, 157v, 168r, 170v, 177r, 234v; ed. al-Dahān, 1: 134, 2: 89, 154, 163, 188, 228, 245, 281, 291, 315, 3: 161; ed. Zakkār, 1: 130, 316, 365, 373, 389, 423, 2: 8, 37, 41, 59, 198.

[97]Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fol. 127v; ed. al-Dahān, 2: 154; ed. Zakkār, 1: 365.

[98]Reinaud, 'Observations de M. Reinaud', xl; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fol. 120v; ed. al-Dahān, 2: 132; ed. Zakkār, 1: 347. For more details on suffixed curses, see: Niall Christie, 'The Origins of Suffixed Invocations of God's Curse on the Franks in Muslim Sources for the Crusades', *Arabica* 48 (2001): 254–66.

infidels), is used on just seven instances to refer to crusader troops, and once to designate Byzantine forces.[99]

One way in which the early translators seem to have compensated for Ibn al-ʿAdīm's apparent 'impartiality' towards the Franks, was through the enemy-framing. This refers to the way in which the translators repeatedly inserted the phrase 'the enemy' or 'enemies' into their translations, without there being a comparable term in the corresponding sections of the underlying Arabic text. The editors achieved this by converting vague suffixed pronouns, such as 'هُم /*hum*' (them) to 'the enemy'.

A good example of this practice would be the *Recueil's* depiction of a military campaign led by several Seljūq commanders into Northern Syria in 1115. The French section of the *Recueil* reads, 'Borsoki leva des troupes fraîches et se hâta d'entrer en Syrie pour combattre l'ennemi' (Borsoki raised fresh troops and hurried into Syria to fight the enemy), while the original Arabic in the *Zubda* states that: "فَجَمَعَ البُرسُقيّ العَسَاكِر وَحَشَدَ، وَسارَ نَحوَ الشَّام لِحَربهُم" (al-Bursuqī gathered and mobilised the troops, and marched in to *al-shām* [Syria] to make war on them).[100] In this instance, the Arabic suffixed pronoun 'them' is presented as 'the enemy' in translation. Although it is possible to identify similar linguistic choices in Reiske's nineteenth-century Latin translation of Abū l-Fidāʾ, Figure 1 displays how the enemy-framing developed into a prominent feature of de Sacy's translation, which was then adopted by the editors of the Oriental volumes of the *Recueil*.[101]

For context, the Arabic word 'العَدُوّ /*al-ʿaduww*' (the enemy) is used just twice in the sections of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Zubda* translated by de Sacy and Charles Barbier de Meynard in the *Recueil*. Both references to 'the enemy' occur during Ibn al-ʿAdīm's account of Aleppine forces preparing to confront an Antiochene army at the battle of the Field of Blood in 1119:

فَاجْتَمَعُوا وَحَثُّوا إيلغازي عَلَى مُناجَزَةِ العَدُوِ فَجَدَّدَ إيلغازي الأَيْمانَ عَلَى الأُمَراءِ وَالمُقَدَّمِينَ أَن يُنَاصِحُوا فِي حَرْبِهِم، وَيُصابِرُوا فِي قِتَالِ العَدُوّ، وَأَنَّهُم لا يَنْكُلُونَ وَيَبْذُلُونَ مُهَجَهُم فِي الجِهَادِ، فَحَلَفُوا عَلَى ذَلِكَ بِنُفُوسٍ طَيِّبَةٍ.

They [the troops] gathered and clamoured for Il-Ġāzī to fight the enemy (*al-ʿaduww*). Il-Ġāzī therefore asked the *amīrs* and commanders to give new oaths to cooperate during war, that they would endure combat with the enemy (*al-ʿaduww*), and not refrain from giving their lifeblood for the *jihād*, and they gave such an oath contently.[102]

Despite this, both editors inserted the word 'enemy' or 'enemies' in their translations on twenty-six and thirty-three instances respectively.[103] Aside from a limited number of examples relating to intra-Muslim conflicts or interactions with the Byzantine empire, the enemy-framing was included far more frequently into Muslim-crusader contexts, amounting to twenty-four instances for de Sacy, and twenty-eight for the *Recueil*. This somewhat minor modification recurrently heightens the significance of the crusaders, while also emphasising the 'othering' of the Franks, for those relying upon the translated

[99]Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fols. 112r, 132v, 134r, 156r, 157v, 220v, 252r, 262r; ed. al-Dahān, 2: 106, 169, 176, 244, 245, 3: 119, 220, 252; ed. Zakkār, 1: 327, 375, 381, 2: 7, 8, 163, 244, 265.
[100]Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fol. 153r; ed. Dahān, 2: 232; ed. Zakkār, 1: 427; *RHC Or*, 3: 652.
[101]Adler and Reiske, *Abulfedae Annales Muslemici*, 3: 343, 455, 517, 4: 107.
[102]Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fol. 138v; ed. al-Dahān, 2: 188; ed. Zakkār, 1: 389.
[103]De Sacy, 'Extraits de l'histoire d'Alep', 219, 222, 238, 241, 242, 247. 248, 249, 252, 254, 255, 256, 259, 262, 270, 278, 279, 284, 286, 288, 306, 307, 321, 325, 328; *RHC Or*, 3: 581, 582, 583, 587, 592, 596, 602, 603, 608, 616, 617, 618, 621, 628, 630, 632, 635, 642, 643, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 664, 666. Occasions when reference is made to the 'enemy' or 'enemies' in the corresponding sections of the original Arabic: de Sacy, 'Extraits de l'histoire d'Alep', 235; *RHC Or*, 3: 617.

Author and title of text	Uses of term العدُوّ *(al-ʿaduww)* in original Arabic text	References to "the enemy" or "enemies" in translation	Inserted into Muslim-crusader contexts	Inserted into other contexts
Ibn al-ʿAdīm I (De Sacy), *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab* ***Covers years: 1095-1174***	2	25	24	1
Ibn al-ʿAdīm II (*Recueil*), *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab* ***Covers years: 1097-1146***	2	33	28	3
Ibn al-Athīr (*Recueil*), *al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh* ***Covers years: 1097-1220***	44 (26 of which refer to the Franks)	196	128	30

Figure 1. Frequency at which the terms 'enemy' or 'enemies' appear in translation in the *Recueil*.

version of the *Zubda's* account of this period. Rather than being just one of Aleppo's many enemies, the Franks assume the role of the main adversaries within the narrative.

The enemy-framing recurs in every translation of an Arabic text contained in the *Recueil*. Although Ibn al-Athīr uses 'the enemy' slightly more regularly in his chronicle *al-Kāmil* than Ibn al-ʿAdīm does in the *Zubda*, it is still added on nearly one hundred different occasions to the *Recueil* translation completed by Joseph Reinaud and William McGuckin de Slane.[104]

When the enemy-framing in the translation of Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil* is placed within a wider chronological context, as is shown in Figure 2, it demonstrates how closely this feature corresponds with the periodisation of the twelfth-century counter-crusade movement outlined by Emmanuel Sivan. After an initial flurry during the First Crusade, there is a reduced rate of enemy references in the translation during the first few decades of crusader settlement. There is then a noticeable change during the *Recueil's* coverage of the 1140s, with Zankī's capture of Edessa and the Second Crusade seeing a marked uptick in the use of the enemy-framing. This is followed by the career of Nūr al-Dīn, rising to a peak under Saladin between 1180–1200, a timeframe that includes the battle of Hattin, the Muslim recovery of Jerusalem and the events of the Third

[104] *RHC Or*, 1: 191, 193, 196, 200, 201, 208, 219, 221, 225, 230, 256, 259, 260, 264, 266, 278, 306, 308, 324, 327, 336, 354, 364, 371, 411, 415, 435, 437, 450, 453, 455, 463, 464, 465, 472, 482, 491, 496, 499, 501, 505, 513, 515, 524, 525, 530, 539, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 555, 559, 569, 577, 585, 599, 612, 622, 628, 630, 633, 634, 635, 636, 658, 665, 668, 671, 686, 687, 689, 693, 699, 709, 711, 713, 727, 734, 740, 741, 742, 743, 2: 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 25, 26, 31, 37, 40, 42, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 60, 64, 68, 87, 94, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 108, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 125, 130, 131, 134, 136, 140, 148, 151, 154, 157, 161, 163. Occasions when reference is made to the 'enemy' or 'enemies' in the corresponding sections of the Arabic edition: *RHC Or*, 1: 264, 306, 308, 327, 336, 415, 450, 455, 463, 465, 472, 482, 515, 545, 546, 548, 612, 636, 665, 668, 671, 693, 741, 2: 45, 68, 97, 99, 101, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117 120, 122, 125, 136, 157.

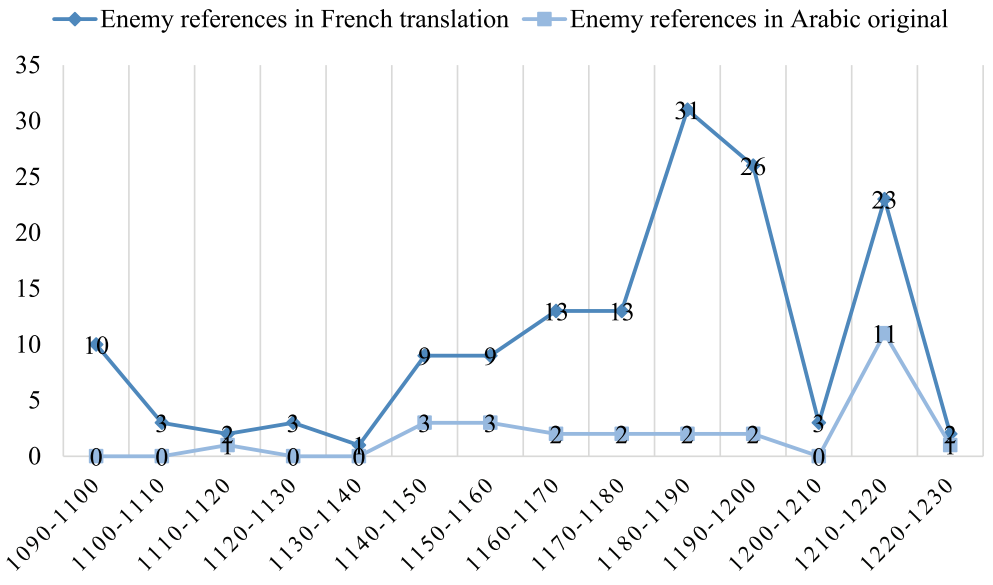

Figure 2. Chronological framework for references to the 'enemy' or 'enemies' in the translation of Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh* in the *Recueil*.

Crusade. Finally, we can observe a small flurry relating to the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and another peak which coincides with the Fifth Crusade. It is fair to state that the editors superimposed Western interpretations of the crusades onto this medieval Arabic text.

But it should also be noted that Iris Shagrir and Nitzan Amitai-Preiss have outlined how the term 'enemy' was also inserted into an Arabic translation of Maxime de Montrond's *Les Guerres saintes d'Outre-Mer* (1840) completed by the Melkite Patriarch of Jerusalem Maximos III Mazloum (d. 1855) and published posthumously in 1865.[105] This suggests that the enemy-framing was not a unique feature of European Orientalist scholarship. It would also be interesting to examine the Greek and Armenian translations in the *Recueil* to determine whether similar editorial choices are present in these volumes as well.

Before Donald Richards produced a new English translation of the *Kāmil* in the early 2000s, the *Recueil* was the only way to access this key source for non-Arabists.[106] Although probably the consequence of a desire to apply editorial consistency, the enemy-framing regularly amplifies the importance ascribed to the crusading movement by Arabic-Islamic authors, and heightens the adversarial position allegedly adopted by them, within these translated materials. This is particularly problematic in the *Recueil's* translation of the *Zubda*, as Ibn al-ʿAdīm did not regularly rely upon the more common adversarial linguistic tropes during his historiographical documentation of this period.

[105]Iris Shagrir and Nitzan Amitai-Preiss, 'Michaud, Montrond, Mazloum and the First History of the Crusades in Arabic', *al-Masāq* 24, no. 3 (2012): 309–12.
[106]Donald S. Richards, trans., *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-ta'rikh*, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2005–10).

Interestingly Blochet, the translator of the latter sections of the *Zubda*, did not adopt the enemy-framing to anywhere near the same extent as his predecessors. Throughout his translation, Blochet only uses the term 'enemy' or 'enemies' in the translation ten times.[107] One possible explanation could be that Blochet was from a different generation of scholars who were unconvinced by certain elements of the clash-of-religions master narrative propagated by Michaud and Reinaud. As Christopher Tyerman has outlined, it seems as if a new, more generous interpretation of the crusading movement was beginning to emerge as the new orthodoxy in French scholarship during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Exemplified by the publications of Emmanuel Rey and Gaston Dodu, crusader settlement policies were now presented as models of paternalism, cooperation, accommodation, tolerance and cohabitation, which resulted in the establishment of a new 'Frankish-Syrian society'.[108] Although Rey and Dodu did not openly question the central notion that the crusades were at their core a religious conflict between Christianity and Islam, presenting these two groups as inveterate 'enemies' within this translation would not have conformed to this beneficent reading of crusader colonialism.

The final editorial decision that compounds these problems concerns omissions. Sāmī al-Dahān, who produced the first complete Arabic edition of the *Zubda*, highlighted the significance of editorial omissions within these translations.[109] Omissions are fairly commonplace in almost every major nineteenth-century European source collation project, from the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.[110] This makes it difficult to attribute these decisions to ideological factors. Unsurprisingly, this practice manifested itself in the exclusion of substantial sections of the underlying Arabic chronicles that were deemed not relevant to crusader history. But these omissions become more problematic when they appear to be selective and as a result, help to promote a certain impression within these sources.

The most common theme that was left out of the *Zubda* translations were Muslim sectarian disputes. De Sacy's translation is truncated to such an extent, that it is hard to analyse what he decided to leave out. Although the *Recueil*'s depiction of the *Zubda* is far more complete, omissions are never acknowledged or explained in the text, either in the Arabic editions or the French translations.[111] In order to identify them, it is necessary to compare the Arabic partial editions in the *Recueil* against fuller editions and underlying manuscripts. For example, the editors chose to exclude the following section from the year 1107, which discusses Riḍwān b. Tutush, an early twelfth-century ruler of Aleppo, and the tensions he provoked at the Seljūq court by supporting the Niẓārī Ismāʿīlī Shīʾī community who settled in Northern Syria during his reign:

[107]Blochet, 'Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep', 4: 177, 178, 186, 205, 215; 5: 46; 6: 4, 5, 8, 20.
[108]Emmanuel Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie au XIIme et XIIIme siècles* (Paris, 1883); Gaston Dodu, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem, 1099–1291* (Paris, 1894); Tyerman, *The Debate*, 114–16, 146–7.
[109]Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, ed. al-Dahān, 1: 68–73. See also: ʿAtiya, *The Crusade*, 84–5.
[110]RHGF; MGH; *Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde: zur Beförderung einer Gesammtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters*, 12 vols. (Hanover, 1819–74).
[111]Cahen, 'Le Recueil', 98.

وَبَلَغَ رِضْوَان، فِي سِنةِ إِحْدَى وَخَمْسمِائَة، ما ذُكِرَ بِهِ مِن مُشايَعَةِ الباطِنِيّة، وَأَنَّهُ لُعِنَ بِذَلِكَ فِي مَجْلِسِ السُلْطَانَ مُحَمَّد بن مَلِكْشَاه، فَأَمَرَ أبا الغَنائِم ابْن أَخِي أبي الفَتْح الباطِنيَ الّذِي عَمِلَ فِي قَتْلِ ابْن مُلاعِب ما دَبَّرَ بِالخُرُوج مِن حَلَب فِيْمَنْ مَعَهُ، فَانْسَلَ وَخَرَجَ بِجَمَاعَةٍ مِن أَصْحَابِهِ بَعْدَ أَنَّ قُتِلَ أفرادٌ مِنهُم.

It reached Riḍwān in the year 501 [1107–1108] what was said about him concerning his adherence to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs (*al-Bāṭiniyya*), and that he had been condemned because of this in the assembly of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh. So he ordered Abū l-Ghanāʾim, the nephew of Abū l-Fatḥ al-Bāṭinī, who had taken part in the killing of Ibn Mulāʿib, to arrange the exit from Aleppo for those who were with him. He slipped away and left with a group of his companions after some of them had been killed.[112]

Edgard Blochet usually signposts omissions in his translation, and in one instance explains how a section had been left out because it was not regarded as 'absolutely essential for understanding what follows'.[113] However, on several other occasions he fails to indicate omitted sections. Here is one such example, relating to Ibn al-ʿAdīm's account of a siege of Aleppo in the summer of 1176 by Saladin's forces. Here is Blochet's translation, followed by an English translation of Blochet's interpretation of this section:

Puis il se mit en marche et vint assiéger Alep le vendredi, au milieu du mois de Dhou'l-ḥidjdjah; il y avait dans cette place une armée considérable et la population empêcha al-Malik-an-Nâṣir de s'approcher de la ville. Les troupes faisaient des sorties vers le camp de l'armée assiégeante et lui livraient combat. Quand l'un d'entre eux était fait prisonnier, on lui coupait les deux pieds pour l'empêcher de marcher. Les habitants d'Alep s'assemblèrent en armes au-dessous de la citadelle et demandèrent à al-Malik-aṣ-Ṣaliḥ, la permission de faire une sortie pour combattre l'armée (assiégeante).

Then he [Saladin] marched to besiege Aleppo on Friday, in the middle of the month of Dhū l-Ḥijja; there was a sizable army in the city and the population prevented al-Malik al-Nāṣir [Saladin] from approaching the city. The troops were making sorties towards the camp of the besieging army and engaged them in combat. When one of them was taken prisoner, both his feet were cut off to prevent him from walking. The inhabitants of Aleppo assembled with arms at the foot of the citadel and asked al-Malik al-Ṣaliḥ for permission to make a sortie to fight the [besieging] army.

Below is the underlying Arabic text with an English translation (omitted words are indicated by round brackets):

ثُمَّ سَارَ فَنَزَلَ حَلَب، يَوْمَ الجُمُعَة، مُنْتَصَفِ ذِي الحِجَّة، وَحَصَرَها، وَبِها جَماعَةٌ مِن العَسْكَر، وَمَنَعَ أَهْلُ البَلَدِ المَلِكَ الناصِرَ مِن التَقَرُّب إِلَى البَلَد، وَكانُوا يَخْرُجُونَ إِلَى خَيَم المُعَسْكَر فَيُقاتِلُوهُ، وَإِذا مُسِكَ واحِدٌ مِنهُم شُرِّحَت قَدَماهُ، فَيَمْتَنِع مِن المَشْي، (وَلا يَكُفُونَ عَن القِتال، وَقامَ فِي نُصْرَتِهِ السُنَّةُ وَالشِيعَةُ مِن الحَلَبِيينَ، وأَعْطَى الشِيعَةَ الشَرْقِيَّةَ فِي المَسْجِدِ الجامِعِ، فَكانُوا يَجْتَمِعُونَ بِها لِلصَلاة. وَاتَّفِقَ) أَنَّ الحَلَبِيينَ اِجْتَمَعُوا تَحتَ القَلْعَة، (شاكِينَ فِي السِلاحِ)، يَسْتَأْذِنُونَ المَلِكَ الصَالِحَ فِي الخُرُوجِ إِلَى قِتالِ العَسْكَر

Then he [Saladin] marched on Aleppo on a Friday in the middle of Dhū l-Ḥijja [25 June 1176] and besieged it, while a group of soldiers were there. The people of Aleppo prevented al-Malik al-Nāṣir [Saladin] from approaching the city. They used to make sorties to the tents of the camp and engaged in combat, and if someone was caught, both their feet were cut off to prevent them from walking. (But they did not cease to fight. Sunnīs and Shīʿīs from Aleppo rose to support him [al-Malik al-Ṣaliḥ]. The Eastern side of the Friday Mosque was given to the Shīʿīs who would meet there for prayer. It was agreed that) the inhabitants of Aleppo should come together at the foot of the citadel (fully armed) to ask for al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ's permission to leave the city to fight the [besieging] army.[114]

The image which Ibn al-ʿAdīm is attempting to present is of a diverse Muslim Aleppo unifying in opposition to Saladin. But by leaving out just twenty-six Arabic words from

[112] *RHC Or*, 3: 595; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fols. 127v-r; ed. al-Dahān, 2: 153; ed. Zakkār, 1: 364.
[113] Blochet, 'Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep', 4: 157: 'Je passe ici deux pages dont la traduction n'est pas absolument indispensable pour l'intelligence de ce qui suivra' (I will skip over two pages here, the translation of which is not absolutely essential to the understanding of what follows).
[114] Blochet, 'Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep', 4: 146; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat*, BnF, MS Arabe 1666, fol. 192r; ed. al-Dahān, 3: 29; ed. Zakkār, 2: 95.

his translation, Blochet completely removes any reference to the religious complexity of Aleppo during this period, and the resistance that Saladin generated among the inhabitants of the city. This evidence of sectarian diversity would not have fit well with the wider narrative of a singular Islam fighting against the armies of Christendom. Nor does it correspond to the notion of the Islamic Near East's unification under Saladin's rule, which underpins the counter-crusade framework. Although, of course, Saladin was able to muster huge military resources against the crusader states and achieved some degree of Muslim unity.

By excluding these two episodes of Muslim sectarian tensions, conflict and cooperation, the editors not only cut out key aspects of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's narrative, which are informative about the author's agency, motivations and biases, but, perhaps inadvertently, these decisions also lent support to one-dimensional interpretations of the diverse Muslim communities with whom the Frankish crusaders interacted.

Style over substance? Mining and defining medieval Arabic historiography of the crusading era

To a certain extent, these editorial decisions could be attributed to the style of historical writing that predominated in nineteenth-century French literary circles, and the technical and hermeneutic issues that all scholars face when translating difficult texts from the medieval past. Indeed, debates about the correct approach to translation, and whether to adopt a more literal scientifically 'accurate' methodology, or to instead prioritise literary aesthetics, were ongoing among Parisian Orientalists during the nineteenth century.[115]

Others may interpret these linguistic choices as indicative of the Orientalist sentiments of the editors. Said described two main methodological devices for studying authorial authority within a text: strategic location and strategic formation.[116] Strategic location is the way in which an author can 'locate himself vis-à-vis the Orient' and includes anything from narrative structures to motifs, which are 'deliberate ways of addressing the reader' and 'containing', and 'representing' the orient, or 'speaking on its behalf'. The insertion of the enemy-framing and omissions could be viewed as examples of this practice. Strategic formation is the way in which a text affiliates itself with 'audiences', 'institutions', and with 'the Orient itself', creating an analysable formation 'whose presence in time, in discourse, in institutions (schools, libraries, foreign services) gives it strength and authority'.[117] Again, we need look no further than the impact this translation project has had upon crusade studies and the continued reliance on these materials by historians today. Although, of course, it would not be fair to criticise the editors of the *Recueil* for the field's collective failure to produce updated translations.

It may also be tempting to draw parallels between this editorial process and Ramzi Rouighi's research on de Slane's treatment of Ibn Khaldūn and its impact upon French administrative practices towards Arab and Berber inhabitants of North Africa, especially as de Slane was involved in the translation of the *Recueil* as

[115]Douglas T. McGetchin, 'Wilting Florists: The Turbulent Early Decades of the Société Asiatique, 1822–1860', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 565–80; Michel Balard, *De Cicéron à Benjamin* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2007), 147–50; Dorothy M. Figueira, *Translating the Orient: The Reception of Śākuntala in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 1991).
[116]Said, *Orientalism*, 19.
[117]Ibid.

well.[118] However, this comparison is made difficult by the fact that the *Recueil's* editors did not play an active role in the governance of Syria in a way that is equivalent to de Slane's military career in North Africa.

Similarly, it would be possible to point to comparable findings within the field of postcolonial translation studies. Tejaswini Niranjana has demonstrated how both Colonialist and anti-Colonialist editors adopted varied translation strategies to the same texts in ways that helped them achieve their respective goals.[119] Lawrence Venuti outlined what he viewed as the two poles of 'translation orientation', domestication and foreignization. According to Venuti, domestication aims to adapt the foreign text to the expectations of the receiving culture, a process that he viewed as 'ethnocentric violence', which suppresses the cultural differences between the original text and the audience.[120] In contrast, foreignization grants respect to the original by retaining foreign elements for the readers, rather than converting them into culturally acceptable forms.[121] Perhaps we could view the editorial choices outlined in this article as an attempt to 'domesticise' these Arabic texts for French and European audiences.

Yet, as Tarek Shamma has pointed out, this sort of polarised categorisation confuses 'the strategy of translation (which is confined to the textual level) with its effect, which is realised only in its socio-political and intertextual dimension'.[122] Essentially, Shamma argued that the strategy which all translators adopt towards any given text does not predetermine the quality or value of the resulting translation. As anyone with experience of translation is aware, it is just as easy to foreignize a text when trying to conduct a literal translation as it is when applying a more liberal linguistic approach. It is therefore extremely difficult to isolate ideological attitudes through analysis of hermeneutic decisions within translated texts. The underlying motivations of the editors of the *Recueil* and other early European translations of these Arabic texts therefore requires further research.

At its core, the *Recueil* was an attempt to better understand Islamic perspectives of the crusades and to make these views more accessible to the scholarly and non-scholarly public. In addition, the various editors of the Oriental volumes of the *Recueil*, from Silvestre de Sacy, and William McGuckin de Slane, to Charles Barbier de Meynard and Edgard Blochet, were hugely talented linguists who worked in a collaborative manner to produce the best possible translations of these texts.

But it is also clear that certain features of these translations are the result of a specific conceptualisation of the crusades, where the crusaders and Frankish settlers are central players in a clash of civilisations between European Christianity and Oriental Islam. This seems to be the result of an amalgamation of Medievalist, Orientalist and Eurocentric ideological crosscurrents, which shaped the nineteenth-century curation of this diverse collection of Arabic texts.[123] While contemporary voices make it clear

[118]Rouighi, *Inventing the Berbers*, 145–63
[119]Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley, 1992), 185–6.
[120]Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London, 1995), 5.
[121]Ibid., 20.
[122]Tarek Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference* (London, 2009), 80, 121.
[123]Kristin Skottki has outlined how Orientalism and Medievalism directly feed off and sustain the clash-of-religions narrative: Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug*, 494–8.

that this clash-aspect was part of the crusading movement, it was not the only, nor the most important, facet of this complex phenomenon. In order to properly interpret the crusades, it is necessary to provide both sides of the story. Therefore, the way in which the Arabic texts were curated during this period has been a hugely significant factor in the perpetuation of this narrative.

This article has argued that this antagonistic mentality is reinforced through the translations of Arabic texts which generations of non-Arabist historians have relied upon to reconstruct and understand the history of the crusades. All of the editorial decisions outlined above reinforce this mindset, while also exaggerating or aggrandising the factual relevance of the crusading movement for Islamic Western Asia within the original Arabic texts, lending direct support to the counter-crusade paradigm, which can be viewed as a present-day legacy of this editorial process. Although the influence of the *Recueil* translations upon Arabist scholars will have been less direct, a connection is nonetheless discernible in the correlation between the periodisation for the counter-crusade paradigm proposed by Emmanuel Sivan, and the systematic usage of the enemy-framing in the *Recueil*.

The approach championed by the *Recueil's* editors, typical of nineteenth-century European scholarship, was intended to create a 'mine' of information for the crusading period. Reinaud openly relished the fact that, 'no one had ever collected so many notions about the period described here, and that the mine, although not exhausted, casts a completely new light on the Middle Ages'.[124]

It is natural that translations of difficult texts from the medieval past have a long-standing impact upon their respective fields. But it is also important to reflect upon how and why crusade historians have traditionally treated the Arabic source corpus as a homogeneous block that can be 'mined' for information about the crusade and counter-crusade movements. Instead, these complex texts should be treated as discrete pieces of historiography, with narrative structures crafted by authors with distinctive motivations and biases.[125]

New approaches to these Arabic texts would also necessitate closer cooperation between historians of Europe, the crusading movement and the Islamicate sphere, a concept that was central to the original *Recueil* project. Transmediterranean topics require transmediterranean methodologies and skillsets. The *Recueil's* editors laid down a faulty but nonetheless admirable groundwork that continues to provide invaluable access to a number of vital sources. However, it is time to build upon this groundwork in a reflective manner, aware that our own generation – influenced as it is by recent events affecting relations between Europe and the Arab sphere, and ongoing discourses about migration and right-wing populism – will also not be able to prevent ideological predispositions from affecting our translations, analyses and interpretations. This may also force us to accept that the authors of medieval Arabic literary sources accorded the crusade and counter-crusade movements less importance than has traditionally been assumed by European and North American scholars, from the nineteenth century up until the present day.

[124]Reinaud, 'Observations de M. Reinaud', xxxix : 'sur l'époque décrite ici, personne n'avait recueilli autant de notions, et que la mine, quoique non épuisée, jette un jour tout nouveau sur le moyen âge'.
[125]Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography*, 122–3; Mourad, 'A Critique', 148.

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