

Napomene

Uvod

- 1 Fulcher of Chartres, I.2.i, pp. 62–3.
- 2 Robert the Monk, I.1, p. 79.
- 3 Ibid., pp. 79–80.
- 4 Fulcher of Chartres, I.3.iv, p. 66.
- 5 Baldric of Dol, IV.1, p. 15.
- 6 Robert the Monk, I.1, pp. 79–80.
- 7 Svi glavni izvještaji o Urbanovom govoru napisani su početkom dvanaestog veka, posle Prvog krstaškog rata. Za neke komentare o značaju, Vidi dole, Poglavlje 12, str. 200-201.
- 8 Guibert of Nogent, I.1, p. 87; also Fulcher of Chartres, I.3.v–viii, pp. 66–7; Robert the Monk, I.2, p. 81; R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II: Decreta Claromontensia* (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 74.
- 9 Robert the Monk, I.2, pp. 81–2; Fulcher of Chartres, I.4.iv, p. 68; Guibert of Nogent, II.5, p. 117.
- 10 V. Tourneur, 'Un denier de Godefroid de Bouillon frappé en 1096', *Revue belge de numismatique* 83 (1931), pp. 27–30; cf. N. Bauer, 'Der Fund von Spanko bei St Petersburg', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 36 (1926), pp. 75–94.
- 11 Vidi, na primer, J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), pp. 31ff.
- 12 Za dekret o Jerusalimu donesem u Klermonu, vidi Somerville, *Councils of Urban II*, str. 74, 124, and also R. Somerville, *Papacy, Councils and Canon Law* (London, 1990), str. 56–65 and 325–37. Takođe Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, str. 13–30..
- 13 U pismu stoji da je krstaša bilo 300.000 kad su se okupili u Nikeji 1097, a svega nešto preko 20.000 u bici kod Askalona septembra 1099, mada taj broj ne uključuje posade u Jerusalimu i drugim gradovima koje su u to vreme držali zapadni vitezovi. Barber and Bate, Letters, str. 34–35. Za veličinu krstaške vojske, vidi J. France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1993), str. 122–42.
- 14 Raymond of Aguilers, I, p. 18; Albert of Aachen, V.40, pp. 392–4.
- 15 Albert of Aachen, III.28, p. 182.
- 16 Ralph of Caen, 119, p. 135.
- 17 Vidi, na primer, J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997); M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony* (Oxford, 1993); France, *Victory in the East*; T. Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (London, 2004). For surveys of the Crusades in general, C. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the*

- Crusades* (London, 2006), J. Phillips, *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades* (London, 2010).
- 18 J. Nesbitt, 'The rate of march of crusading armies in Europe: a study and computation', *Traditio* 19 (1963), pp. 167–82; A. Murray, 'The army of Godfrey of Bouillon 1096–9: Structure and dynamics of a contingent on the First Crusade', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 70 (1992), pp. 301–29; B. Bachrach, 'Crusader logistics: From victory at Nicaea to resupply at Dorylaion', in J. Pryor (ed.), *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 43–62.
 - 19 Na primer: S. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen reappraised', in A. Murray (ed.), *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 55–67; J. France, 'The use of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the early twelfth century sources for the First Crusade', in *ibid.*, pp. 29–42; J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum* and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005), pp. 179–204.
 - 20 A. Vauchez, 'Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de croisade', in A. Vauchez (ed.), *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade* (Rome, 1997), pp. 233–43; H. Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung* (Stuttgart, 2000), and B. E. Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009).
 - 21 J. Bliese, 'The motives of the First Crusaders: A social psychological analysis', *Journal of Psychohistory* 17 (1990), pp. 393–411; G. Anderson, R. Ekelund, R. Herbert and R. Tollinson, 'An economic interpretation of the medieval crusades', *Journal of European Economic History* 21 (1992), pp. 339–63.
 - 22 C. Ottoni, F.-X. Ricaut, N. Vanderheyden, N. Brucato, M. Waelkens and R. Decorte, 'Mitochondrial analysis of a Byzantine population reveals the differential impact of multiple historical events in South Anatolia', *European Journal of Human Genetics* 19 (2011), pp. 571–6.
 - 23 A. Johansen and D. Sornett, 'Finite time singularity in the dynamics of the world population and economic indices', *Physica A* 294.3–4 (2001), pp. 465–502, citing J. DeLong's University of California, Berkeley 'Estimating World GDP' project.
 - 24 Bernold of Constance, p. 520.
 - 25 Anna Komnene, XIII.6, p. 373.
 - 26 Ia. Liubarski, 'Ob istochnikakh "Aleksiady" Anny Komninoi', *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 25 (1965), pp. 99–120; za Anine izvore, stvarne i moguće, vidi J. Howard-Johnston, 'Anna Komnene and the *Alexiad*', u M. Mullett and D. Smythe (eds.) *Alexios I Komnenos – Papers* (Belfast, 1996), str. 260–302.
 - 27 R. Bedrosian (tr.) *Aristakes Lastivertci's History* (New York, 1985), p. 64.

1. Evropa u krizi

- 1 Gregory VII, *Register*, I.1, p. 1.
- 2 Ibid., I.25, p. 30.
- 3 Vidi U-R. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988); G. Tellenbach, *The Western Church from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1993); H. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998).
- 4 Gregory VII, *Register*, III.6, p. 181; III.10a, pp. 192–3.
- 5 Hugh of Flavigny, II, p. 458; Lampert, *Annales*, pp. 258, 264–5; Berthold, p. 284; Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber*, 8, p. 609.
- 6 Gregory VII, *Register*, VII.14, pp. 342–4.
- 7 Benzo of Alba, *Ad Henricum*, VI, Preface, p. 502.
- 8 C. Erdmann (ed.), *Die Briefe Heinrichs IV* (Leipzig, 1937), 18, p. 28.
- 9 P. Kehr, 'Due documenti pontifici illustranti la storia di Roma negli ultimi anni del secolo XI', *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria* 23 (1900), pp. 277–83.
- 10 Bernold of Constance, p. 508.
- 11 Urban je uveo mogućnost oprostaja grehova vitezovima koji odu da se bore u Španiji, što je imalo veliki uticaj na duhovne nagrade namenjene budućim krstašima. No, papina ponuda u Španiji nije imala mnogo uticaja na vitezove Evrope u celini. Vidi J. von Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1880–8), 2, pp. 142–3; Urban II, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, in *Patrologia Latina* 151, cols. 288, 302–3, 332–3. Also A. Becker, *Papst Urban II*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1964–88), 1, pp. 246ff.
- 12 F. Liebermann, 'Lanfranc and the antipope', *English Historical Review* 16 (1901), pp. 330–2.
- 13 P. Kehr, 'Papsturkunden in Rom: Erster Bericht', *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.* (1900), pp. 148–9.
- 14 Preživo je samo odgovor na poruke Klementra Trećeg. A. Pavlov, 'Otryvki grecheskago teksta kanonicheskikh otvetov russkago mitropolita Ioanna II', *Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk*, 22.5 (1873), pp. 169–86.
- 15 Carski prestolonaslednici često su krunisani kao savladari odmah ili uskoro po rođenju – otuda prostor za dva imena u formuli. *De Cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, ed. J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829–30), 48, vol. 2, pp. 686–92; 46, vol. 2, p. 679.
- 16 C. Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis Ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae* (Leipzig, 1861), pp. 150–4.
- 17 J. Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum Concilium Amplissima Collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759–98), 20, cols. 507–8; Gregory VII, *Register*, VI.5b, p. 281. Aleksijevu ekskomunikaciju spominje se u Bernold of Constance, p. 479–480
- 18 William of Apulia, IV, p. 230; cf. Anna Komnene, I.13, p. 40.

- 19 Najpouzdaniji materijal dolazi iz kanona dogovorenih na saboru, šest papinih pisama Flandriji, Toskani i Španiji i tadašnjih zapisa o Urbanovim propovedima u Francuskoj posle Klermona, na primer u Anžeru februara 1096. Somerville, *Councils of Urban II*, pp. 74, 124; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, pp. 136, 137–8; W. Wiederhold, 'Papsturkunden in Florenz', *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.* (1901), pp. 313–14; P. Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien. I Katalonien* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 287–8; L. Halphen and R. Poupardin, *Chronique des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise* (Paris, 1913), pp. 237–8.
- 20 Geoffrey Malaterra, IV.13, p. 92; W. Holtzmann, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I und Papst Urban II im Jahre 1089', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 28 (1928), pp. 60–2.
- 21 Anna Komnene, V.9, p. 151.
- 22 Holtzmann, 'Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I und Papst Urban II', pp. 60–2.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid., pp. 62–4.
- 25 Theophylact of Ohrid, *Peri eġkalountai Latinon*, in P. Gautier (ed. and tr.), *Theophylacti Achridensis Opera* (Thessaloniki, 1980), p. 249.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 251–61.
- 27 Ibid., pp. 271–9.
- 28 H. Seyffert (ed.), *Benzo von Alba. Sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV* (Hanover, 1996), I.14–17, pp. 140–54.
- 29 Geoffrey Malaterra, IV.13, pp. 92–3.
- 30 R. Somerville, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica, and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 175–80.
- 31 Njegovi komentari pojavljuju se u pismu poslatom konstantinopoljskom patrijarhu, Nicholas III. Holtzmann, 'Unions- verhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I und Papst Urban II', pp. 64–7.
- 32 Thus Becker, *Papst Urban II*, 2, pp. 80ff.
- 33 Ibid., p. 60.
- 34 Ibid., pp. 59–60.
- 35 Pavlov, 'Otryvki grecheskago teksta', pp. 169–86.
- 36 Anna Komnene, IV.1, p. 109.
- 37 E.g. *Regii neapolitani archivi: monumenta edita ac illustrata*, 6 vols. (Naples, 1845–61) 5, no. 457, pp. 146–7; no. 458, pp. 148–52; no. 462, pp. 157–9; no. 467, pp. 174–8; *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, 6 vols. (Bari, 1897–1902), 3, no. 24, pp. 39–40; no. 35, p. 41; no. 36, p. 42; no. 27, p. 43; no. 28, pp. 44–5; no. 29, pp. 45–6; no. 30, pp. 46–7; D. Morea (ed.), *Il chartularium del monastero* (Montecassino, 1892), p. 136.
- 38 Bernold of Constance, pp. 470–80.

- 39 G. Spata, *Le pergamene greche esistenti nel grande archivio di Palermo* (Palermo, 1861), pp. 163–6, 173–5, 179–82; S. Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1868–82), 2, p. 391.
- 40 Bernold of Constance, p. 483; Anna Komnene, VIII.5, p. 224.
- 41 F. Sisic (ed.), *Letopis Popa Dukljanina* (Belgrade, 1928), pp. 413–16; P. Frankopan, 'Co-operation between Constantinople and Rome before the First Crusade: A study of the convergence of interests in Croatia in the late 11th Century', *Crusades* 3 (2004), pp. 1–13.
- 42 Fulcher of Chartres, I.5.xi, p. 71.
- 43 Bernold of Constance, pp. 458, 462.
- 44 Herrard of Halberstadt, *Epistola de causa Heinrici regis*, *MGH Libelli*, 2, p. 288.
- 45 *MGH Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, 2 vols. (Hanover, 1893), 1, p. 564; Bernold of Constance, p. 520.
- 46 Bernold of Constance, p. 520.
- 47 Geoffrey Malaterra, IV.23, p. 101; Bernold of Constance, p. 463.
- 48 Za događaje u Pjačenci vidi R. Somerville, *Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza* (Oxford, 2011).

2. Oporavak Konstantinopolja

- 1 C. Mango and R. Parker, 'A Twelfth-Century Description of St Sophia', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), pp. 235–40.
- 2 E. Legrand, 'Constantin le Rhodien: Description des œuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints Apôtres, suivie d'un commentaire par Th. Reinach', *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 9 (1896), pp. 32–65.
- 3 Pravila i propisi trgovine u Konstantinopolju navedeni su u knjizi poznatoj kao *Eparhova knjiga*. J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (Vienna, 1991).
- 4 K. Ciggaar, 'Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 53 (1995), pp. 117–40.
- 5 Fulcher of Chartres, I.9.i, p. 79.
- 6 *The Saga of the People of Laxardal (Laxdaela Saga)*, tr. K. Kunz in *The Sagas of Icelanders* (London, 1997), 72, p. 410.
- 7 Michael Psellos, ed. and tr. E. Theanault, *Michel Psellos. Chronographie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926), VII.25, 2, p. 97.
- 8 *Laxdaela Saga*, 77, p. 419.
- 9 Snorri Sturulson, *Haralds Saga*, tr. L. Hollander, in *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway* (Austin, TX, 1964), 3–6, pp. 579–82.
- 10 R. Savage (ed.), *La Chronique de Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge* (Caen, 1906), pp. 23, 57–8.

- 11 K. Ciggaar, 'L'émigration anglaise à Byzance après 1066', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 32 (1974), pp. 338–41.
- 12 Ciggaar, 'Description de Constantinople', p. 119; *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*, in *RHC, Occ.*, 3, p. 494; J. Zepos and P. Zepos (eds.), *Jus Graeco-Romanorum*, 8 vols. (Athens, 1931–62) 1, p. 317; Miklosich and Müller, 6, p. 44; P. Lemerle, N. Svoronos, A. Guillou, D. Papachryssanthou (eds.), *Archives de l'Atlios: Actes de Lavra* (Paris, 1970), no. 48, 1, pp. 258–9.
- 13 *Actes de Lavra*, no. 35, 1, pp. 233–5.
- 14 M. English Frazer, 'Church doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine bronze doors in Italy', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), pp. 147–8.
- 15 P. Lemerle, 'Le testament d'Eustathios Boilas (Avril 1059)', *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), pp. 24–5.
- 16 Za bitku kod Mancikerta i njeno mesto u turskom identitetu, vidi C. Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: The Battle of Manzikert* (Edinburgh, 2007).
- 17 *Tabula S. Basilii*, in *RHC, Occ.*, 5, pp. 295–8; J. Darrouzès, 'Le mouvement des fondations monastiques au XIe siècle', *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), p. 173.
- 18 C. Morrisson, 'La dévaluation de la monnaie byzantine au XIe siècle', *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), pp. 3–29.
- 19 Mihailo Atelait gorko se žali na povećanje poreza, str. 384; za hroničnu inflaciju cene žita vidi *Ibid.*, str. 201–204.
- 20 T. Smiciklas (ed.), *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (Zagreb, 1905), 1, pp. 139–41; Gregory VII, *Register*, 5.12, p. 258; P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier, 900–1204* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 144.
- 21 Anna Komnene, II.3, pp. 54–5.
- 22 Michael Attaleiates, p. 215; Nikephoros Bryennios, III.16, p. 241.
- 23 Michael Attaleiates, p. 306.
- 24 Anna Komnene, III.11, pp. 103–4.
- 25 Anna Komnene, VI.11, p. 176.
- 26 Anna Komnene, XV.10, p. 463.
- 27 Anna Komnene, I.1, p. 9.
- 28 Anna Komnene, III.2, pp. 82–3.
- 29 Nikephoros Bryennios, IV.29, p. 299.
- 30 W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London, 1908), 2, p. 539; G. Zacos and A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel, 1972), nos. 99 (a & b), 100; J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides et al. (eds.), *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks*, 7 vols. (Washington, DC, 1991–), 6, no. 86.1.
- 31 Anna Komnene, II.9, p. 70.

- 32 Aleksijevo imenovanje ne spominje se u *Aleksijadi*, što ne čudi s obzirom na njegovu odluku da se okrene protiv prestonice umesto da napadne Normane. Ipak, vidi Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon*, *RIS*, *NS*, 7, 1, p. 192. Also, Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, *RIS*, *NS*, 12, p. 216, and Michael the Syrian, p. 176.
- 33 Anna Komnene, II.10, pp. 72–3; John Zonaras, XVIII.20, 3, pp. 727–8.
- 34 Anna Komnene, III.5, pp. 89–90.
- 35 John Zonaras, XVIII.20, 3, p. 729.
- 36 Anna Komnene, II.12, p. 78.
- 37 Anna Komnene, III.1, p. 79.
- 38 *De Cerimoniis*, I.38, 1, pp. 191–6.
- 39 Anna Komnene, II.4, p. 58; IV.4, p. 114; III.9, pp. 100–1.
- 40 Anna Komnene, III.4, p. 87, John Zonaras, XVIII.21, 3, p. 732.
- 41 Geoffrey Malaterra, III.41, p. 82. Za Normane i Vizantiju vidi W. McQueen, 'Relations between the Normans and Byzantium 1071–1112', *Byzantion* 56 (1986), pp. 427–76; H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La Terreur du monde – Robert Guiscard et la conquête normande en Italie* (Paris, 1997); G. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Singapore, 2000).
- 42 Gregory Pakourianos, str. 43. Razmere pobjede bile su ogromne, a car je bogato nagradio Pakurijanosa za taj uspeh. Vojskovođa je pogrešno mislio kako će njegova pobjeda biti upamćena; brzo je zaboravljena i ostala je zaboravljena skoro hiljadu godina. P. Frankopan, 'A victory of Gregory Pakourianos against the Pechenegs', *Byzantinoslavica* 57 (1996), pp. 278–81.
- 43 Theophylact of Ohrid, p. 111.
- 44 Anna Komnene, VIII.5, pp. 225–6.
- 45 Anna Komnene, VIII.6, pp. 227–8; John Zonaras, XVIII.22, 3, p. 741.
- 46 Na primer, vodeće ličnosti prethodnih režima učestvoale su u pohodu protiv Normana 1081. i mnogo ih je poginulo u Bici kod Dirahiona 1081. Anna Komnene, IV.6, p. 122.
- 47 Anna Komnene, IV.4, pp. 114–15.
- 48 Michael Psellos, II.1–2, 1, p. 25; II.7, 1, p. 29.
- 49 John the Oxite, p. 31.
- 50 Nikephoros Bryennios, II.7, pp. 154–5.
- 51 Anna Komnene, XV.11, p. 464.
- 52 Anna Komnene, XIV.7, p. 423.
- 53 Nikephoros Bryennios, II.7, pp. 154–5; John the Oxite, pp. 37–9; A. Lavriotes (ed.), 'Historikon zetema ekklesiastikon epi tes basileias Alexiou Komnenou', *Ekklesiastike Aletheia* 20 (1900), p. 412.
- 54 Anna Komnene, III.5, p. 89. For her foundation, Miklosich and Müller, 6, pp. 27–8, 33.

- 55 Anna Komnene, III.5, pp. 90–1; V.2, pp. 130–2; V. Grumel, 'L'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine, le Chrysobulle d'Alexis Ier sur les objets sacrés', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 2 (1944), pp. 126–33; Anna Komnene, III.8, p. 96.
- 56 J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès – Lettres et Discours* (Paris, 1970), pp. 234–5.
- 57 Manuel Straboromanos, pp. 182–3.
- 58 John Zonaras, XVIII.29, 3, pp. 765–6.
- 59 Anna Komnene, XIV.4, pp. 411–13.
- 60 R. Romano (ed.), *Nicola Callicle, Carmi* (Naples, 1980), pp. 101–2; P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine art of the 12th Century', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), pp. 123–6.
- 61 Anna Komnene, III.3, p. 93. O njegovoj govornoj mani I.8, p. 26. Dve poznate Aleksijeve slike pojavljuju se u rukopisima koji se čuvaju u Vatikanskoj biblioteci u Rimu. Gr. 666, f. 2r.; 666, f. 2v.

3. Stabilnost na Istoku

- 1 I. Mélikoff (ed.), *La geste de Melik Danismend*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1960).
- 2 Kad je Aleksije poslat da učvrsti carsku vlast nad Baliolom sredinom osme decenije XI veka, žitelji Amaseje rugali su mu se i zviždali kad je odvodio normanskog zarobljenika. Anna Komnene, I.2, pp. 11–13.
- 3 Matthew of Edessa, II.72, p. 144.
- 4 J.-C. Cheynet and D. Theodoridis, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection D. Theodoridis* (Paris, 2010), pp. 26–8.
- 5 Nićifor Paleolog još je bio na tom položaju 1081. Nikephoros Bryennios, III.15, p. 239.
- 6 J.-C. Cheynet and J.-F. Vannier, *Etudes Prosopographiques* (Paris, 1986), pp. 57–74; Cheynet and Theodoridis, *Sceaux byzantins*, pp. 54–6; C. MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 41–2.
- 7 Na primer, Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204* (London, 1984), pp. 112–13; France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 155–6; J. Flori, *La Première Croisade: l'Occident chrétien contre l'Islam aux origines des idéologies occidentales* (Paris, 2001), p. 64; P. Magdalino, 'The Medieval Empire (780–1204)' in C. Mango (ed.), *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, p. 185; J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003), pp. 47, 55. Phillips, *Holy Warriors*, p. 15.
- 8 Anna Komnene, III.9, p. 100.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Anna Komnene, II.6, p. 65.
- 11 Anna Komnene, II.3, pp. 54–5.

- 12 J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episco-patum ecclesiae constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), pp. 123–4, 134–5.
- 13 J.-C. Cheynet, 'La résistance aux Turcs en Asie Mineure entre Mantzikert et la Première Croisade', in *Eupsykbia: Mélanges offerts à Hélène Abrweiler*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998), 1, pp. 131–47.
- 14 O Aleksijevom strahu od sopstvene vojske 1081 Anna Komnene II.9, p 71; o okolnostima vezanim za zakasnelo krunisanje Aleksijeve žene Irine, III.2, pp. 81–4.
- 15 Anna Komnene, III.5, pp. 89–91.
- 16 Anna Komnene, III.11, p. 104.
- 17 Na primer, Nikephoros Bryennios, III.16, p. 241; IV.2, p. 259.
- 18 Nikephoros Bryennios, IV.4, p. 265; IV.10–13, pp. 275–9.
- 19 J. Darrouzès (ed.), *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès – Lettres et Discours* (Paris, 1970), pp. 234–5.
- 20 Orderic Vitalis, X.12, 5, p. 274.
- 21 O zarobljavanju Tatikijevog oca, Anna Komnene, IV.4, p. 115.
- 22 Anna Komnene, III.11, p. 105.
- 23 Anna Komnene, V.5.ii, p. 140.
- 24 Anna Komnene, IV.4, p. 115; IV.6, p. 123; V.6.iv, p. 159; William of Apulia, IV, pp. 222, 226.
- 25 Anna Komnene, VI.12, p. 177.
- 26 Matthew of Edessa, II.78, pp. 147–8.
- 27 Bar Hebraeus, ed. and tr. E. Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abul Faraj*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), 2, p. 227.
- 28 *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. and tr. G. Moravcsik and R. Jenkins, (Washington DC, 1967).
- 29 Nikephoros Bryennios, IV.31, p. 301.
- 30 P. Frankopan, 'The Fall of Nicaea and the towns of western Asia Minor to the Turks in the later 11th Century: The curious case of Nikephoros Melissenos', *Byzantion* 76 (2006), pp. 153–84, and below, p. 82.
- 31 O caričinom poručivanju Nićiforove istorije, Nikephoros Bryennios, pp. 71–3; Anna Komnene, Prologue, p. 5.
- 32 Posle 1081. spominje se kao „emir“ (odnosno namesnik) Nikeje. Anna Komnene, VI.9, pp. 169–70. Ana takođe tvrdi da su njegove četvrti Nikeje bile zapravo careve, mada su ih na turskom zvali sultanske, III.11, str. 104. Mihajlo Atelait, pišući krajem osme decenije XI veka, ne spominje ga po tituli, već ga naziva turskim vođom, str. 266. Nićifor Vrijenije izbegava upotrebu titula pišući o Sulejmanu za period pre 1081; III, 26, str. 241.
- 33 Dva izuzetka su *Aleksijada* i *Epitome Historion* Jovana Zonarasa. Treći autor iz XII veka, Mihajlo Glikas, pokriva Aleksijevu vladavinu, ali doslovno kopira Zonarasov rad.

- 34 Vidi P. Magdalino, 'Aspects of twelfth-century Byzantine *Kaiserkritik*', *Speculum* 58 (1983), pp. 326–46.
- 35 Albert of Aachen, II.28, p. 108.
- 36 Ekkehard of Aura, p. 200.
- 37 Vidi J.-C. Cheynet, 'The duchy of Antioch during the second period of Byzantine rule', in K. Ciggaar and D. Metcalf (eds.), *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean: Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 1–16.
- 38 Michael Attaleiates, p. 301.
- 39 Olovni pečati koji su pripadali Filaretu i potvrđuju ga kao protosevastosa i zapovednika vojske istočnih provincija sigurno su nastali posle 1081, jer je titulu protosevastosa prvi uveo Aleksije. Ovo pak pokazuje da se car oslanjao na Filareta na istoku i nagradio ga višim položajem. J.-C. Cheynet, C. Morrisson and W. Seibt, *Les Sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig* (Paris, 1991), no. 192; Cheynet and Theodoridis, *Sceaux byzantins*, pp. 54–6. Druge počasti iz tog perioda pokazuju kako je pridobijan, na primer, J.-C. Cheynet, 'Sceaux byzantins des Musées d'Antioche et de Tarse', *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994), no. 56.
- 40 Anna Komnene, VI.9, pp. 169–70.
- 41 Matthew of Edessa, II.60, p. 137.
- 42 *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens*, tr. A. Abouna and J.-M. Fiey, *Chronicle of the Unknown Edessan* (Paris, 1974), p. 39.
- 43 J.-C. Cheynet, 'Les Arméniens de L'Empire en Orient de Constantin Xe à Alexis Comnène (1059–1081)', *L'Arménie et Byzance* (Paris, 1996), p. 76.
- 44 Michael the Syrian, 3, p. 178.
- 45 Matthew of Edessa, II.78, p. 147; also Anna Komnene, VI.9, p. 170.
- 46 Ibn al-Athir, AH 477/Dec. 1084–Dec. 1085, p. 218; Sibte ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'at al-Zaman fi Ta'rikh al-A'yan*, ed. A. Sevim (Ankara, 1968), p. 229.
- 47 Ibn al-Athir, quoting the poet al-Abirwardi, AH 477/Dec. 1084–Dec. 1085, p. 218.
- 48 *Ibid.*, pp. 218–19.
- 49 Ibn al-Athir, AH 479/Dec. 1086–Dec. 1087, p. 223.
- 50 Ibn al-Athir, AH 477/Dec. 1084–Dec. 1085, p. 224; Sibte ibn al-Jawzi, p. 229.
- 51 Anna Komnene, VI.10, p. 171.
- 52 *The History of the Seljuk Turks from the Jami'ak-Tawarikh*, tr. K. Luther (Richmond, 2001), pp. 62, 60–1.
- 53 Anna Komnene, VI.12, pp. 177–8. Pismo je napisano pošto je Vizantija odbila napad Robera Giskara na Epir, a pre velike invazije Pečenega 1987.
- 54 Anna Komnene, VI. 9, pp. 170–1. Ana deli izveštaj o sultanovom predlogu na dva dela.
- 55 Anna Komnene, VI.12, p. 178.

- 56 Anna Komnene, VIII.3, p. 220.
- 57 Anna Komnene, VI.9, p. 171.
- 58 Bar Hebraeus, 2, p. 229.
- 59 Ibn al-Athir, AH 485/ Dec. 1091–Dec. 1092, p. 259.
- 60 Anna Komnene, VI.12, p. 177.
- 61 Matthew of Edessa, II.86, p. 153.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Odgovor na sultanove upite je preživio. P. Gautier, 'Lettre au sultan Malik-Shah rédigée par Michel Psellos', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 35 (1977), pp. 73–97.
- 64 Matthew of Edessa, II.86, p. 153.
- 65 Malo se zna o *kouropalates* T' Orosu ili Gavrilu, namesnicima Edese i Melitena u to vreme, i o tome jesu li prihvatili (ili su bili prinuđeni da prihvate) vlast Malik-šaha. No, s obzirom na žučne komentare Mateja od Edese o Filaretu Brahamiju i njegovoj odluci da se pridruži sultanu i pređe u islam, možemo očekivati u njegovim hronikama jednake pogrde o ovoj dvojici koji su prebegli Turcima. Matthew od Edessa... itd. No, Gavriilo kao da se kladio na obe strane izdajući pečat na kom nosi i vizantijsku i arapsku titulu. J-C. Cheynet, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos se rapportant aux provinces orientales de l'Empire byzantine* (Paris, 2001), no. 41.
- 66 Anna Komnene, VI.10, p. 172.
- 67 Anna Komnene, VI.13, pp. 180–2.
- 68 Ibid., p. 181; VI.14, pp. 183–4. Humbertopulsovo premeštaj na zapad datirao oporavak grada.
- 69 Anna Komnene, VI.13, pp. 180–2.
- 70 Teofilakt Ohridski, str. 113-114. Teofilaktovi komentari izneseni su u govoru koji je car održao nešto više od godine kasnije.
- 71 Ibid., p. 111.

4. Slom Male Azije

- 1 Miklosich and Müller, 6, pp. 57–8, 40–4.
- 2 Anna Komnene, VII.6, p. 199.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Anna Komnene, VII.7, p. 202; VIII.3, p. 220.
- 5 Anna Komnene, VI.10, p. 174.
- 6 Michael the Syrian, 3, pp. 172ff; Mélikoff, *Danismend*, 2, p. 88.
- 7 Anna Komnene, VII.8, p. 202.
- 8 Anna Komnene, VIII.3, p. 220.

- 9 R. Macrides, 'Poetic justice in the Patriarchate: murder and cannibalism in the provinces', in L. Burgmann, M. Fögen, A. Schmink (eds.), *Cupido Legum* (Frankfurt, 1985), pp. 144–5. Nema podrobnih unutrašnjih dokaza koji bi pomogli precizno datiranje pesme osim stilističke osnove XI i XII veka. No, spominjanje stalne nestašice hrane i očajničkih mera stanovništva svakako se poklapaju s početkom poslednje decenije XI veka.
- 10 Anna Komnene, VII.8, pp. 202–3.
- 11 Anna Komnene, VIII.3, p. 220.
- 12 John the Oxite, p. 35. Also P. Frankopan, 'Where Advice meets Criticism in 11th Century Byzantium: Theophylact of Ohrid, John the Oxite and their (re)presentations to the Emperor', *Al-Masaq* 20 (2008), pp. 71–88.
- 13 John the Oxite, p. 35.
- 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 29–35.
- 15 J. Shepard, 'How St James the Persian's head was brought to Cormery: A relic collector around the time of the First Crusade', in L. Hoffmann (ed.), *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur* (Wiesbaden, 2005), p. 298.
- 16 Na primer, Robert the Monk, I.1, pp. 79–80.
- 17 C. Haskins, 'A Canterbury monk at Constantinople c.1090', *English Historical Review* 25 (1910), pp. 293–5; Ciggaar, 'Description de Constantinople', pp. 118–20.
- 18 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, pp. 133–6.
- 19 Vidi najnoviji rad, P. Schreiner, 'Der Brief des Alexios I Komnenos an den Grafen Robert von Flandern und das Problem gefälschter byzantinischer Kaiserschreiben in den westlichen Quellen', in G. de Gregorio and O. Kresten (eds.), *Documenti medievali Greci e Latini. Studi Comparativi* (Spoleto, 1998), pp. 111–40; C. Gastgeber, 'Das Schreiben Alexios' I. Komnenos an Robert I. von Flandern. Sprachliche Untersuchung', in *ibid.*, pp. 141–85; C. Sweetenham, 'Two letters calling Christians on Crusade', in *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 215–18.
- 20 Vidi, na primer, M. de Waha, 'La lettre d'Alexis Comnène à Robert Ier le Frison', *Byzantion* 47 (1977), pp. 113–25; J. Shepard, 'Aspects of Byzantine attitudes and policy towards the West in the 10th and 11th centuries', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13 (1988), pp. 106–12.
- 21 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 132.
- 22 *Ibid.*
- 23 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 141; John the Oxite, pp. 37–47.
- 24 Anna Komnene, X.5, pp. 273–4.
- 25 Shepard, 'How St James the Persian's head was brought to Cormery', p. 299.
- 26 Miklosich and Müller, 6, pp. 19–21, 34–8, 42–4, 57–8, 81.
- 27 *Ibid.*, pp. 84–90.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

- 29 O turskoj obući vidi Anna Komnene, IX.1, p. 237.
- 30 Miklosich and Müller, 6, pp. 82–3.
- 31 Anna Komnene, VIII.3, p. 220.
- 32 Matthew of Edessa, II.90, pp. 157–8.
- 33 Anna Komnene, VI.12, p. 179.
- 34 *Jami' al-Tawarikh*, p. 62.
- 35 Al-Fath ibn 'Ali al-Bundari, *Zubdat al-nusra wa-nukbbat al-'ursa*, ed. M. Houtsma (Leiden, 1889), p. 63.
- 36 Ibn al-Atir, AH 485/1092–1093, pp. 258–9.
- 37 Gautier, 'Synode des Blachernes', pp. 218–19.
- 38 *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, 1, pp. 35–61.
- 39 P. Gautier, 'Jean l'Oxite, patriarche d'Antioche: notice biographique', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 22 (1964), pp. 136–8.
- 40 Gradove su zauzeli Turci četrnaest godina pošto je Aleksije stupio na presto. Michael the Syrian, VI.6, vol. 3, pp. 178ff.
- 41 *Gesta Francorum*, IV, p. 25.
- 42 Ibid., p. 26.
- 43 William of Tyre, III.1, 1, p. 197.
- 44 Anna Komnene, XI.2, p. 300.
- 45 John the Oxite, p. 35.
- 46 Anna Komnene, VIII.7, p. 229.
- 47 Anna Komnene, VI.10, pp. 172–3.
- 48 Ibid., p. 172; Ibn al-Athir, AH 487/ Dec. 1093–Dec. 1094, p. 271.
- 49 Anna Komnene, VI.11, p. 176.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Anna Komnene, VI.11, p. 177.
- 52 Vidi, na primer, J. Haldon, 'Theory and practice in tenth-century military administration. Chapters 11, 44 and 45 of the Book of Ceremonies', *Travaux et Mémoires* 13 (2000), pp. 201–352.
- 53 Anna Komnene, VI.10, p. 175.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Anna Komnene, VI.12. ii–iii, p. 178.
- 56 Anna Komnene, VI.12, p. 180.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Za veličinu vojske Kilidž Arslana 1097. vidi, na primer, Fulcher of Chartres, I.11. vi, p. 85.
- 59 Fulcher of Chartres, I.9.iv–v, p. 80.
- 60 *Gesta Francorum*, II, a. 14.

- 61 Na primer, H. Ahrweiler, 'L'administration militaire de la Crète byzantine', *Byzantion* 31 (1961), pp. 217–28; P. Gautier, 'Défection et soumission de la Crète sous Alexis Ier Comnène', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 35 (1977), pp. 215–27; A. Savvides, 'Can we refer to a concerted action among Rapsomates, Caryces and the emir Tzachas between ad 1091 and 1093?', *Byzantion* 70 (2000), pp. 122–34.
- 62 Ana Komnina tvrdi da je njen stric bio namesnik Dirahiona jedanaest godina pre nego što je opozvan da predvodi ekspediciju protiv zapadne Male Azije, VII. 8, str. 206. S obzirom na to da su Normani osvojili Dirahion 1082 i da je povraćen tek sledeće godine, Duka je zapovedništvo u borbi protiv Čake mogao da dobije najranije 1094. Vidi P. Frankopan, 'The imperial governors of Dyrrakhion during the reign of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002), pp. 89–90.
- 63 Miklosich and Müller, 6, pp. 82–3.
- 64 Anna Komnene, VII.8, pp. 202–6; IX.1, pp. 238–40; IX.3, pp. 242–4; XI.5, pp. 309–12.
- 65 Anna Komnene, XI.5, p. 309.
- 66 Richard of Cluny, *Chronicon*, in L. Muratori (ed.), *Antiquitates Italicae*, 4, col. 1250.

5. Na ivici propasti

- 1 John the Oxite, pp. 29, 35.
- 2 John Zonaras, XVIII.29, 3, pp. 766–7. Zonaras se razišao s Komnenima i prognao je sredinom XII veka, a pre toga bio je najviši sudija u zemlji.
- 3 Za darovnice Melisenu, Anna Komnene, III.4, p. 87; John Zonaras, XVIII.21, 3, p. 732; also N. Oikonomides (ed.), *Archives de l'Atos: Actes de Docheiariou* (Paris, 1984), p. 76. For Adrian, *Actes de Laura*, 1, pp. 247–51.
- 4 L. Petit, 'Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosoteira près d'Aenos', *Izvestiya Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole* 13 (1908), pp. 19–75.
- 5 Frankopan, 'Imperial governors of Dyrrakhion', pp. 65–103.
- 6 Anna Komnene, VI.9, p. 171.
- 7 Mihailo Taronit i Nićifor Melisen, dvojica carevih zetova, takođe su dobili visoke titule i počasti, kao i mnogi članovi porodice Duka. Anna Komnene III, 4, str. 87. Te nagrade potvrđuju i drugi izvori, između ostalog i olovni pečati koje su ti pojedinci kovali, e.g. Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, nos. 2698 and 2720 (d). Za porodicu Duka vidi D. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1968). Za puni opis Komninâ vidi K. Barzos, *He Genealogia ton Komnenon*, 2 vols. (Thessaloniki, 1984).
- 8 Vidi, na primer, A. Kazhdan, *L'aristocracia bizantina dal principio dell' XI alla fine del XII secolo* (Palermo, 1997), pp. 141–6; J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance 963–1210* (Paris, 1990), pp. 359ff; P. Magdalino,

- 'Innovations in Government', in M. Mullett and D. Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos – Papers* (Belfast, 1996), pp. 146–66.
- 9 P. Frankopan, 'Kinship and the distribution of power in Komnenian Byzantium', *English Historical Review* 495 (2007), pp. 10–13.
- 10 Anna Komnene, IV.4, p. 114. O njegovom malom rastu, II.4, p. 58.
- 11 Ibid., p. 115; VI.13, pp. 181–2.
- 12 Anna Komnene, V.5, pp. 140–1.
- 13 *Actes de Lavra*, 1, nos. 44–5, 48–9 (1083; 1084; 1086; 1089).
- 14 Za Alifasa, Anna Komnene IV.6, pp. 122–3.
- 15 Theophylact of Ohrid, p. 114; Anna Komnene, VI.13, p. 182.
- 16 Manuel Straboromanos, pp. 183–5.
- 17 *Diegesis merike ton epistolon Alexiou basileios kai Nicholaou Patriarchou genomene kata diaphorous kairous*, in P. Meyer (ed.), *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athos-Klöster* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 172.
- 18 John Zonaras, XVIII.22, 3, p. 738.
- 19 Anna Komnene, III.10, p. 102.
- 20 Anna Komnene, V.2, pp. 131–2. J. Stephanou, 'Le procès de Léon de Chalcedoine', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 9 (1943), pp. 5–64; V. Grumel, 'L'affaire de Léon de Chalcedoine, le Chrysobulle d'Alexis Ier sur les objets sacrés', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 2 (1944), pp. 126–33.
- 21 John the Oxite, p. 33.
- 22 John Zonaras, VIII.22, 3, p. 732.
- 23 John the Oxite, esp. p. 33; also pp. 29, 31, 35.
- 24 *Actes de Lavra*, I, no. 50; *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 2; D. Papachryssanthou (ed.), *Actes de Xénophon* (Paris, 1986), no. 2; J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides and D. Papachryssanthou (eds.), *Actes d'Iviron*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1985–90), 2, pp. 28–9.
- 25 Anna Komnene, IX.2, pp. 240–1. Uzrok nezadovoljstva može se dokučiti iz imenovanja zvaničnika s određenim poreskim odgovornostima pošto je vlast vremenom ponovno uspostavljena. Anna Komnene, IX.2, p. 242. Vidi P. Frankopan, 'Challenges to imperial authority in Byzantium: Revolts on Crete and Cyprus at the end of the 11th Century', *Byzantion* 74 (2004), pp. 382–402.
- 26 Anna Komnene, VII.8, p. 206; VIII.7, p. 229.
- 27 Anna Komnene, IV.2, p. 111.
- 28 Na primer, Dandolo, *Chronica brevis*, p. 363; L. Lanfranchi (ed.), *Famiglia Zusto* (Venice, 1955), 6, 9, nos. 1–2.
- 29 Iako u dve najstarije kopije originalnih tapija stoji da su dodeljene maja 1092, moderni naučnici odbacuju to na osnovu stava da im sredina prethodne decenije deluje prikladnije – iako su paleografske, tekstualne i kontekstualne osnove za ovo krajnje upitne. Velika važnost pridaje se i prisustvu izveštaja o darivanju u Aleksijadi, iako je tu vremenski sled očigledno pogrešan. Za punu

- raspravu, vidi T. Madden, 'The chrysobull of Alexius I Comnenus to the Venetians: The date and the debate', *Journal of Medieval History* 28 (2002), pp. 23–41, and P. Frankopan, 'Byzantine trade privileges to Venice in the eleventh century: The chrysobull of 1092', *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004), pp. 135–60.
- 30 M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio 992–1198* (Venice, 1993), pp. 38–45.
- 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- 33 *Ibid.*, pp. 40–3.
- 34 Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, p. 217. Dandolo ne kaže zašto je patrijarh bio u Konstantinopolju 1092, samo navodi da je tamo umro.
- 35 Anna Komnene, VI.7, pp. 166–7; VI.3, p. 156.
- 36 Anna Komnene, VII.3, p. 194.
- 37 Pozza and Ravegnani, *Trattati con Bisanzio*, pp. 42–3.
- 38 Katakalon Kekaumenos, 81, p. 278.
- 39 Anna Komnene, III.10, p. 103.
- 40 Za rođenje Aleksijevog nasljednika Jovana Drugog i njegove ostale dece, A. Kazhdan, 'Die Liste der Kinder des Alexios I in einer Moskauer Handschrift (UBV 53/147)', in R. Stiehl and H. Stier (eds.), *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1969–70), 2, pp. 233–7. Jovanovo krunisanje i datum krunisanja mogu se zaključiti iz A. Spinelli (ed.), *Regii neapolitani archivi monumenta edita ac illustrata*, 6 vols. (Naples, 1845–61), 5, nos. 457–8, 462, 464–7.
- 41 Anna Komnene, VIII.7–8, pp. 229–32.
- 42 Anna Komnene, VI.8, p. 168.
- 43 Geoffrey Malaterra, III.13, p. 64; Michael the Syrian, 3, p. 176; Bar Hebraeus, 1, p. 227.
- 44 Anna Komnene, IX.6, p. 248.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 250.
- 46 Anna Komnene, IX.5, p. 247.
- 47 Anna Komnene, IX.7, p. 252.
- 48 Anna Komnene, IX.8, pp. 253–4.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 253, and III.2, p. 81.
- 50 Anna Komnene, IX.6, p. 254.
- 51 Adrijan i Nićifor sećali su se toga kad je Adrijan poslat da istraži glasine da Diogen kuje zaveru protiv cara. Anna Komnene, IX.7, pp. 252–3.
- 52 Adrijan se zamonao i umro je pod imenom Jovan. B. de Montfaucon, *Paleographia Graeca* (Paris, 1708), p. 47. O njegovoj ulozi u zaveri i posledicama po njegovu porodicu, Frankopan, 'Kinship and the distribution of power', pp. 1–34.

- 53 Na primer, Anna Komnene, VIII.3, p. 219; VIII.8, p. 232. For Melissenos, vidi Frankopan, 'The Fall of Nicaea', pp. 153–84.
- 54 Melisen se pojavljuje samo još jednom pre njegove smrti, u pohodu protiv Kumana: Anna Komnene, X, str. 264. Aleksije najčešće nije ostavljao suparnike u Konstantinopolju, već ih je vodio u pohode sa sobom – kako bi mogao da ih drži na oku. Gotovo sve vodeće ličnosti Vizantije pratile su cara u pohod protiv Normana 1081, a bile s s njim, naravno, i za vreme pohoda protiv Srba 1094.
- 55 Anna Komnene, III.4, p. 87.
- 56 Anna Komnene, XI.10, p. 325; XIII.1, p. 357.
- 57 Anna Komnene, IX.8, p. 254.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Anna Komnene, IX.6, p. 250.
- 60 Anna Komnene, IX.8, p. 254.
- 61 Anna Komnene, IX.9, pp. 255–6.
- 62 Ibid., p. 256.
- 63 Ibid., pp. 256–7.
- 64 Ibid, str.257. Autorka zaobilazi pitanje da li je njen otac naredio da se Nićifor Diogen oslepi.
- 65 Anna Komnene, IX.1, p. 237.
- 66 Anna Komnene, XV.11, p. 465.
- 67 Anna Komnene, IX.2, p. 242; E. Sargologos, *La Vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (Part 1110)* (Brussels, 1964), pp. 35.i–viii, 146–53.
- 68 O njihovim karijerama vidi B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade: analyse prosopographique et synthèse* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 160–1, 85–7.
- 69 Anna Komnene, X.9, pp. 286–8; John Zonaras, XVIII.22, 3, p. 739.
- 70 *Gesta Francorum*, IV, pp. 25–6.
- 71 Anna Komnene, XI.10, p. 323.
- 72 Anna Komnene, XI.3, p. 305.
- 73 Anna Komnene, XI.3, pp. 304–5; XI.5, pp. 309–12.
- 74 Anna Komnene, VII.8, p. 203; IX.1, p. 238; IX.3, p. 242.
- 75 Anna Komnene, X.2, p. 264. For Melissenos' death, Peter Lambecius, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, 8 vols. (Vienna, 1665–79), 5, col. 537. Vidi takode D. Papachryssanthou, 'La date de la mort du sébastokrator Isaac Comnène', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 21 (1963), p. 252.
- 76 Anna Komnene, X.2–4, pp. 262–73; *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, tr. S. Cross, and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 180.
- 77 Anna Komnene, XI.2, p. 300.

6. Zov sa Istoka

- 1 J.-C. Cheynet, 'Les Sceaux byzantins de Londres', *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 8 (2003) pp. 85–100; also J.-C. Cheynet, 'Le rôle des Occidentaux dans l'armée byzantine avant la Première Croisade', in E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Cologne 1997), pp. 111–28.
- 2 Na primer, V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin II: L'administration centrale* (Paris 1981), no. 469 (Bulgarian); G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals II*, compiled and ed. J. Nesbitt (Bern, 1984), no. 706 (interpreter to the English); *ibid.* (Anglo-Saxon); Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantine*, no. 991 (interpreter of the fleet).
- 3 F. Schmitt (ed.), *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1938–61), 3, pp. 252–5.
- 4 Vidi, na primer, J. Shepard, 'The uses of the Franks in 11th Century Byzantium', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 15 (1992), pp. 275–305.
- 5 John Skylitzes, p. 486; Michael Attaleiates, pp. 122–5, Matthew of Edessa, II.19, p. 101.
- 6 *Patrologia Latina*, 150, col. 737.
- 7 Ekkehard of Aura, pp. 133–4.
- 8 Gilbert of Mons, *Chronique Hanoniense*, tr. L. Napran (Woodbridge, 2005), 23, p. 25.
- 9 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, pp. 134–5. For some comments on this letter, above, pp. 60–1.
- 10 Shepard, 'How St James the Persian's head was brought to Cormery', p. 299.
- 11 *Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsesso Dyrrachio*, *RHC, Occ.*, 5, p. 356, Gilbert of Mons, 23, p. 25. Also Becker, *Urban II*, 2, p. 180, and above all J. Shepard, 'Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade', in J. Phillips (ed.), *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 107–29.
- 12 Ekkehard of Aura, pp. 134–6.
- 13 Guibert of Nogent, I.5, pp. 102–3.
- 14 Baldric of Dol, I, p. 14.
- 15 Fulcher of Chartres, I.3.ii–iii, pp. 65–6.
- 16 William of Apulia, IV, p. 212.
- 17 Sibte al-Jawzi, p. 244; Bar Hebraeus, I, pp. 230–1.
- 18 Raymond of Aguilers, XIII, pp. 108–9; William of Tyre, I.7, 1, pp. 116–17; Albert of Aachen, VI.31, p. 442.
- 19 S. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Princeton, 1967–93), pp. 308–14. Vidi takode S. Goitein, 'Jerusalem in the First Arabic period', in *Jewish Settlements in Palestine in the Beginning of the Islamic and the*

- Crusade Period, in the Light of the Geniza* (Jerusalem, 1980); M. Gil, 'Political History of Jerusalem', in J. Prawer (ed.), *Book of Jerusalem, The First Islamic Period, 638–1099* (Jerusalem, 1991).
- 20 Vidi, na primer, S. Gat, 'The Seljuks in Jerusalem', in Y. Lev (ed.), *Town and Material Culture in the Medieval Middle East* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 4–40.
- 21 C. Cahen, 'La chronique abrégée d'al-Azimi', *Journal Asiatique* 230 (1938), p. 369.
- 22 Ibn al-Athir, AH 491/Dec. 1097–Dec. 1098, pp. 13–14.
- 23 Vidi C. Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2005), esp. pp. 134–9; however also note J. France, 'The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), pp. 1–17.
- 24 Guibert of Nogent, II.10, pp. 125–6.
- 25 Below, pp. 118–19
- 26 J. Vaissète, C. Devic and A. Molinier (eds.), *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 3rd edition, 16 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–1904), 5, cols. 737–8.
- 27 J. Venier (ed.), *Chartres de l'abbaye de Jumièges*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1916), 1, pp. 121–3.
- 28 R. Bautier, M. Gilles and M. Bautier (eds.), *Chronicon S. Petri Vivi Senonensis* (Paris, 1979), p. 140.
- 29 Gregory Pakourianos, p. 131.
- 30 *Letopis Popa Dukljanina*, 27, p. 413.
- 31 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 136.
- 32 Robert the Monk, I.1, p. 79.
- 33 Vidi, na primer, T. Head and R. Landes (eds.), *Peace of God: Social violence and religious response in France around the year 1000* (Cambridge, 1992).
- 34 Ivo of Chartres, *Panormia*, VIII.147, in *Patrologia Latina*, 161, col. 1343 AC.
- 35 Vidi Vauchez, 'Composantes eschatologiques', pp. 233–43; J. Rubenstein, 'How or How Much, to Re-evaluate Peter the Hermit', in S. Ridyard (ed.), *The Medieval Crusade* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 53–69; J. Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps. L'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris, 2007), pp. 111–47; и уопштенije, Möhring, *Weltkaiser der Endzeit* and Whalen, *Dominion of God*.
- 36 Lupus, *Annales*, MGH, SS, 5, p. 62.
- 37 Gilbert of Mons, 23, p. 25.
- 38 Theodore Skutariotes, *Synopsis Khronike*, in K. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1872–94), 7, pp. 184–5.
- 39 Za ovu i druge lažne relikvije, Guibert of Nogent, *De pigneribus sanctorum*, ed. R. Huygens (Turnhout, 1993), I, pp. 98, 88.
- 40 *Gesta Episcoporum Tullensium*, in MGH, SS, 8, p. 647.
- 41 Anna Komnene, III.10, p. 103.

- 42 F.-J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott (eds.), *Frutolfs und Ekkehard's Chroniken* (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 96; Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon Universale*, in *MGH, SS* 6, p. 205. For the gifts recorded by Anna, *Alexiad*, III.10, p. 103.
- 43 G. Constable (ed. and tr.), *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 2, p. 209.
- 44 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, pp. 135–6.
- 45 Guibert of Nogent, I.5, p. 103.
- 46 Below, p. 106.
- 47 *Miracula S Augustini episcopi Cantuariensis*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, May, 6, p. 410.
- 48 Anna Komnene III.10, p. 102.
- 49 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 141.
- 50 Shepard, 'How St James the Persian's head was brought to Cormery', p. 299.
- 51 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 136.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 142.
- 53 Aleksije je stekao veliko poverenje u Robera, prema rečima Gibera od Nožana, I.5, pp. 100–1.
- 54 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 133.
- 55 Guibert of Nogent, I.5, p. 101.
- 56 Bernold of Constance, p. 483.
- 57 Anna Komnene, VIII.5, p. 224.
- 58 Ekkehard of Aura, p. 136.
- 59 Otto of Freising, *Chronicon*, in *MGH, SS* 20, VII, p. 248.
- 60 Gregory VII, *Register*, I.18, p. 20. Originalno carevo pismo nije sačuvano.
- 61 Gregory VII, *Register*, I.46, p. 51.
- 62 Gregory VII, *Register*, I.49, pp. 54–5.
- 63 Gregory VII, *Register*, II.31, pp. 122–3.
- 64 Gregory VII, *Register*, II.37, pp. 127–8.
- 65 Gregory VII, *Register*, II.3, p. 95.
- 66 Gregory VII, *Register*, I.46, p. 51.
- 67 Michael Psellos, *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora magnam partem adhuc inedita*, ed. E. Kurtz, 2 vols. (Milan, 1936–41), 1, pp. 329–34.
- 68 Gregory VII, *Register*, II.3, p. 95. Vidi H. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's "Crusading" plans of 1074', in B. Kedar, H. Mayer and R. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the history of the Crusading kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 27–40, and Becker, *Papst Urban II*, 2, pp. 294–300.
- 69 Bernold of Constance, p. 520.
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 Fulcher of Chartres, I.1.iii, p. 62.

7. Odziv Zapada

- 1 Vidi Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 13–30; Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 58–89.
- 2 Za Urbanovu putanju, Becker, *Papst Urban II*, vol. 2, pp. 435–58.
- 3 Gregory VII, *Register*, 1.46, p. 50; Devic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 3, p. 465
- 4 Devic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 5, pp. 747–8.
- 5 Gregory VII, *Register*, 1.46, p. 50; 8.16, pp. 381–2.
- 6 *Patrologia Latina*, 151, col. 562.
- 7 *Annales Besuenses*, MGH, SS, 2, p. 250; *Annales S. Benigni Divionensis*, MGH, SS, 5, p. 43.
- 8 *Patrologia Latina*, 150, col. 1388; 151, col. 422.
- 9 Robert the Monk, I.1 pp. 80–1.
- 10 Robert the Monk, I.2, pp. 81–2; Fulcher of Chartres, I.4.iv, p. 68; Guibert of Nogent, II.5, p. 117. Iako su glavni pripovedni zapisi o govoru u Klermonu nastali nekoliko godina kasnije, poruke o patnjama na istoku ovekovečen su u tadašnjim izvorima, na primer Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, pp. 136, 137–8; Wiederhold, 'Papsturkunden in Florenz', pp. 313–14; Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, pp. 287–8; Halphen and Poupardin, *Chronique des comtes d'Anjou*, pp. 237–8.
- 11 Baldric of Dol, IV, pp. 15–16.
- 12 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, pp. 136–7
- 13 Baldric of Dol, IV, p. 16.
- 14 Baldric of Dol, *Vita Beati Roberti de Arbisello*, *Patrologia Latina* 162, cols. 1050–1.
- 15 Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, MGH, SS, 8, pp. 474–5.
- 16 Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 250–81.
- 17 O Urbanovim uputstvima, Baldric of Dol, I, p. 15.
- 18 S. d'Elbenne and L-J. Dennis (eds.), *Cartulaire du chapitre royal de Saint-Pierre de la Cour du Mans* (Paris, 1903–7), no. 11, p. 15.
- 19 J. Richard, 'Le Cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire 1045–1144. Essai de reconstitution d'un manuscrit disparu', *Analecta burgundica* (1957), 119, p. 87.
- 20 B. de Broussillon, *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers* (1903), 1, no. 354, p. 407.
- 21 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 136.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 137–8.
- 23 *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, IV.11, p. 475. Za ponudu duhovnih nagrada, Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 13–30.
- 24 Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, p. 287.

- 25 H. Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade', in Edbury, *Crusade and Settlement*, pp. 45–56; J. Flori, 'L'exemple de la Première Croisade', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34 (1991), pp. 121–39; C. Morris, 'Martyrs of the field of battle before and during the First Crusade', *Studies in Church History* 30 (1993), pp. 93–104.
- 26 Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseilles*, 1, pp. 167–8.
- 27 C. Métais, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte Trinité de Vendôme*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1893–1900), 2, p. 39; V. Thuillier (ed.), *Ouvrages posthumes de D. Jean Mabillon et D. Thierry Ruinart*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1724), 3, pp. 387–90; P. Jaffé (ed.), *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–8), 1, nos. 5656, 5649; 5647.
- 28 *Gesta Francorum*, I, p. 2; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 137.
- 29 H. Klein, 'Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), pp. 283–314.
- 30 Halphen and Poupardin, *Chronique des comtes d'Anjou*, pp. 237–8.
- 31 A. Gieysztor, 'The Genesis of the Crusades: The Encyclical of Sergius IV', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 5 (1949), pp. 2–23 and 6 (1950), pp. 3–34. However, vidi takode H. Schaller, 'Zur Kreuzzugszyklika Papst Sergius IV', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann* (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 135–54.
- 32 *Recueil des chartes de Cluny*, 5, no. 3703.
- 33 *Ibid.*, nos. 3737, 3755.
- 34 *Ibid.*, no. 3712.
- 35 R. Juénin, *Nouvelle histoire de l'abbaye royale et collégiale de Saint Filibert*, 2 vols. (Dijon, 1733), 2, p. 135.
- 36 Robert the Monk, I.2, p. 82; Fulcher of Chartres, I.4.iv, p. 68; Guibert of Nogent, II.5, p. 117; *Gesta Francorum*, I, p. 7.
- 37 C. Chevalier, 'Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St. Chaffre du Monastier', in *Collection de cartulaires dauphinois* (Paris, 1869–1912), 8, pp. 139–41. O ovom i mnogim drugim primum, Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 31ff.
- 38 E. Poncelet (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'Eglise St Lambert de Liège*, 5 vols. (Brussels, 1869), 1, p. 47.
- 39 Orderic Vitalis, IX.3, 5, pp. 26, 32; Hugh of Flavigny, II, pp. 474–5.
- 40 Guibert of Nogent, II, 17, pp. 133–4.
- 41 O Filipovoj ekskomunikaciji, Sommerville, Somerville, *Councils of Urban II*, pp. 87, 97, 98. O tome da za Bertradu niko nije imao lepu reč, *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum*, izdavači i urednici Halphen i Poupardin, *Chronique des comtes d'Anjou*, p. 67; O tome da je Filip napustio svoju ženu Bertu od Holandije zbog njene gojaznosti, William of Malmesbury, 3.257, p. 474.
- 42 Guibert of Nogent, II.17, pp. 133–4; Mansi, *Sacrorum Concilium Amplissima Collectio* 20, col. 937; J. Verdon (ed.), *Chronique de Saint-Maixent* (Paris, 1979), p. 154; Somerville, *Councils of Urban II*, p. 90.

- 43 *Gesta Francorum*, I, p. 7.
- 44 Robert the Monk, II.3, pp. 91–2.
- 45 *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, 5, p. 41.
- 46 Anna Komnene, XIII.11, pp. 383–4.
- 47 Anna Komnene, V.6, p. 144.
- 48 Prema rečima jednog arapskog autora Rože je odbio da ima bilo kakve veze s krstaškim ratom i „podigao je nogu da pusti glasan vetar“ kad je čuo za prvobitni plan – za koji Ibn al Atir tvrdi da je obuhvatao severnu Afriku, a ne Jerusalem. Ova slikovita priča govori nam da Rože nije želeo da kvari odnose s muslimanskim trgovcima koji su umnogome doprinikli ogromnom bogatstvu Sicilije. AH 491/Dec. 1097–Dec. 1098, p. 13.
- 49 Jaffe, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, no. 5608; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 136.
- 50 Guérard, *Cartulaire de Saint-Victor*, p. 802.
- 51 Anna Komnene, X.7, pp. 279–80.
- 52 Albert of Aachen, I.23, p. 96; Guibert of Nogent, VII.31, p. 328.
- 53 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, p. 22.
- 54 *Patrologia Latina*, 157, col. 162B.
- 55 Robert the Monk, I.2, pp. 81–2.
- 56 *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, 5, p. 51.
- 57 Wiederhold, 'Papsturkunden', pp. 313–14.
- 58 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 137.
- 59 Devic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 5, pp. 757–8.
- 60 Bernold of Constance, p. 520.
- 61 Na primer, Fulcher of Chartres, I.4, p. 68; Baldric of Dol, I, pp. 15–16.
- 62 Robert the Monk, II.2, p. 82.
- 63 Na primer, u Marmutjeu i Turu u proleće 1096. Halphen, *Chronique des comtes d'Anjou*, pp. 237–8; O. Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1972), p. 242.
- 64 Vidi, na primer, W. Purkiss, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), esp. pp. 120–38.
- 65 Anna Komnene XI.1, p. 297. Also *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 16; Albert of Aachen, I.15, pp. 283–4.
- 66 Za datum osnivanja manastira vidi J. Gay, 'L'abbaye de Cluny et Byzance au début du XII siècle', *Echos d'Orient* 30 (1931), pp. 84–90, but also J. Shepard, 'The "muddy road" of Odo of Arpin from Bourges to La Charité sur Loire', in P. Edbury and J. Phillips (eds.), *The Experience of Crusading: Defining the Crusader Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 23.
- 67 Anna Komnene, X.5, p. 276.
- 68 Albert of Aachen, II.7, p. 70.

- 69 Albert of Aachen, II.17, p. 86.
- 70 Albert of Aachen, II.7, pp. 70–2.
- 71 Robert the Monk, II.11, p. 95.
- 72 Raymond of Aguilers, I, pp. 16–17.
- 73 Raymond of Aguilers, I, p. 17.
- 74 Raymond of Aguilers, I, p. 17.
- 75 Za procene broja učesnika, France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 122–42; B. Bachrach, ‘The siege of Antioch: A study in military demography’, *War in History* 6 (1999), pp. 127–46; J. Riley-Smith, ‘Casualties and the number of knights on the First Crusade’, *Crusades* 1 (2002), pp. 13–28.
- 76 Fulcher of Chartres, I.6.ix, p. 73.
- 77 Fulcher of Chartres, I.13.iv, p. 88.
- 78 Anna Komnene, X.5, p. 274.
- 79 Anna Komnene, X.5.vi, p. 275.

8. Ka carskom gradu

- 1 Robert the Monk, I.5, p. 83.
- 2 Albert of Aachen, I.2, pp. 2–4; Guibert of Nogent, II, p. 121.
- 3 William of Tyre, I.3, 1, p. 108; Albert of Aachen, I.2–3, p. 4; Anna Komnene, X.5, p. 275. For Peter the Hermit, vidi J. Flori, *Pierre l’Eremitte et la Première Croisade* (Paris, 1999).
- 4 Albert of Aachen, I.3, pp. 4–6; Guibert of Nogent, II.8, p. 142.
- 5 Na primer J. Flori, ‘Faut-il réhabiliter Pierre l’Eremitte’, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 38 (1995), pp. 35–54.
- 6 Albert of Aachen, I.26–8, pp. 50–2. Vidi B. Kedar, ‘Crusade Historians and the Massacres of 1096’, *Jewish History* 12 (1998), pp. 11–31; R. Chazan, *God, Humanity and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives* (Berkeley, 2000) takode i id., “‘Let Not a Remnant or a Residue Escape’: Millenarian Enthusiasm in the First Crusade’, *Speculum* 84 (2009), pp. 289–313. Vidi takode i M. Gabriele, ‘Against the Enemies of Christ: The Role of Count Emicho in the Anti-Jewish Violence of the First Crusade’, in M. Frassetto (ed.), *Christian Attitudes towards the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (Abingdon, 2007), pp. 61–82.
- 7 Albert of Aachen, I.26–7, pp. 50–2. Also *Chronicle of Solomon bar Simson*, tr. S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders* (Madison, 1977), pp. 28ff.
- 8 *Solomon bar Simson*, pp. 24–5.
- 9 Na primer, Siegebert of Gembloux, in *MGH, SS*, 6, p. 367; Richard of Poitiers, *Cruce signato*, in M. Bouquet et al. (eds.), *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1737–1904), 12, p. 411.

- 10 Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon Viridunensi*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 13, p. 623. Za mnoge druge primere, vidi N. Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 119–27.
- 11 Guibert of Nogent, II.9, p. 123.
- 12 Anna Komnene, X.5, p. 274.
- 13 Albert of Aachen, I.29, p. 54.
- 14 Albert of Aachen, I.6, pp. 10–12, and Orderic Vitalis, IX.4, 5, p. 30.
- 15 Albert of Aachen, I.9, p. 18.
- 16 Anna Komnene, X.5, pp. 275–6; John Zonaras, XVIII.23, 3, p. 742.
- 17 *Gesta Francorum*, I, p. 3.
- 18 Anna Komnene, X.6, p. 277.
- 19 *Gesta Francorum*, I, p. 3; Robert the Monk, I.7, p. 85.
- 20 *Gesta Francorum*, I, pp. 3–4.
- 21 Albert of Aachen, I.21, p. 42.
- 22 *Gesta Francorum*, I, p. 4.
- 23 Robert the Monk, I.9, p. 86.
- 24 *Gesta Francorum*, I, pp. 4–5; Robert the Monk, I.12, p. 87.
- 25 *Gesta Francorum*, I, p. 4; Anna Komnene, X.6, p. 278.
- 26 Anna Komnene, X.6, p. 279.
- 27 Guibert of Nogent, II.10, p. 124.
- 28 *Gesta Francorum*, I, str 5. O važnosti prvih zapisa o Prvom krstaškom ratu, a naročito o *Gesta Francorum* u Evropi početkom XII veka, vidi J. France, *The Anonumous Gesta Francorum*, zatim *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iberusalem Remona* od Agilera i *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* Petra Tudeboda. Analiza tekstualnih veza između primarnih izvora za Prvi krstaški rat u J. France and W. Zajac (eds.), *The Crusades and their Sources. Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 39–69, and also Rubenstein, ‘What is the *Gesta Francorum*?’, pp. 179–204.
- 29 Anna Komnene, X.7, p. 279.
- 30 Ibid., p. 280.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Anna Komnene, X.8, p. 281.
- 33 Fulcher of Chartres, I.6, p. 72; Anna Komnene, X.7, pp. 279–80.
- 34 Albert of Aachen, II.7, pp. 70–2.
- 35 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 143; C. de Coussemaker, ‘Documents relatifs à la Flandre mari- time. Extraits du cartulaire de l’abbaye de Watten’, *Annales du comité flamand de France*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1860), 5, p. 359.
- 36 Fulcher of Chartres, I.8.i–ix, pp. 76–8.
- 37 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 11; Albert of Aachen, II.18, p. 88; *Historia Belli Sacri, RHC, Occ.*, 3, p. 177.

- 38 Anna Komnene, X.8, pp. 281–4.
- 39 Raymond of Aguilers, II, p. 21.
- 40 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 10.
- 41 *Gesta Francorum*, I, p. 8.
- 42 Nesbitt, ‘Rate of march’, pp. 167–82.
- 43 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 10.
- 44 Raymond of Aguilers, I, p. 18; J. Shepard, “Father” or “Scorpion”? Style and substance in Alexios’ diplomacy’, in M. Mullett and D. Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos – Papers* (Belfast, 1996), pp. 80–2.
- 45 Anna Komnene, X.9, p. 285.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Anna Komnene, X.7, p. 280; X.11, p. 292; *Gesta Francorum*, I, pp. 5–6; II, p. 11.
- 48 Raymond of Aguilers, II, p. 22.
- 49 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, p. 16.
- 50 Ibid., pp. 15–16.
- 51 Fulcher of Chartres, I.9.iii, p. 80.
- 52 Ralph of Caen, 18, p. 42.
- 53 *De Cerimoniis*, II.15, 2, p. 597.
- 54 P. Chiesa (ed.), *Liudprandi Cremonensis. Antapodosis; Homelia paschalis; Historia Ottonis; Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana* (Turnhout, 1997), *Relatio*, I.1, pp. 238–9.
- 55 Ibid., *Antapodosis*, VI.5, pp. 197–8.
- 56 Anna Komnene, X.10, pp. 291–2. For Alexios’ methods, Shepard, “Father” or “Scorpion”?, pp. 60–132.
- 57 Anna Komnene, XIII.10, pp. 383–4.
- 58 Anna Komnene, X.11, p. 292.
- 59 Ibid., pp. 292–3.
- 60 Ibid., p. 293.
- 61 Ibid., pp. 293–4.
- 62 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, pp. 15–16.
- 63 Albert of Aachen, II.17, p. 86.
- 64 Anna Komnene, XIV.4, p. 411.
- 65 Anna Komnene, X.9, pp. 285–6.
- 66 Robert the Monk, II.9, p. 94; Albert of Aachen, II.12–14, pp. 78–82; Anna Komnene, X.9, pp. 286–8.
- 67 Albert of Aachen, I.12, p. 78.
- 68 Albert of Aachen, II.12, p. 78.
- 69 Albert of Aachen, II.16, p. 84.

- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Ibid., pp. 84–6.
- 72 Fulcher of Chartres, I.9.iii, p. 80.
- 73 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 12.
- 74 Fulcher of Chartres, I.8.ix, p. 78.
- 75 Anna Komnene, X.9, p. 285.
- 76 Michael the Syrian, XV.6, 3, p. 179.
- 77 Anna Komnene, X.9, pp. 285–6.
- 78 Albert of Aachen, II.10, p. 74.
- 79 Anna Komnene, X.9, p. 285.
- 80 Ekkehard of Aura, pp. 166–7.
- 81 Albert of Aachen, II.16, pp. 84–6. Vidi i E. Patlagean, ‘Christianisation et parentés rituelles: le domaine de Byzance’, *Annales ESC* 33 (1978), pp. 625–36; R. Macrides, ‘Kinship by arrangement: The case of adoption’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), pp. 109–18.
- 82 S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994).
- 83 Anna Komnene, XIII.12, p. 386. Za zakletve, vidi J. Pryor, ‘The oath of the leaders of the Crusade to the emperor Alexius Comnenus: Fealty, homage’, *Paregon New Series* 2 (1984), pp. 111–41.
- 84 *Gesta Francorum*, II, pp. 11–12.
- 85 Fulcher of Chartres, I.9.iii, p. 80.
- 86 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 12.
- 87 Anna Komnene, X.11, pp. 294–5.
- 88 J. Shepard, ‘When Greek meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemund in 1097–8’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988), pp. 185–277.
- 89 Anna Komnene, X.9, p. 289.
- 90 Raymond of Aguilers, II, p. 23.
- 91 Ibid., p. 24. Also *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 13.
- 92 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 12.
- 93 Raymond of Aguilers, II, p. 24.
- 94 Anna Komnene, X.9, p. 289.
- 95 Ibn a-Qalanisi, AH 490/Dec. 1096–Dec. 1097, p. 43
- 96 Ibn al-Athir, AH 491/Dec. 1096–Dec. 1097, p. 14.
- 97 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 11.
- 98 Anna Komnene, XI.2, p. 300.

9. Prvi susreti s neprijateljem

- 1 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, p. 16.
- 2 Na primer, *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 14; Albert of Aachen, II.29, p. 110.
- 3 Albert of Aachen, I.15, p. 30.
- 4 Albert of Aachen, II.28, p. 110.
- 5 Raymond of Aguilers, III, p. 26; Constable, *Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2, p. 209; P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–80* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 44. Vidi i J. Shepard, 'Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade', in Phillips (ed.), *The First Crusade*, p. 120, and n. 65.
- 6 Anna Komnene, XI.2, p. 300.
- 7 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 15.
- 8 Raymond of Aguilers, III, p. 25. Za nikejsko utvrđenje, A. Schneider and W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik-Nicea* (Berlin, 1938); C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications* (Pretoria, 1986), pp. 79–121; R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the 12th Century* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 17–25.
- 9 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 15.
- 10 Albert of Aachen, II.29, p. 110–12; II.22, p. 96.
- 11 Albert of Aachen, II.33, pp. 116–18.
- 12 Matthew of Edessa, II.108, p. 163; Anna Komnene, VI.12, p. 179.
- 13 Albert of Aachen, II.34, pp. 118–20; Fulcher of Chartres, I.10.vii, p. 82.
- 14 Anna Komnene, XI.1, p. 298.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 299.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 297–8.
- 18 Albert of Aachen II.25–6, pp. 102–4.
- 19 Anna Komnene XI.2, p. 300.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 301.
- 21 Anna Komnene, XI.2.vi, p. 327.
- 22 Ibn al-Qalanisi, AH 490/Dec. 1096–Dec. 1097, p. 41.
- 23 C. Foss, 'Byzantine responses to Turkish Attacks: Some sites of Asia Minor', in I. Sevcenko and I. Hutter, *Aetos: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 155–8.
- 24 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, p. 19.
- 25 Anna Komnene, XI.2, pp. 303–4.
- 26 Anna Komnene, XI.3, p. 304; Fulcher of Chartres, I.10.x, p. 83.
- 27 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, p. 19. Kasniji pisci takođe označavaju sudbinu Nikeje kao prekretnicu odnosa prema Aleksiju, npr. Orderic Vitalis, IX.8, 5, p. 56.

- 28 Anna Komnene, XI.3, p. 304.
- 29 Ralph of Caen, 10, pp. 31–2.
- 30 Anna Komnene, XI.3, pp. 304–5; Ralph of Caen, 18, p. 42.
- 31 Guibert of Nogent, IV.10, p. 81.
- 32 Anna Komnene, XI.3, p. 304.
- 33 Raymond of Aguilers, II, p. 23.
- 34 Anna Komnene, X.2, p. 264.
- 35 Fulcher of Chartres, I.11.i, p. 83.
- 36 Anna Komnene, XI.5, pp. 309–12.
- 37 Fulcher of Chartres, I.13.i, p. 87; Shephard, “Father” or “Scorpion”, p. 88.
- 38 Anna Komnene, XI.2, p. 301; XI.5, pp. 309–10.
- 39 Anna Komnene, XI.5, pp. 309–12.
- 40 Ovu epizodu Ana Komnina smešta u pogrešno vreme – Čaka je očigledno umro pre nego što su Vizantinci preoteli Smirnu, a ne posle. Anna Komnene, IX.3, pp. 243–4.
- 41 Ibid., p. 244.
- 42 Fulcher of Chartres, I.11.vi, p. 85.
- 43 *Gesta Francorum*, III, p. 18; Ralph of Caen, 40, p. 65; Fulcher of Chartres, I.11.ix, pp. 85–6.
- 44 Fulcher of Chartres, I.11.viii, p. 85.
- 45 *Gesta Francorum*, III, pp. 19–20.
- 46 Fulcher of Chartres, I.12.iv–v, p. 87.
- 47 *Gesta Francorum*, III, p. 21.
- 48 Albert of Aachen, II.22, p. 94. Albert takođe naziva Kildž Arslana „veličanstvenim“, I, 16, str 32; jednako hvali i drugog Turčina dalje na istoku, Danišmenda, za kog kaže da je „hvale vredan.“ IX.33, p. 680.
- 49 Anna Komnene, X.10, pp. 291–2.
- 50 *Gesta Francorum*, IV, p. 24.
- 51 Ibn al-Qalanisi, AH 490/Dec. 1096–Dec. 1097, p. 42.
- 52 *Gesta Francorum*, IV, p. 26.
- 53 Ibid., p. 25.
- 54 Albert of Aachen, III.10, pp. 152–4.
- 55 Albert of Aachen, III.3, p. 140; Ralph of Caen, 23, p. 47.
- 56 Albert of Aachen, III.3–18, pp. 140–66.
- 57 Anna Komnene, X.10, p. 291.
- 58 Raymond of Aguilers, IV, p. 37.
- 59 Matthew of Edessa, II.104–8, pp. 161–4; II.117–18, pp. 168–70; Fulcher of Chartres, I.14.i–xv, pp. 88–92; Albert of Aachen, II.19–24, pp. 169–77.

- 60 Fulcher, I.14.xi, p. 91.
- 61 W. Saunders, 'The Greek inscription on the Harran gate at Edessa: Some further evidence', *Byzantinsche Forschungen* 21 (1995), pp. 301–4.
- 62 Albert of Aachen, III.19, p. 168.
- 63 Guibert of Nogent, VII.39, pp. 338–9.
- 64 Na primer, Albert of Aachen, IV.9, p. 262; VII.31, p. 528; Guibert of Nogent, VII.39, p. 338; Orderic Vitalis, IX.11, 5, pp. 118–20.
- 65 Thus Guibert of Nogent, VII.37, p. 335.
- 66 Albert of Aachen, III.31, p. 361.
- 67 Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare*, pp. 25–39.
- 68 Fulcher of Chartres, I.15.ii, p. 92.
- 69 *Gesta Francorum*, V, p. 28.
- 70 Raymond of Aguilers, VI, p. 49.
- 71 Anna Komnene, XI.7, p. 317. Za imenovanje Eumatija Filokalesa na Kipru, IX.2, p. 242.
- 72 Ibn al-Qalanisi, AH 490/Dec. 1096–Dec. 1097, p. 242.
- 73 Fulcher of Chartres, I.16.ii, p. 96.
- 74 Albert of Aachen, III.46, pp. 208–10.
- 75 Albert of Aachen, V.1, p. 338.
- 76 Matthew of Edessa, II.114, pp. 167–8.
- 77 Fulcher of Chartres, I.16.iii, p. 96.
- 78 *Gesta Francorum*, V, pp. 30–1.
- 79 Raymond of Aguilers, VI, p. 39.
- 80 *Gesta Francorum*, V, pp. 36–7.
- 81 *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- 82 *Ibid.*

10. Borba za dušu krstaškog pokreta

- 1 Raymond of Aguilers, IV, p. 36.
- 2 Guibert of Nogent, V.6, p. 206.
- 3 *Gesta Francorum*, VI, p. 33.
- 4 Guibert of Nogent, V.14, p. 217.
- 5 Albert of Aachen, IV.39, pp. 308–10; *Gesta Francorum*, IX, p. 59.
- 6 Raymond of Aguilers, IV, p. 35; *Gesta Francorum*, V, p. 30.
- 7 *Gesta Francorum*, IX, p. 63; Ralph of Caen, 58, p. 84; Albert of Aachen, IV.13, pp. 266–8.
- 8 Ralph of Caen, 58, p. 84.

- 9 Guibert of Nogent, II.16, pp. 132–3.
- 10 Kemal ad-Din, 'La Chronique d'Alep', *RHC, Or.*, p. 578; *Anonymi Florinensis brevis narratio Belli sacri*, *RHC, Occ.*, 5, p. 371; Ralph of Caen, 58, p. 84.
- 11 Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatum orientis*, in *RHC, Occ.*, 5, p. 66. O snabdevanju s Kipra vidi i Baldric of Dol, p. 65; Raymond of Aguilers, VII, p. 54; Ralph of Caen, 58, p. 84.
- 12 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 166.
- 13 *Gesta Francorum*, VI, pp. 34–5; Raymond of Aguilers, IV, p. 37.
- 14 Albert of Aachen, IV.40, pp. 310–12.
- 15 Raymond of Aguilers, IV, p. 37. J. France, 'The departure of Tatikios from the Crusader army', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971), pp. 137–47.
- 16 *Gesta Francorum*, VI, pp. 34–5.
- 17 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, pp. 165–6; Ralph of Caen, 58, p. 84.
- 18 Ovo je izazvalo odjek u kasnijim zapisima o Prvom krstaškom ratu s drgim epizodama. *Orderic Vitalis*, na primer, tvrdi da je seme mržnje prema Aleksiju prvi put posjano u Nikeji, kad je podvig osvajanja grada izbledeo u poređenju s troškovima, potrošenim zalihama i prolivenom krstaškom krvlju. XI. 8, 5, str. 56.
- 19 Shepard, 'When Greek meets Greek', pp. 188–277.
- 20 *Gesta Francorum*, VIII, pp. 44–5; Albert of Aachen, IV.15, p. 270; Ralph of Caen, 64–5, pp. 89–90; William of Tyre, IV.24, pp. 267–8; cf. Anna Komnene, XI.4, pp. 307–8.
- 21 *Gesta Francorum*, V, p. 45; Fulcher of Chartres, I.19.i, p. 101; Anna Komnene, XI.6, p. 312. Also Barber and Bate, *Letters*, p. 28; Matthew of Edessa, II.119, p. 170.
- 22 *Gesta Francorum*, VI, p. 44; Fulcher of Chartres, I.17, p. 98; Matthew of Edessa, II.120, p. 170; Ibn al-Qalanisi, AH 491/Dec. 1097–Dec. 1098, p. 45. Firouz is identified as a Turk, Raymond of Aguilers, VI, p. 47; Albert of Aachen, III.61, p. 234. Ibn al-Athir talks of the role played by Firouz (Rudbah) and the offer made to him, AH 491/Dec. 1097–Dec. 1098, pp. 14–15; Kemal ad-Din, p. 580.
- 23 Anna Komnene, V.6, p. 144.
- 24 Raymond of Aguilers, IV, p. 37.
- 25 *Gesta Francorum*, VIII, p. 45; Albert of Aachen, IV.14–15, pp. 270–2; Ralph of Caen, 65, p. 654.
- 26 *Gesta Francorum*, VIII, p. 46.
- 27 Raymond of Aguilers, VI, p. 47.
- 28 Albert of Aachen, IV.20, p. 278.
- 29 Raymond of Aguilers, VI, p. 47; Albert of Aachen, IV.21, p. 280.
- 30 *Gesta Francorum*, VII, p. 47.

- 31 *Gesta Francorum*, VIII, p. 48.
- 32 Albert of Aachen, IV.26, p. 286.
- 33 *Gesta Francorum*, IX, p. 62.
- 34 Albert of Aachen, IV.34, pp. 298–300; Raymond of Aguilers, VIII, p. 59; Ibn al-Athir, AH 491/Dec. 1097–Dec. 1098, p. 16.
- 35 Fulcher of Chartres, I.19.iii, p. 101.
- 36 Za otkriće Svetog koplja i posledice po Prvi krstaški rat vidi T. Asbridge, 'The Holy Lance of Antioch: Power, devotion and memory on the First Crusade', *Reading Medieval Studies* 33 (2007), pp. 3–36.
- 37 Albert of Aachen, IV.46, p. 320.
- 38 Fulcher of Chartres, I.22.ii, p. 104; *Gesta Francorum*, IX, pp. 67–8.
- 39 Fulcher of Chartres, I.22.v, p. 105.
- 40 Raymond of Aguilers, VIII, p. 61.
- 41 Fulcher of Chartres, I.23.iv–v, p. 106.
- 42 Raymond of Aguilers, VIII, pp. 63–4.
- 43 *Gesta Francorum*, IX, pp. 69–70.
- 44 Albert of Aachen, IV.53, pp. 330–2.
- 45 Ibn al-Athir, AH 491/Dec. 1097–Dec. 1098, pp. 16–17.
- 46 Raymond of Aguilers, IX, p. 65.
- 47 Robert the Monk, II.2, p. 90.
- 48 Albert of Aachen, V.15, p. 396.
- 49 Albert of Aachen, IV.9, pp. 260–2; Raymond of Aguilers, X, pp. 73–4.
- 50 Albert of Aachen, V.15, p. 357; *Gesta Francorum*, X, pp. 73–4.
- 51 Raymond of Aguilers, X, p. 75.
- 52 *Gesta Francorum*, IX, p. 63.
- 53 Anna Komnene, XI.6, p. 313.
- 54 Raymond of Aguilers, IV, p. 37.
- 55 *Gesta Francorum*, X, p. 72; Fulcher of Chartres, I.23.viii, p. 107.
- 56 Albert of Aachen, V.3, pp. 340–2.
- 57 Raymond of Aguilers, IX, pp. 67–8.
- 58 Ralph of Caen, 51, p. 77.
- 59 S. Duparc-Quoioc (ed.), *La Chanson d'Antioche*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1976), 1, laisse 175.
- 60 Raymond of Aguilers, IV, p. 34.
- 61 Raymond of Aguilers, IX, p. 84.
- 62 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, pp. 32–3.
- 63 Ibid., p. 33; takođe Fulcher of Chartres, I.24.xiii–xiv, pp. 111–12.
- 64 Ibid. Fulker ne uključuje ovaj završni pasus, dole, str. 203.

- 65 Raymond of Aguilers, X, pp. 74–5; *Gesta Francorum*, X, pp. 75–6, 80–1.
 66 *Gesta Francorum*, X, pp. 75–6.
 67 Raymond of Aguilers, X, p. 80.
 68 *Gesta Francorum*, X, p. 80; Fulcher of Chartres, I.25.ii, p. 112.
 69 *Gesta Francorum*, X, pp. 82, 86; Raymond of Aguilers, XI, pp. 87, 91.
 70 Raymond of Aguilers, XIII, p. 105.

11. Raspad krstaštva

- 1 Albert of Aachen, V.45, p. 402.
 2 Ralph of Caen, 120, pp. 136–7; Baldric of Dol, IV.12, p. 100; Albert of Aachen, VI.2, p. 406.
 3 Raymond of Aguilers, XIV, p. 119.
 4 *Gesta Francorum*, X, pp. 88–9; Albert of Aachen, VI.5, p. 410; Raymond of Aguilers, XIV, pp. 119–20.
 5 France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 122–42.
 6 Fulcher of Chartres, I.27.iv, p. 119.
 7 Albert of Aachen, VI.6, pp. 410–12. Also *Gesta Francorum*, X, p. 89; Raymond of Aguilers, XIV, p. 118.
 8 Fulcher of Chartres, I.26.i, p. 116.
 9 *Gesta Francorum*, X, p. 89.
 10 Raymond of Aguilers, XIII, p. 114.
 11 Albert of Aachen, VI.8, pp. 412–14.
 12 *Gesta Francorum*, X, p. 90; Raymond of Aguilers, XIV, p. 124.
 13 Raymond of Aguilers, XIV, pp. 124–5; Ralph of Caen, 125, pp. 140–2; *Gesta Francorum*, X, p. 90.
 14 Albert of Aachen, VI.10, p. 416; Ralph of Caen, 124, pp. 139–40.
 15 *Gesta Francorum*, X, pp. 91–2; Ibn al-Athir, AH 492/Dec. 1098–Dec. 1099, p. 21.
 16 *Gesta Francorum*, X, pp. 79–80.
 17 Raymond of Aguilers, XIV, p. 127.
 18 *Gesta Francorum*, X, p. 92.
 19 Fulcher of Chartres, I.27.xiii, p. 122.
 20 B. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the First Crusade', *Crusades* 3 (2004), pp. 15–75.
 21 Ibn al-Athir, AH 492/Dec. 1098–Dec. 1099, p. 21.
 22 S. Goitein, 'Contemporary letters on the capture of Jerusalem', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 3 (1952), pp. 162–77.
 23 Fulcher of Chartres, I.28.i, p. 122.

- 24 Fulcher of Chartres, I.29.i, p. 123.
- 25 S. Goitein, 'Tyre-Tripoli-Arqa: Geniza documents from the beginning of the Crusade period', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 66 (1975), pp. 69–88.
- 26 Raymond of Aguilers, XIV, p. 128, citing Isaiah 65:17, Psalms 118:24.
- 27 *Naser-e Khusraw's Book of Travels (Safarnama)*, tr. W. Thackston (New York, 1986), p. 21. Mnogi hodočasnički vodiči iz tog vremena pisani su za muslimanske posetioce Jerusalima, a dobar primer je vodič Ibn al Muraje nastao u prvoj polovini jedanaestog veka. E. Amikam, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 68–78.
- 28 M. Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 191, n. 67.
- 29 M-L. Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)* (Amsterdam, 1988).
- 30 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, p. 24; William of Tyre, IV.24, 1, pp. 267–8. Also note *Gesta Francorum*, VI, pp. 37–8; Raymond of Aguilers, V, pp. 40–1.
- 31 Fulcher of Chartres, I.31.i–xii, pp. 125–8; P. Tudebode, pp. 146–7; Albert of Aachen, VI.45–50, pp. 464–70.
- 32 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, pp. 37–8.
- 33 O pohodu iz 1101, Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 120–34.
- 34 Albert of Aachen, VII.20, p. 512; Fulcher of Chartres, I.36.i, p. 136; Matthew of Edessa, II.132, p. 176.
- 35 O zarobljavanju Boemunda, Fulcher of Chartres, I.35.iii, p. 135; Albert of Aachen, VII.29, p. 526; Matthew of Edessa, II.134, p. 177.
- 36 Vidi A. Murray, 'Daimbert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem*, pp. 81–102.
- 37 Albert of Aachen, X.30, p. 528.
- 38 William of Tyre, VI.23, I, p. 340. For John's flight, *ibid.*; Orderic Vitalis, X.24, 5, p. 356.
- 39 Fulcher of Chartres, II.3.xiii, p. 143.
- 40 Albert of Aachen, VII.43, p. 550. For Godfrey's burial, VII.21, p. 516.
- 41 Albert of Aachen, VII.46–51, pp. 554–60.
- 42 Albert of Aachen, VII.57, p. 566; for his service to the emperor, IX.6, p. 644. Takođe vidi Shepard, 'The "muddy road" of Odo Arpin', pp. 11–28.
- 43 Albert of Aachen, IX.1–6, pp. 638–44; Fulcher of Chartres, II.15.i–vi, pp. 163–4; Anna Komnene, XI.7, p. 316.
- 44 Patrijarh je smenjen pod optužbom za proneveru. Albert of Aachen VII, 62–63, str. 574. Značajno je da su optužbe izneli izaslanici Rožea od Sicilije, odlučnog pristalice papstva i pomirenja s Konstantinopoljem krajem XI veka. To govori da je osovina Rim-Sicilija-Konstantinopolj ponovo saradivala.
- 45 Albert of Aachen, VIII.45, p. 634.
- 46 Albert of Aachen, VIII.45–48, pp. 634–6.

- 47 Anna Komnene, XI.7, p. 318; Ralph of Caen, 143–4, pp. 158–60. Za hronologiju vidi R.-J. Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096–1204*, tr. J. Morris and J. Ridings (Oxford, 1993), pp. 259–76 and Ia. Liubarskii, 'Zamehaniya k khronologiji XI knigi 'Aleksiada' Anny Komninoi', *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 24 (1964), pp. 47–56.
- 48 Anna Komnene, XI.7, p. 318; Ralph of Caen, 145, p. 160.
- 49 Ralph of Caen, 147, pp. 163–4.
- 50 Kemal ad-Din, p. 591.
- 51 Anna Komnene, XI.9, pp. 320–1.
- 52 Fulcher of Chartres, II.27.vii–viii, pp. 178–9.
- 53 Ibn al-Athir, AH 497/Dec. 1103–Dec. 1104, pp. 79–80; Ibn al-Qalanisi, p. 60. Also here Fulcher of Chartres, II.27.i–viii, pp. 177–9; Matthew of Edessa, III.18, pp. 192–3; Albert of Aachen, IX.39; Ralph of Caen, 148, pp. 164–5.
- 54 Ibn al-Qalanisi, p. 61.
- 55 O Tankredovom preuzimanju Edese, Albert of Aachen, IX.42, p. 694; Fulcher of Chartres, II.27.5, p. 178; II.28, p. 180; Ralph of Caen, 151, p. 167; Matthew of Edessa, III.20, p. 194. O vizantijskim dobcima iz 1104, Anna Komnene, XI.9–11, pp. 321–9.
- 56 Albert of Aachen, IX.46, p. 700–2.
- 57 Ralph of Caen, 152, pp. 168–9.
- 58 Anna Komnene, XI.12, pp. 329–31.

12. Posledice Prvog krstaškog rata

- 1 O pesmama pevanim u Francuskoj, Orderic Vitalis, X.21, 5, p. 342. O ciklusima pesama vidi S. Edgington and C. Sweetenham (eds.), *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old-French Account of the First Crusade* (Aldershot, 2011).
- 2 E. de Marneffe (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Afflighem* (Louvain, 1894), pp. 19–21.
- 3 Za mnoge primere vidi Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 150.
- 4 E.g. *De genere comitum Flandrensium notae Parisienses*, MGH, SS, 13, p. 259.
- 5 Suger of St Denis, p. 38; vidi takođe Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 122–3.
- 6 Gi od Trusoia napustio je Antiohiju, kaže *Gesta Francorum* IX, str. 55–56. Njegovo srodstvo po braku s francuskim kraljem verovatno objašnjava saosećajne komentare u izvoru bliskom francuskom vladarskom domu. Suger of St Denis, p. 36.
- 7 Guibert of Nogent, VI.11, p. 243.
- 8 Za Stefanovu smrt, Albert of Aachen, IX.6, p. 644. Za primer njegovog spomena u ciklusima pesama, *Chanson d'Antioche*, pp. 285–6.
- 9 France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 141–2.

- 10 Gilbert of Mons, 27, p. 30. Vidi William of Tyre, I, p. 298; Albert of Aachen, IX.52, p. 716.
- 11 Orderic Vitalis, X.24, 5, pp. 358–76.
- 12 Ibid., p. 354.
- 13 France, ‘The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*’, pp. 39–69 a naročito, Rubenstein, ‘What is the *Gesta Francorum* and who was Peter Tudebode?’, pp. 179–204.
- 14 Fulcher of Chartres, I.33. v–xxi, pp. 129–32; Albert of Aachen, VII.6, p. 494.
- 15 R. Hiestand (ed.), *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande* (Göttingen, 1985), p. 102; za nekoliko drugih primera, *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, 5, pp. 83–102.
- 16 Suger of St Denis, p. 44.
- 17 Romuald of Salerno, p. 203; Ekkehard of Aura, p. 293; William of Tyre, XI.1, 1, p. 460.
- 18 Bartulf of Nangis, *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem*, 65, p. 538; *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, IV, p. 493; Suger of St Denis, p. 48; Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, p. 7, n. 2; *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, 5, pp. 79–80.
- 19 Albert of Aachen, VIII.48, p. 636.
- 20 Vidi, na primer, W. Whalen, ‘God’s Will or Not? Bohemond’s campaign against the Byzantine Empire (1105–1108)’, in T. Madden, J. Naus and V. Ryan (eds.) *Crusades – Worlds in conflict* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 115–23.
- 21 Za Boemundovu putanju vidi L. Russo, ‘Il viaggio di Boemundo d’Altavilla in Francia’, *Archivio storico italiano* 603 (2005), pp. 3–42.
- 22 Orderic Vitalis, XI.12, 6, pp. 70–2.
- 23 Ibid., p. 70.
- 24 Vidi, na primer W. Holtzmann, ‘Zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites’, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 50 (1935), pp. 280–2.
- 25 Orderic Vitalis, XI.12, 6, p. 68; William of Malmesbury, IV.407, p. 736.
- 26 J. Stevenson (ed.), *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, 2 vols. (London, 1858), 2, p. 46. Nema nagoveštaja datuma ni motiva za slanje izaslanstva u Englesku.
- 27 Na primer, Shepard, ‘The “muddy road” of Odo Arpin’, pp. 11–28.
- 28 Anna Komnene, XIII.12, p. 385.
- 29 Ibid., p. 386.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 392–4.
- 31 Ibid., p. 387; p. 389.
- 32 Ibid., p. 392.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Orderic Vitalis, X.24, 5, p. 356; William of Tyre, VI.23, 1, p. 340.
- 35 Anna Komnene, XIV.1, p. 397.
- 36 Anna Komnene, XIII.12, p. 395.
- 37 Ibid., p. 394.

- 38 Fulcher of Chartres, I.32, p. 128; Orderic Vitalis, X.12, 5, p. 276.
- 39 Anna Komnene, XI.7, p. 316; XII.1, pp. 332–3; Orderic Vitalis, X.23, 5, p. 350; X.24, p. 354.
- 40 *Gesta Francorum*, I, p. 5.
- 41 Ibid., p. 6; II, p. 10.
- 42 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 11.
- 43 Ibid., p. 17.
- 44 Raymond of Aguilers, I, pp. 18–19; II, p. 22.
- 45 Raymond of Aguilers, II, pp. 26–7.
- 46 Ibid., p. 23.
- 47 *Gesta Francorum*, II, p. 12.
- 48 Robert the Monk, VII.20, p. 176.
- 49 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, p. 20.
- 50 Ibid., pp. 22–5.
- 51 Matthew of Edessa, II.114, p. 167. Za Crnu planinu, vidi *Regulations of Nikon of the Black Mountain*, in J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 5 vols. (Washington, DC, 2000), pp. 377–424. Vidi takode *Typikon of Nikon of the Black Mountain for the Monastery and Hospice of the Mother of God tou Roidiou* in ibid., pp. 425–39.
- 52 Ralph of Caen, 54, p. 80.
- 53 Raymond of Aguilers, XI, p. 88.
- 54 Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, p. 153.
- 55 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, p. 21.
- 56 *Gesta Francorum*, X, p. 72; Fulcher of Chartres, I.23.viii, p. 107; cf. Albert of Aachen, V.3, pp. 340–2.
- 57 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, pp. 30–3.
- 58 Ibid., p. 33.
- 59 Fulcher of Chartres, I.24.i–xiv, pp. 107–12.
- 60 Raymond of Aguilers, II, p. 23.
- 61 Ibid., pp. 22–3.
- 62 *Gesta Francorum*, X, p. 75.
- 63 Raymond of Aguilers, X, pp. 74–5.
- 64 Robert the Monk, VII.20, p. 176; William of Tyre, IX.13, 1, p. 437.
- 65 Robert the Monk, VI.16, p. 160.
- 66 Guibert of Nogent, I.5, p. 104.
- 67 William of Malmesbury, *History of the English Kings*, ed. R. Thomson, R. Mynors and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1999), III.262, pp. 482–4.
- 68 Roger of Hoveden, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam* (repr. Farnborough, 1970), p. 710.

- 69 William of Malmesbury, II.225, p. 412.
- 70 William of Tyre, X.12, 1, p. 467.
- 71 Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. Bury, 7 vols. (London, 1909–14) 6, p. 335.
- 72 Anna Komnene, XIV.2, p. 401.
- 73 Albert of Aachen, IX.43, p. 696.
- 74 A. Wharton Epstein, 'The date and significance of the Cathedral of Canosa in Apulia, Southern Italy', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983), pp. 85–6.
- 75 M. Ogle and D. Schullian (eds.) *Rodulfi Tortarii Carmina* (Rome, 1933), pp. 298–316.
- 76 Vidi N. Paul, 'A warlord's wisdom: Literacy and propaganda at the time of the First Crusade', *Speculum* 85 (2010), pp. 534–66. Another source from this period also reports Bohemond as having got the better of the emperor, rather than the other way round. *Narratio Floriacensis*, pp. 356–62.
- 77 Barber and Bate, *Letters*, pp. 30–3.
- 78 *Gesta Francorum*, I, pp. 1–2.
- 79 Erdmann, *Die Briefe Heinrichs IV*, pp. 38–9.
- 80 Ekkehard of Aura, pp. 182–4; *Annales Hildesheimensis*, MGH, SS, 3, pp. 50–1.
- 81 Erdmann, *Die Briefe Heinrichs IV*, pp. 39–40.
- 82 *Patrologia Latina*, 163, cols. 108a–c.
- 83 Erdmann, *Die Briefe Heinrichs IV*, pp. 39–40.
- 84 O sporazumu, Anna Komnene, IX,3, str 244. i gore, str 146. O stabilnim i naoko pozitivnim odnosima između Aleksija i Kilidž Arslana, vidi, na primer, Albert of Aachen, IX.34, pp. 680–2.
- 85 Za Fulkerov pomirljivi stav prema Vizantiji, vidi L. Ní Chléirigh, 'The impact of the First Crusade on Western opinion towards the Byzantine Empire: The *Dei Gesta per Francos* of Guibert of Nogent and the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Fulcher of Chartres', in C. Kostick (ed.), *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories* (Abingdon, 2011), pp. 161–88.
- 86 Iako dolazi do različitih zaključaka, vidi M. Carrier, 'L'image d'Alexis Ier Comnène selon le chroniqueur Albert d'Aix', *Byzantion* 78 (2008), pp. 34–65.
- 87 Anna Komnene, XI.8, p. 320.
- 88 Anna Komnene, XIV.2, pp. 402–3; Albert of Aachen, XI.4, p. 776.
- 89 P. Maas, 'Die Musen des Kaisers Alexios I', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 22 (1913), ll. 312–51.
- 90 H. Hoffmann (ed.), *Die Chronik von Montecassino* (Hanover, 1980), IV.46, p. 514.
- 91 Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, p. 162.
- 92 Anna Komnene, XIV.4, p. 411.
- 93 Anna Komnene, X.2, p. 262.