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# The Social Structure of the First Crusade

*Conor Kostick*

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# The Social Structure of the First Crusade

# The Medieval Mediterranean

Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500

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# The Social Structure of the First Crusade

*By*

Conor Kostick



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*Cover illustration:* “Dieu le veule—Peter The Hermit preaching the First Crusade” by James Archer (1823–1904)  
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*In Memoriam*

Anne Walsh



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Much of the research for this book was conducted while I was a post-graduate scholar of the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and the Social Sciences and I am very grateful for their assistance.

I was fortunate in growing up in a household where medieval history was frequently a topic for discussion, a topic informed by my father's extensive and scholarly book collection, much of which has stealthily been transferred over the years to my own bookshelves. The impact on this book of conversations with my father, Gerry Kostick, and especially my brother, Gavin Kostick, has been considerable.

Two other non-medievalists who I am keen to acknowledge here for their moral and intellectual support are my old comrade Andy Wilson and my partner Aoife Kearney.

Finally, I turn to I. S. Robinson. If I were to do justice to the kindness, intellect, erudition and generosity of my former supervisor this acknowledgement would both embarrass him and sound distinctly like this was a work of medieval hagiography. I therefore confine myself to saying that no scholar could have wanted for a better mentor.



## ABBREVIATIONS

- AA Albert of Aachen, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007).
- AC Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Middlesex, 1979).
- BD Baldric of Dol, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *RHC Oc.* 4, 1–111.
- CA *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. S. Duparc-Quioc, 2 (Paris, 1977).
- CC *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*.
- EA Ekkehard of Aura, 'Chronica', *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die Anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. F.J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972).
- FC Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).
- GF *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London, 1962).
- GN Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CC LXXVIIa, (Turnhout, 1996).
- GP Gilo of Paris and a second, anonymous author, *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, ed. C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry (Oxford, 1997).
- MC *Monte Cassino Chronicle (Historia Peregrinorum euntium Jerusolymam)*, *RHC Oc.* 3, 167–229.
- MGH SS *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores, Scriptores in Folio*, 32 (1826–1934).
- OV Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 (Oxford, 1969–79).
- PL J. P. Migne ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina* (1844–66).
- PT Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1977).
- RA Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, ed. John France (unpublished PhD. thesis: University of Nottingham, 1967).
- RC Ralf of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, *RHC Oc.* 3, 587–716.
- RHC Oc. *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux* 1–5 (Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Paris 1841–95).

- RM Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, *RHC Oc.* 3, 717–882.
- WT William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CC* 63 (Turnhout, 1986).

## INTRODUCTION

In 1096, tens of thousands of people of all backgrounds left their homes in Europe to march to Jerusalem and capture it for Christianity. Among them were many thousands of knights. These professional warriors lived for the chase; if they were not at war they were at the hunt and the horse that they rode not only gave them military prowess but a social status that was significantly more prestigious than the lowly footsoldiers who were marching in great bands, stave in hand, unstrung bows over their shoulder.

Even greater throngs of more lowly non-combatants tried to keep pace with those trained for war. Farmers sold their lands and tools, except for a plough and a few animals. Hitching a cart to their oxen, they placed their remaining possessions in the vehicle, put their children on top and set out determinedly for the Holy Land. Serfs too, with little more than a few coins, dependent upon charity, the bounty of God, ran from the prospect of lifelong toil for their social superiors and, arming themselves with crude weapons, obtained freedom in the ranks of the army of God. Among the crowds were women, also present in their thousands. The presence of so many women dismayed the senior clergy, but popular preachers distributed alms to them, so that they could find husbands and protectors. Some women, though, had the temerity to dress as men and cast off the role that had been assigned them from birth.

As the great armies snaked their way along the old Roman roads, elderly men, monks, nuns, artisans and peasants joined the expedition. The poor escorted the princes and the glittering knights, who in turn felt some responsibility for the protection of the defenceless. And they died in great numbers. Ships full of pilgrims sank in the Adriatic. Stragglers left trails of dead across hundreds of miles, especially once the pilgrim armies were south-east of the Alps and could no longer count on the sympathy of Latin Christian towns. Once in Muslim territory, enormous numbers of non-combatants died, both by the sword and from the hardship of desert, mountain and disease.

It was an extraordinary, unprecedented, moment in human history; one whose repercussions are still with us, like the distant ripples of a once powerful tidal wave. What did they think they were doing? Is it

possible to draw close enough to these people that we can have some understanding of their actions, their motives, their hopes? Was it all, like Edward Gibbon believed, a monumental act of folly? Did their shared goal mean that they had a common understanding of what they were doing: the lord of four castles from France, with the servant from Germany? The aristocratic lady, a descendent of Charlemagne, with her cook? How did they organise themselves? Did the expedition always follow a course set by the princes? What happened when people of that era were thrown together in the face of annihilation, but with the prospect of eternal salvation in their grasp? Did they maintain the social norms they were accustomed to? Or did propriety break down?

These are hard questions to answer for an enterprise that took place nearly a thousand years ago. Thus, even though the extraordinary nature of the First Crusade has attracted an immense amount of investigation and attention, both of a popular and academic nature, there is still much to be said, and much that will never be known. Even to approach tentative answers to such issues requires that a more fundamental set of questions be examined. When, for example, the sources talk of ‘knights’, what do they mean? When they refer to the ‘poor’, who, exactly, are they talking about? Like an astronomer who finds they need to master particle physics to explain celestial phenomena, the historian who wishes to discuss social dynamics has to involve themselves in the minutiae of contemporary language.

The contemporary accounts of the First Crusade, by eyewitnesses and those alive at the time, provide answers to the questions above, providing it is understood what they mean when they employ terms like *milites*, *pauperes*, *minores* or *iuvenes*. What such terms meant at the time of the First Crusade is not, however, particularly well understood. In part this is because of the intrinsic obscurity of the subject, but it is also because none of the great social historians of the medieval period devoted a major study to the crusades. Instead, figures like Georges Duby, Rodney Hilton, Abram Leon, and Perry Anderson have left fragments of analysis: throwaway remarks, often rich in potential, but not elaborated. This has been a loss not just to those interested in questions concerning social structure, but also to the study of the crusades in general.

Even very basic features of the First Crusade, such as its social composition, have yet to be rigorously analysed. It is surprising to find very eminent crusading historians, sure-footed on their own terrain, stumbling as soon as they discuss the social structure of the movement.

Jonathan Riley-Smith, for example, when he turned to the subject, argued that the Christian forces of the First Crusade ‘can be divided into three classes, the *principes* or *maiores*, the *minores* or *mediocres* and the *plebs* or *populus*.’<sup>1</sup> He defined *minores* as the ‘great lords, castellans and petty knights’ beneath the ranks of the senior princes and repeatedly utilised the term *minores* for a sustained investigation of those of the nobility on the First Crusade who were just below the level of the senior princes.

This portrayal of the social structure of the First Crusade is rather eccentric in its definitions. In particular, none of the crusading sources uses *minores* in the manner described by Riley-Smith. In fact, in the early crusading sources the term *minores* is typically used to indicate commoners, often by coupling the term with *maiores* to indicate the entirety of society, the great and the small.<sup>2</sup> Nor do the other terms used to dissect the social structure of the First Crusade by Riley-Smith fit his purpose. *Mediocres* has a limited and specialised use in the sources, not for those knights below the rank of the senior princes but, depending on context, for either footsoldiers or for the lowest social orders.<sup>3</sup> *Principes* and *maiores* very often were not synonymous, with the former usually a very narrow elite within the broader grouping of nobles encompassed by *maiores*.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, *plebs* and *populus* were used, in the main, to indicate the entire body of Christian forces, not a subgroup unless qualified by an appropriate adjective. If Riley-Smith’s intention was to indicate the lower social orders by these terms, then more appropriate would have been *vulgus*, *pauperes*, *egeni*, or *minores*, to mention only the more frequently used contemporary terms. Again, the extremely prominent historian of medieval Germany, Karl Leyser, in discussing the question of supplies and the First Crusade, conflated the *pauperes*, the poor, with the very different social group, the *pedites*, the footsoldiers.<sup>5</sup>

A detailed analysis of the structure of First Crusade from a social perspective has, therefore, something of value to offer those studying

<sup>1</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> For example GF 35, 74, 44, 53, 75; FC I.v.11 (152), I.xvi.1 (225), I.xxv.3 (267); AA 226, 268 503–4; BD 42.

<sup>3</sup> For example RM 742; GN 102, 153, 201, 262, 313.

<sup>4</sup> See below pp. 219–241.

<sup>5</sup> Karl Leyser, ‘Money and Supplies on the First Crusade,’ in T. Reuter ed., *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: the Gregorian Revolution and beyond* (London, 1994), pp. 77–96, here p. 93.



the subject from a variety of points of view, as well as to those readers simply interested in deepening their understanding of the crusade. The ambition of this book is to supply the groundwork that in so many other areas of history is taken for granted, even by those who would not focus their work on social dynamics. In other words, to achieve as much clarity as possible as to which social groupings were present on the Crusade, in what proportions, and with what structural tensions between them.

This book has not been written to address the question of 'motivation' of the crusaders. But as a secondary consequence of striving to achieve clarity on the issue of social structure, it does have something to offer on that issue and the matter is discussed further in the conclusion.

A certain methodology arises from the nature of the subject matter. Once the question has been posed, 'what was the social structure of the First Crusade?', the basic approach suggests itself. The sources for the First Crusade have to be dissected and the material poured over with respect to their evidence concerning the full range of the social orders present on the crusade. The accumulated evidence then has to be reassembled, prosopographically, to provide as coherent and accurate account as possible of the social groupings under examination. While it is possible to gather a fairly wide annalistic body of evidence for the extent of plagues and famines around the time of the preaching of the First Crusade and use this to supplement the discussion, especially with regard to *pauperes*,<sup>6</sup> the foundations of the study therefore have to rest on a close reading and understanding of the sociological outlook of the longer sources.

With regard to sources, something of a constraint is forced upon the historian who wishes to examine the social dynamics of the First Crusade. There needs to be sufficient material in the source to provide an understand the sociological perspective of the author. In what manner are the key terms being used? How fixed are they? Do they echo classical or biblical language? To what extent can they be trusted as labels for specific social classes? Shorter chronicles, letters and charters are unsuited to an analysis of their philosophical and theological standpoint. Verse sources present the problem that their vocabulary is constantly subordinated to metre. Therefore the more substantial early

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<sup>6</sup> See below pp. 100–105.

narrative histories of the First Crusade form the core subject matter of this study.

The first two chapters of this book examine the work of eight medieval historians, either participants on the First Crusade, or near contemporaries. For the reader wishing to rush ahead to the narrative of events or the discoveries here with regard to the social status of those present on the crusade, these opening chapters will seem rather slow. But quite apart from the indispensability of treating the sources with respect, there is something intrinsically interesting about deepening our understanding of the outlook of those who provided the accounts from which we gain an insight into the past. This book is as much a study of the sociology of these eight medieval writers as it is an account of the social structure of the expedition itself.

The accounts studied in depth here are first of all those of the four eyewitness: the anonymously authored *Gesta Francorum*; Peter Tudebode's variant of the same; Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum* and Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana*. In Chapter Two, four more histories are examined, all written in the decade following the capture of Jerusalem. There exist three histories written around 1108 that are similar to one another, in that they are all the work of northern French monks and are all reworkings of the *Gesta Francorum*. Distinctly different from these works is Albert of Aachen's extremely well informed *Historia Iherosolimitana*, a history rich in social content and unique in perspective.

Modern historians have tended to neglect the three French works: the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Baldric of Dol; the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Robert the Monk; and (to a lesser extent) the *Gesta Dei per Francos* of Guibert of Nogent. This is because the texts of the eyewitnesses have to be preferred over the later works, especially given that as they rewrote the story of the First Crusade, these monks sometimes distorted historical information in order to provide edifying examples for their readers. But for the social historian such reworkings are something of a treasure trove, for, at the very least, they indicate how a French monk of the time understood the *Gesta Francorum*. To take one of very many examples, the crusading army at Antioch won a victory against a sortie from the city, 6 March 1098, soon after which the *Gesta Francorum* reported that 'our men' went to where the citizens had buried their dead, dug them up and cut their heads off.<sup>7</sup> Robert the Monk's version

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<sup>7</sup> GF 42.

of this incident, instead of using the vague term *nostrī*, specified it was the *iuvenes* of the Christian army who did this.<sup>8</sup> When these monastic historians enriched their text with such details, it cannot necessarily be invoked as evidence for what actually happened, especially if the amendments disagree with the eyewitness, but such alterations do provide powerful evidence for how near contemporaries understood the social content of their *fontes formalis*.

These eight works provide, therefore, the bulk of the material for this study.

In weighing up the social perspective of these authors, particularly in placing their thought into context, the possibilities available to the historian have undergone something of a minor revolution since research for this book began. At the start of the new millennium, in order to understand the context for a distinctive phrase, for example, Guibert of Nogent's *homines extremae vulgaritatis*, scholars would either rely on definitions provided by earlier generations who devoted a lifetime of study to Latin, such as those in Du Cange's monumental *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, or would be obliged root around among microfiches and indexes without ever being fully satisfied that perhaps a key tome had been left unturned. Today, an enormous amount of classical and medieval material has been digitised and put on to databases, allowing searches to take place in minutes that would previously have taken years. In Dublin, for example, in 2006 Dr. Katherine Simms made available her database that catalogues the themes of Gaelic bardic poetry. This allows researchers not only to search by opening lines, geographical area, key names, meter and period, but the poems have all been categorised as to whether they are petitions, elegies, apologies etc.<sup>9</sup> This particular database is freely available as are several other important ones, especially for the classical era.

The two databases used most heavily in this study are the online versions of the *Patrologia Latina* and the *scriptores* series of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. These are immensely useful resources, invaluable for this kind of study. Additionally, the French Government has rather generously made the important crusading collection *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* accessible for free.<sup>10</sup> With the assistance of these huge

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<sup>8</sup> RM 788.

<sup>9</sup> At <http://bardic.celt.dias.ie/main.html>.

<sup>10</sup> At <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>.

resources and databases it has proved possible to say something about each of the author's distinct sociological perspectives.

The main body of this book consists of a discussion of the material gleaned from these sources, assembled around the significant social groupings. Insofar as this book offers an original interpretation of the narrative of the Crusade, this appears mainly in Chapters Three and Four. In particular, although the case has previously been made that as the expedition stalled from July 1098 to May 1099, it was popular pressure that provided the impetus to drive the movement towards Jerusalem,<sup>11</sup> up until now, this has only been asserted in outline, in Chapter Four the role of the poor of the Crusade is examined in great detail and it is demonstrated that their self-conscious activity played a significant part in the subsequent outcome of the expedition.

Issues concerning knighthood and chivalry have proved to be a major interest right across the medieval era. By the time of the First Crusade the term *milites* was beginning to be applied not simply to the common soldier, but more and more to that distinct social group, the warrior members of the nobility. This is not to say that a knightly class emerged around the time of the Crusade. Analysis of charters, especially that done by Georges Duby for the Mâconnais, suggests that in parts of France, at least, they were a distinct social grouping from around the year 1000.<sup>12</sup> Chapter Five demonstrates, albeit with important qualifications, that by the time that the early historians of the First Crusade were writing (c. 1100–1110) the term *miles* was often being used to indicate a knight, someone with a distinctly noble status, and not simply a soldier. The more interesting material concerning the class below that of the knights, the *pedites*, footsoldiers, namely their juxtaposition with the *milites*, has not warranted a separate chapter, but is included in Chapter Five.

In sifting the information about social groupings it becomes clear that an entirely unrecognised strata of person was present on the First Crusade, not only present, but playing a key role as the 'shock troops' of the movement: first into battle, first on to the walls of a besieged city, rash, impetuous and thirsty for fame. This stratum, in essence senior nobles who had yet to establish families or careers, were termed by the sources *iuvenes* and they have been invisible for centuries due to

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<sup>11</sup> Perhaps best by J. France, *Victory in the East* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 297–324.

<sup>12</sup> G. Duby, *La Société aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953).

the fact that the term is also, and more commonly, employed simply for youths. Chapter Six discusses this term, along with the complexities of the issue. The discussion of the *iuvēnes* of the First Crusade is worth pursuing in its own right, but it also enriches the discussion about the motivation of the crusaders and this aspect of the material in Chapter Six is referred to in the conclusion.

Chapter Seven examines the vocabulary of the sources with regard to the magnates. Although writers of this era could often be very crude in their depiction of society, splitting it into just two groups say, rich and poor, closer inspection reveals a very rich appreciation by them of the different layers of the nobility. Albert of Aachen, whose near contemporary history makes an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the Crusade, wrote at various times of *nobiles*, *magni*, *maiores*, *optimates*, *primores*, *potentes*, *principes*, *proceres*, *capitales*, *capitanei* and *domini*. Are these terms synonyms? Or did their employment reflect different grades and status among the elite? The results of this investigation assist in understanding how the Crusade was led, the subject of Chapter Eight.

Finally, Chapter Nine examines the role of women on the First Crusade. Strictly speaking the women present on the expedition were not a separate social grouping, rather they were a component part of each stratum, a vertical slice through the social structure of the expedition rather than a horizontal one. Nevertheless, they were treated by the sources as a distinct group and played an interesting role on the expedition, both in deed and in their obtaining the unsympathetic attention of the sources. One important issue dealt with in this chapter is whether the women who joined the First Crusade came as prostitutes, or was their motivation more spiritual, did they come as pilgrims? This book argues for the view that they saw themselves, in fact, overwhelmingly as pilgrims.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE EYEWITNESSES

The major Latin eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade consist of the anonymously written *Gesta Francorum*, a near identical version of the same text by Peter Tudebode, Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum* and Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana*. Each of the eyewitnesses had a distinct perspective on the events they wrote about and, although sharing a similar social vocabulary, reveal a considerable difference in emphasis in their writing about the social structure of the expedition.

#### *The Gesta Francorum*

The *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* is the most studied and influential account of the First Crusade. It was the version of events that had the greatest impact in its day and it formed the basis of most of the subsequent twelfth century histories of the First Crusade. Although a new edition by Marcus Bull is in preparation, the most recent modern edition is that of Rosalind Hill (1962), which was issued with an accompanying English translation. It is Hill's edition that is used for this discussion.<sup>1</sup>

The author of the *Gesta Francorum* is unknown, leading to considerable discussion over the centuries as to his background. There is no doubting that the emphasis of the author was slanted towards the activities of the South-Italian Norman prince Bohemond I of Taranto and a strong consensus has been reached that the author travelled from Italy as far as Antioch in the contingent of Bohemond.<sup>2</sup> There is far more colour

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<sup>1</sup> Editions of the *Gesta Francorum*: J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611); *RHC Oc.* 3, 121–63; *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890); *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, ed. B. A. Lees (Oxford, 1924); *Histoire Anonyme de la première Croisade* ed. L. Bréhier (Paris, 1924); *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* ed. R. Hill (Oxford, 1962), hereafter GF.

<sup>2</sup> For Bohemond I of Taranto see R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (New York, 1924).

in the description of how Bohemond's contingent was formed and its subsequent journey than for the equivalent, cursory, accounts of the armies of the expedition led by Hugh the Great, count of Vermandois, Count Raymond IV of Toulouse or Duke Godfrey IV of Bouillon.<sup>3</sup> As Rosalind Hill pointed out, the author knew the names of many of the individual knights of Bohemond's following, but not even the correct titles of the other senior princes, let alone their followers.<sup>4</sup>

There is also a consensus among scholars that the *Gesta Francorum* was completed shortly after the last event that it described, the victory of the Christian forces near Ascalon against al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt, 12 August 1099. Louis Bréhier thought that two passages in the work indicated that the expedition was not complete at the time that they were written, indicating that the text as we have it is the result of more than one redaction.<sup>5</sup> Hill further suggested that the first nine of its ten books were composed before the author left Antioch in November 1099.<sup>6</sup> There is no explicit evidence in the work to support this insight, which Hill leaves unsupported in her introduction, but the structure of the work makes it plausible. The first nine books have roughly even amounts of material and finish coherently with the surrender of the citadel of Antioch, following the Christian victory over Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul, 28 June 1098, that makes for the highpoint of the work. The tenth book is considerably longer and can be seen as a large addendum, written at a later date, that brings the story up to the battle of Ascalon. Colin Morris has noted that the way the *Gesta Francorum* deals with the matter of the discovery of the Holy Lance becomes more comprehensible if it is considered to be a work of two sections. Otherwise the passages of unqualified praise and acceptance of the

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<sup>3</sup> For these princes see M. Bull, 'The Capetian monarchy and the early crusade movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 50 (1996), pp. 25–46; J. Hill and L. Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse, 1962); J. C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington, 1947) and A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Dynastic History 1099–1125* (Oxford, 2000), *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> GF xi–xii. Although titles at this time had considerable fluidity, see I. S. Robinson, 'Eine unbekannte Streitschrift über die Salevamento von Exkommunizierten im Münchener Kodex lat. 618', *Studi Gregoriani* 11 (1978), p. 311 n. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Histoire Anonyme de la première Croisade*, ed. L. Bréhier, p. ix, referring to GF 21 and 35.

<sup>6</sup> GF ix.

legitimacy of the lance do not fit well with the relic's later loss of favour.<sup>7</sup> Another pertinent observation by Morris with regard to the bipartite structure of the work is that the epithet *dominus* is applied regularly to Bohemond in the first nine books but not at all in the tenth.<sup>8</sup>

One common argument for a *terminus ad quem* by which the existence of the *Gesta Francorum* had to have existed has arisen from the testimony of the chronicler, Ekkehard, later abbot of Aura, who in 1101 made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem where he came across a *libellus*.<sup>9</sup> This has often been taken as a reference to the *Gesta Francorum* and thus as giving a date by which the work must have been completed.<sup>10</sup> But this is not an entirely safe assumption; Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum* was available at around the same time<sup>11</sup> and Peter Knoch's detective work has raised the possibility that at least one other earlier crusading history was available in the region.<sup>12</sup> There is no reason to doubt that the version of the *Gesta Francorum* as we have it today had been written by 1101 but hard evidence is lacking. The earliest manuscript is Vaticanus Reginensis latinus 572, written and punctuated 'in a bold round hand of the early twelfth century.'<sup>13</sup>

Two historical events can be used to suggest a very early date for the completion of the *Gesta Francorum*, albeit with the risk that always attends an argument based on an absence of material rather than on more positive evidence. On 18 July 1100, Duke Godfrey of Lotharinga, Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, died, yet nowhere does the author of the *Gesta Francorum* show any awareness of his death. In particular, the description of the election of Godfrey as ruler of Jerusalem, 23 July 1099, was written towards the very end of the text at which point it would have been conventional to have written an epitaph on his praiseworthy character or offer a blessing, should the writer have possessed knowledge of his death less than a year later.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, as

<sup>7</sup> C. Morris, 'Policy and Visions', p. 37, n. 14, referring to GF 59–60. For a full discussion of the Holy Lance see below pp. 121–5.

<sup>8</sup> C. Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum*', p. 66.

<sup>9</sup> EA 148.

<sup>10</sup> For example, *Histoire Anonyme de la première Croisade*, ed. L. Bréhier, viii; GF ix and xvi; *RHC Oc.* 5 (Paris, 1895), p. 21 n. b and ix; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* p. 329; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127*, F. R. Ryan trans. (Knoxville, 1969), p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> RA ccxxvi. See below p. 28.

<sup>12</sup> P. Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 36–59.

<sup>13</sup> GF xxxviii.

<sup>14</sup> GF 92–3.



Morris has observed, the author wrote of the election of Arnulf of Chocques, chaplain to Duke Robert of Normandy, to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, 1 August 1099, without any indication that this election would be considered uncanonical and Arnulf deposed in favour of Daimbert of Pisa shortly after Christmas 1099.<sup>15</sup>

The exact social status of the anonymous author has proved to be difficult to determine. Bréhier initially proposed seeing the author as a cleric taking down the story from a knight. Heinrich Hagenmeyer argued in favour of seeing the author as a literate knight, which is a view that has found favour with subsequent historians, including Hill. But Colin Morris sounded a note of caution in regard to the characterisation of the author as a simple knight, with an analysis that went further than that of Bréhier in drawing attention to the clerical elements of the work.<sup>16</sup> In resolving this issue there are inevitably great difficulties. What would be the difference in language between a knight dictating to a cleric who helped shape the material<sup>17</sup> and a literate knight with a 'half-conscious' memory of the phrases he had heard in church?<sup>18</sup> Do the rare moments when the author reveals a sophisticated grammar definitely indicate he was a cleric,<sup>19</sup> or someone who had once trained for the clergy but subsequently become a knight?<sup>20</sup>

The question of the authorship of the *Gesta Francorum* is an important one for historians of the crusades generally and social historians in particular. If it is considered the work of a knight, the text can be utilised in a slightly different manner than if, like all the other sources for the First Crusade, it is thought to be the work of a cleric. In particular, the *Gesta Francorum* can then be cited as evidence for the outlook of a knight with regard to the key events and themes of the Crusade, it would also give greater weight to the author's assessment of the military events

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<sup>15</sup> C. Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum*', p. 66, referring to GF 93. For Arnulf of Chocques see B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980). For Duke Robert of Normandy see C. W. David, *Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920).

<sup>16</sup> First in a footnote, C. Morris, 'Policy and Visions—The case of the Holy Lance at Antioch', *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 33–45, here p. 36 n. 12, then expanded in C. Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 19 (1993), pp. 55–71.

<sup>17</sup> *Histoire Anonyme de la première Croisade*, ed. L. Bréhier, v–viii.

<sup>18</sup> GF xiv.

<sup>19</sup> C. Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum*', p. 66, referring to GF 59–60.

<sup>20</sup> K. B. Wolf, 'Crusade and narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*', *Journal of Medieval History* 17, II (1991), pp. 207–216.

he described. A detailed attempt to reach a verdict on this question is therefore warranted here.

Insofar as this study sheds any light on the identity of the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, it is inclined not to see him as a cleric. Although knights were generally not literate around 1100, it was not particularly rare for a younger son of a knightly family to begin clerical training, only to be brought back into secular life. There are several examples of this type of person being on the First Crusade. From Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos* comes an example of an otherwise unknown crusader, Alberic of Normandy, nobly born, who was sent to school early, became a cleric but 'out of a love for warfare' defected from the clergy.<sup>21</sup> Guibert himself declined the offer from his mother of arms and equipment to change profession from that of a monk to that of a knight.<sup>22</sup>

In his discussion of the authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*, Bernard Hamilton drew attention to the example of a very prominent crusading knight who had in his youth been clerically trained, Baldwin of Boulogne, later King Baldwin I of Jerusalem.<sup>23</sup> According to William of Tyre, Baldwin, the youngest of the three sons of Eustace II, count of Boulogne and Ida of Bouillon, trained for the priesthood but left the clergy to become a *miles*.<sup>24</sup> Albert of Aachen described him as a *vir litteris eruditus*.<sup>25</sup>

The crusading historian Raymond of Aguilers stated that he wrote his own history along with a knight, Pons of Balazuc.<sup>26</sup> Finally, further, very significant, evidence that the ability by eyewitnesses to write a history of the crusade was not confined to the clergy comes from the author of the *Gesta Francorum* himself; at one point he observed that so much had happened that no *clericus* or *laicus* could possibly hope to write it all down.<sup>27</sup> In other words, general considerations of literacy c. 1100, along with the words of our author himself, do not have to

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<sup>21</sup> GN 217: *militiae amore*.

<sup>22</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, I.6.

<sup>23</sup> B. Hamilton, *Religion in the Medieval West* (London, 1986), p. 108.

<sup>24</sup> WT 10.1 (453).

<sup>25</sup> AA vii.61 (573). For the early career of Baldwin of Boulogne see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 30–36.

<sup>26</sup> RA 201. For Pons of Balazuc see RA iv–vi, see also J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 218.

<sup>27</sup> GF 44.

lead to a conclusion that such narrative histories were necessarily the work of clerics.

The key passage on which Collin Morris' argument rests is the author's report of a the death of the papal legate, Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, 1 August 1098: *Quia ille erat sustentamentum pauperum, consilium divitum, ipseque ordinabat clericos, predicabat et summonebat milites, dicens quia: 'Nemo ex vobis saluari potest nisi honorificet pauperes et reficiat, vosque non potestis saluari sine illis, ipsique vivere nequeunt sine vobis.'* ('Because [Adhémar] was the helper of the *pauperes*, the counsel of the rich and he ordered the clergy; he preached to and summoned the *milites*, saying this: none of you can be saved unless he does honour to the *pauperes* and assists them; you cannot be saved without them, and they cannot live without you').<sup>28</sup>

For Colin Morris this passage is a decisive one in indicating that the author was a cleric, since it shows an outlook that would be unlikely for a knight, particularly in its concern for the poor.<sup>29</sup> But a careful look at the phrasing of the sentence shows that, in fact, the concern for the poor reported here was Adhémar's and, indeed, the reportage is given from the perspective of a *miles* who was remembering the bishop as someone who recalled them to their duties to the poor, which they might otherwise have neglected. The conclusion that this passage was not articulating the perspective of a cleric is strengthened by consideration of the work of Peter Tudebode.

As discussed below, Peter Tudebode's work has some small variations from the *Gesta Francorum* worth noting, in particular his revisions and additions show a slightly greater awareness of social division within the First Crusade than does the *Gesta Francorum* itself. Such changes are in keeping with the view that the original was the work of a knight, the revisions the work of a cleric. This is particularly true for the key passage on the death of Adhémar.

The version of Adhémar's words in the *Historia De Hierosolymitano Itinere* has the notable difference that the legate was reported as saying 'none of you can be saved unless he honours and assists the *pauperes clerici*.'<sup>30</sup> This significantly changes the meaning of the passage. The

<sup>28</sup> GF 74. For Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy see J. A. Brundage, 'Adhémar of Puy: The Bishop and his Critics,' *Speculum* 34 (1959), pp. 201–212.

<sup>29</sup> C. Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum*', p. 66.

<sup>30</sup> PT 117: *Quoniam nemo ex vobis saluus fieri potest, nisi honorificet et reficiat pauperes clericos.*

theological message from Adhémar is no longer that by the meritorious deeds of the knights towards the *pauperes* they save their own souls, but now it is the prayers of the clergy that save the souls of the knights. It is a change that shifts the psychological standpoint of salvation from that of a knight to that of a cleric.<sup>31</sup>

Jay Rubenstein follows Hans Oehler in making the point that there is sufficient knowledge of scripture displayed in the *Gesta Francorum* to indicate that the author was no secular warrior. Indeed, 'the evidence for his secular character barely withstands a second glance.'<sup>32</sup> If the choice were between viewing the author as an irreligious knight or a cleric, the discussion would indeed have to conclude, without a second glance, that he was a member of the clergy. Not only does he paraphrase biblical passages but there is a strong theology at work throughout the book, most evident in the author's belief that the crusaders were *militēs Christi*. But this dichotomy fails to encompass a proper consideration of the observation that there were those on the First Crusade who had once received a certain amount of clerical training but nevertheless end up pursuing a career as a knight. The amount of clerical learning displayed in the *Gesta Francorum* is not great; it is considerably less than that visible in the other sources. It is, in fact, within the bounds that would be expected from someone with a limited amount of religious training, or whose prose learning had been shaped by the Vulgate, the most influential text of the Medieval period.<sup>33</sup> So long as the debate is not reduced to insisting the author was either an unlearned warrior or an educated cleric, then the possibility that he was a knight remains a likely one. A knight who was 'secular' in the sense of not being a practising member of the clergy, but who nevertheless held strongly to his Christian theology.

The social vocabulary and concerns of the author of the *Gesta Francorum* are quite different from those of all the other early crusading

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<sup>31</sup> Note that Peter Tudebode's amendment is clumsy and artificial, as the new sentence no longer follows consistently with the start of the eulogy in which Adhémar is described as the helper of the *pauperes*. This is relevant to the discussion below on the relationship between Peter Tudebode's work and the *Gesta Francorum*, as it indicates the phrasing in the *Gesta Francorum* was the original.

<sup>32</sup> J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?' *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005), 179–204, here p. 187. Hans Oehler, 'Studien zu den *Gesta Francorum*', *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch*, 6 (1970), 58–97.

<sup>33</sup> See also J. G. Gavigan, 'The Syntax of the *Gesta Francorum*,' *Language* 19, III (1943), pp. 10–102, here p. 12.

historians, including those who were heavily dependent on the *Gesta Francorum*, all of whom were demonstrably clerics. The attention of the author of the *Gesta Francorum* is almost entirely fixed on the activities of the *seniores* and *milites*. While the lower social groupings get a handful of mentions each, the *milites* have over a hundred. This simple fact is among the strongest pieces of evidence that the author was himself a member of the knightly class.

The social concerns of the author were not particularly for the poor, although he was aware of the hardships they faced, but insofar as the author refers to an internal differentiation among the Christian forces (which was uncommon) much more attention was given to the *milites*, for example, in noting the loss of status of a *miles* through the death of his mount.<sup>34</sup> As will become evident in a closer examination of his language, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was a writer who was untypical and rather clumsy in his vocabulary when it came to commentating on the lower social orders. It is the conclusion of this discussion then that some confidence can be given to assertion that the *Gesta Francorum* was indeed, as Hagenmeyer and his followers conjectured, written by a knight.

As a social historian the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was extremely limited. He was generally content to describe the expedition as a whole and not comment on the internal differentiation within it. The standard point of view he adopted is that given by the first person plural, typically he wrote of how 'we' viewed a certain event, meaning the whole movement. When the author went beyond this simple designation he still tended to use terms that embraced the entirety of the Christian forces: *populus*, *peregrini*, or *milites Christi*. In large part this is because the events that were of greatest interest to the author were the major military conflicts between the Christian army and their Muslim opponents.

He seems to have been reluctant to dwell on internal dissension within the movement, so, for example, his own move from the contingent of Bohemond to that which journeyed on to Jerusalem is made without any justification, or any criticism of Bohemond for not fulfilling his oath. In this regard, as Colin Morris and Natasha Hodgson have observed, the *Gesta Francorum* appears to parallel a *chanson*, with its focus being on a simplified conflict between two undifferentiated blocks, Christians and

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<sup>34</sup> GF 23.

pagans.<sup>35</sup> Only in a few instances did the author comment on events that drew attention to the diverse social makeup of the First Crusade. His vocabulary had very few terms that carried a social connotation and those he did adopt were clumsy ones and invariably altered by the later authors who used the *Gesta Francorum* as their *fons formalis*.

The author of the *Gesta Francorum* had very little at all to say about the lower social orders. When wishing to comment on their plight he seems to have been at a loss for an appropriate term and coined a phrase, *gens minuta*, which, other than its occurrences in Peter Tudebode's direct borrowings, does not occur in any other early crusading history, nor indeed, in the entire collection of writings in the *Patrologia Latina*. He wrote that because of the hardship of the siege of Antioch, around February 1098, the *gens minuta et pauperrima* fled to Cyprus, Rum and the mountains.<sup>36</sup> When the Provençal magnate, Raymond Pilet, attempted prematurely to lead an expedition against Ma'arra in July 1098, Ridwan, emir of Aleppo, threw him back, in large part because Raymond's forces had a great number of poor and local Christians unused to combat.<sup>37</sup> Of this incident, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* wrote that the *gens minuta* were seized by extreme terror.<sup>38</sup>

The phrase *gens minuta* is a vague one. From the example of those who accompanied Raymond Pilet out of Antioch in July 1098 it seems to be used to describe footsoldiers, probably of the less well equipped sort, unattached to any following. But the *gens minuta et pauperrima* who abandoned the hardship of the siege of Antioch are more likely to be the entire lower social orders, fighters and non-combatants.

In the context of describing the totality of persons on the expedition, the *Gesta Francorum* used the couplet *maiores et minores*. This very simple division of the expedition says little about the make up of the Crusade, but its deployment might indicate a possible biblical reminiscence by

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<sup>35</sup> For the *Gesta Francorum* as a *chanson* see GF xv, C. Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum*', p. 61 and N. Hodgson, 'The Role of Kerbogha's Mother in the *Gesta Francorum* and Selected Chronicles of the First Crusade', *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. S. B. Edgington and S. Lambert (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 163–176.

<sup>36</sup> GF 35.

<sup>37</sup> For references to Raymond Pilet, lord of Alès, see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 220. See also RA 253 n. a.

<sup>38</sup> GF 74.

the author, despite the phrase *maiores et minores* being something of a commonplace.<sup>39</sup>

The issue of supplying the crusading army as it gathered, first at Constantinople and then at the siege of Nicea, April 1097 to its surrender 19 June 1097, prompted the author of the *Gesta Francorum* to write more observantly about the poor. He recorded the promise of Alexios I Comnenus, the Byzantine emperor, to give alms to the *pauperes* in the contingent of Duke Godfrey to keep them alive after they had departed Constantinople, 4 April 1097.<sup>40</sup> In summing up the siege of Nicea and the sense of frustration that the sacrifices of the expedition had not been properly rewarded, the anonymous author pointed out that many of the *pauperrima gens* had in fact starved to death.<sup>41</sup> Immediately afterwards he nevertheless acknowledged that, exceedingly pleased with the fall of the city, Alexios ordered alms to be distributed bountifully to *nostri pauperes*.<sup>42</sup>

After this cluster of usages in writing about the siege of Nicea and its aftermath, the term *pauper* appears only three times more in the entire work. Two of these instances were cases where the term *pauperes* was used as an adjective that seems to have been used to describe poor combatants rather than 'the poor'. The author described a scene where the chief enemy of the Christian army, Kerbogha, the atabeg of Mosul, was brought a rusty sword, a bad bow and a useless spear, recently stolen from the *pauperes peregrini*.<sup>43</sup> The purpose of depicting this incident was to show Kerbogha as gloating hubristically and prematurely over the superiority of his forces to those of the Christians and the term *pauperes peregrini* here is being used very loosely.

Similarly, when the castellan Achard of Montmerle left the siege of Jerusalem to contact six Christian vessels that had arrived at Jaffa on 17 June 1099, he was intercepted by some Arab soldiers and killed. According to the report of the *Gesta Francorum* Achard died along with the *pauperes homines pedites*.<sup>44</sup> In this case, the only such formulation, the most likely meaning is that these were footsoldiers who were distinguished, perhaps, by poverty relative to the condition of better-off

<sup>39</sup> I Chronicles 24:31: *tam maiores quam minores*.

<sup>40</sup> GF 7.

<sup>41</sup> GF 17.

<sup>42</sup> GF 18.

<sup>43</sup> GF 51.

<sup>44</sup> GF 89. For Achard of Montmerle see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 197.

footsoldiers in the main body of the Christian forces for whom the author consistently used the term *pedites* without qualification.<sup>45</sup> The point here is that the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, even when employing terms that make it seem as though he was attentive to the lower social grouping, was as often making a distinction between rich and poor warriors as that between those who fought and the non-combatant poor. In this regard, as will be seen, his vocabulary is significantly different to the clerical authors.

There is one instance in which the term *pauperes* probably was being used by the author of the *Gesta Francorum* for non-combatants. This was in the epitaph to Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy discussed above. Karl Leyser has noted that Adhémar's speech reflected the contemporary orthodoxy of the tripartite division of society into those who worked, those who fought and those who prayed.<sup>46</sup> This is a valuable observation, but it applies with even greater force to the preceding description of the legate as: *sustentamentum pauperum, consilium divitum, ipseque ordinabat clericos* (helper of the *pauperes*, the counsel of the *divites*, and he regulated the clergy).<sup>47</sup> The division of rich and poor here is hierarchical rather than functional but nevertheless this passage provides evidence that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* did indeed see the expedition in tripartite terms and, by loose analogy with the orthodox understanding of the three orders, it seems that in this case at least *pauperes* is being used for non-combatants.

If the author of the *Gesta Francorum* had little insight to offer with regard to the lower social orders, his language did become more nuanced with regard to the more senior social groupings of the Crusade. He employed the term, *servientes* in an interesting way, not in its common sense of 'servant' but rather for warriors of some sort, perhaps serjeants, or perhaps for those whom other sources describe as *iuvenes*, that is, knights yet to establish their own families and careers, who therefore attached themselves as followers to a prince.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Also J. G. Gavigan, 'The Syntax of the *Gesta Francorum*,' p. 37.

<sup>46</sup> K. Leyser, 'Money and Supplies', p. 82 n. 25. For the tripartite division of society the best discussion still remains, G. Duby, *The three orders, feudal society imagined* (Chicago, 1978).

<sup>47</sup> GF 74.

<sup>48</sup> See below pp. 187–212.



With nearly a hundred usages, *milites* was by far and away the most common term for a group of persons in the *Gesta Francorum*. This should provide sufficient material to yield a precise interpretation of the social grouping referred to by the term. Yet *milites* was such a ubiquitous a term for the anonymous author that it was used to cover a broad variation of person, ranging from unnamed soldiers fighting in their thousands to the senior princes. Chapter Five contains a full discussion of this term, but it is worth noting here the common phrase in the *Gesta Francorum*: *milites Christi*.<sup>49</sup> Although the frequency with which the phrase appears tells us something about the theological framework through which the author viewed the expedition, it sheds little light on social status. For example, Bishop Adhémar was included in a grouping with Count Raymond, Godfrey of Lotharingia, and Hugh the Great that together were termed *milites Christi*.<sup>50</sup> It was not, therefore, a term specifically reserved for warriors of the First Crusade.

The phrase *miles Christi* derives from a letter of the apostle Paul, a passage much exploited by Pope Gregory VII and by the authors of investiture polemics.<sup>51</sup> Other examples of the appearance of *miles Christi* in the *Gesta Francorum* include it being adopted for the young Norman prince Tancred<sup>52</sup> and collectively for Bohemond, Godfrey of Lotharingina and Count Raymond of Toulouse, who together are termed *Christi milites*.<sup>53</sup> One of Bohemond's speeches to his colleagues began: *Seniores et fortissimi milites Christi*.<sup>54</sup> These examples indicate that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* considered the leadership of the First Crusade to be devoted to the idea of a Holy War, at least as they are depicted in the first nine books. For the battle with Kerbogha the entire army are described as *milites Christi*. Thereafter the term is never applied to individual knights but only for the general army of the expedition, suggesting both a certain disillusionment with the leaders and also

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<sup>49</sup> GF 6, 11, 18, 19, 23, 24, 70, 73, 88, 89, 96.

<sup>50</sup> GF 19.

<sup>51</sup> Paul, to Tim 2:3. For Gregory VII and *miles Christi* see C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), pp. 202–3, 340–2.

<sup>52</sup> GF 24. For Tancred see R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred: a study of his career and work in their relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (Chicago, 1940).

<sup>53</sup> GF 11.

<sup>54</sup> GF 18.

providing further evidence that the work probably was written at two distinct stages.<sup>55</sup>

One interesting variation was the phrase, *Christi milites peregrini*, for Raymond Pilet's expedition of July 1098.<sup>56</sup> As this contingent of the Christian army was made up from previously unattached footsoldiers and knights, including the *gens minuta* discussed above, it might well be the case that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* adapted his conventional phrase to match the less princely nature of that force.<sup>57</sup> The other variation on *milites Christi* that appeared in the *Gesta Francorum* was the phrase, '*milites veri Dei*.'<sup>58</sup> This was used to describe a Christian force in battle with the garrison of Antioch, 6 March 1098. The Christians suffered heavy losses due to an ambush on an expedition returning from St Symeon's Port. When they had regrouped, together with reinforcements from the camp, they turned the battle around and won a major victory. The phrase, 'knights of the true God,' appeared here, not as any kind of point concerning knighthood, but to underscore the comforting thought that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* had just made, which was that those killed must surely have earned the reward of Heaven.

One passage concerning *milites* deserves more detailed attention here as it makes an important point about the knightly class. When news of the crusade reached Bohemond, in the summer of 1096, he was engaged in the siege of Amalfi alongside his uncle, Count Roger I of Sicily.<sup>59</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* reported that when Bohemond declared he was joining the crusade, so many *milites* joined him that Count Roger remained behind almost alone, lamenting the loss of his forces.<sup>60</sup>

The interesting aspect of this passage is that *milites* who were once evidently vassals of Count Roger are described as transferring their allegiance to Bohemond. The same movement of *milites* from prince to prince can be seen during the course of the First Crusade and was a feature of the struggle of the magnates to exert leadership over the

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<sup>55</sup> GF 70 (against Kerbogha), 88, 89, 96.

<sup>56</sup> GF 73.

<sup>57</sup> GF 73. For a discussion of the term *peregrini* for in early crusading sources see C. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (London, 1998), pp. 20–22.

<sup>58</sup> GF 40.

<sup>59</sup> For Count Roger I Sicily (d. 1101) see G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard* (Harlow, 2000) chs. 4 and 5.

<sup>60</sup> GF 7.

expedition.<sup>61</sup> In the view of the *Gesta Francorum* it was not inappropriate for a vassal to transfer his allegiance in the context of the crusade. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* himself, if it is accepted that he was a *miles*, might be an example of this, as, having travelled to Antioch in the contingent of Bohemond, he then joined that part of the expedition that pushed on to Jerusalem. Furthermore, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* seems to describe Raymond Pilet, a *miles* and vassal of Count Raymond of Toulouse, as having made a bid for a more senior status by retaining (*retinere*) many *milites* and *pedites* from those who did not want to wait five months after the fall of Antioch for the expedition to continue.<sup>62</sup> The author of the *Gesta Francorum* may have been among those who set out with Raymond Pilet.<sup>63</sup> With the failure of his expedition the next appearance of Raymond Pilet in the *Gesta Francorum* showed him to be once again a member of the contingent of Count Raymond.<sup>64</sup>

The association of the verb *retinere* with the enlistment of *milites* appeared again in the *Gesta Francorum* in al-Afdal's lament that having been defeated by a poor Christian force (at the battle of Ascalon) he would never again retain (*retinere*) *milites* by compact (*conventionem*).<sup>65</sup> Even though the statement was made by the vizier of Egypt concerning his own forces, it allows us to see the type of terminology that the author of the *Gesta* thought suitable for the recruitment of *milites* by a lord.

There are several terms for the senior nobility in the *Gesta Francorum*, the most common of which was *nostri maiores*.<sup>66</sup> In marked contrast to the other crusading sources, especially those northern French writers basing their work on the *Gesta Francorum*, the author used the term *seniores* a great deal to indicate the leading figures of the First Crusade.<sup>67</sup> The author was displaying what is probably an Italian bias that contrasts with the vocabulary of the French sources.<sup>68</sup> The term *principes*, so common

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<sup>61</sup> See K. Leyser, 'Money and Supplies', pp. 89–92; and W. G. Zajac, 'Captured property on the First Crusade', *The First Crusade*, ed. J. Phillips (Manchester 1997), pp. 153–180, p. 169. See also below pp. xx–yy.

<sup>62</sup> GF 73.

<sup>63</sup> GF 73 n. 1.

<sup>64</sup> GF 83.

<sup>65</sup> GF 96.

<sup>66</sup> GF 12, 16, 30, 39, 40, 45, 57, 59, 63, 65, 66, 72, 75, 87.

<sup>67</sup> GF 25, 29, 30, 33, 37, 44, 67, 72, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90.

<sup>68</sup> J. G. Gavigan, 'The Syntax of the *Gesta Francorum*,' p. 11.

in those other sources, seems to have been used in the *Gesta Francorum* only to indicate the very uppermost figures of the expedition.

In general, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* clearly had a much more limited social vocabulary than any of the other early crusading historians. His attention to the condition of the *milites* does, however, provide particularly valuable material for a discussion of the meaning of that term as it was applied to participants of the First Crusade.

*The Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere of Peter Tudebode*

There has been a centuries long controversy over the status of the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of the Poitevin priest, Peter Tudebode. The work is very similar indeed to the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the debate has been conducted about the relationship between the two. In 1641 Jean Besly produced an edition of the *Historia De Hierosolymitano Itinere* that challenged the version of the *Gesta Francorum* in Jacques Bongars's famous 1611 collection of crusading sources.<sup>69</sup> From the internal evidence presented in the manuscript from which he was working (now Paris, B. N. MS. latin 4892), Besly argued for the primacy of the version in which the author gave his name as *Petrus Tudebodus* a *sacerdos* of Civray, approximately 50 km from Poitiers.<sup>70</sup> Henri Wallon and Adolphe Régnier adopted this perspective for the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* version edited in 1866.<sup>71</sup> With the appearance of Heinrich Hagenmeyer's scholarly edition of the *Gesta Francorum* in 1880 the argument was made that the relationship of the two works should be reversed and that the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* should be considered the derivative work.<sup>72</sup>

The consensus of historians since 1880 was to follow Hagenmeyer, until, in 1977, John and Laurita Hill produced an edition of Peter

<sup>69</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. Besly *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, IV, ed. A. Duchesne (Paris, 1841); J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611); see Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 1–2.

<sup>70</sup> *Petrus Tudebodus, Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, eds. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1977), hereafter PT, p. 138 n. b; see Peter Tudebode trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, pp. 1–2.

<sup>71</sup> *RHC Oc.* 3, 3–117.

<sup>72</sup> *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890).

Tudebode's text. The Hills performed valuable work in examining the key manuscripts and, largely on stylistic grounds, separating the two traditions. This allowed them to publish the modern edition of *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, which is used here. On the issue of the relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, they argued in the introduction both to the Latin edition and the separately published English translation, that the *Gesta Francorum*, the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* and the *Historia Francorum* of Raymond of Aguilers shared a now lost common source.<sup>73</sup>

The difficulty with this position is that the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* seems indisputably to be adopting passages wholesale from the *Gesta Francorum*, unconsciously importing the perspective of the anonymous author in many instances. As John France has pointed out, the main problem with the 'missing source' theory is that it does not explain how a French priest came to adopt the term *nos* for events that are describing the viewpoint of the Italian contingent.<sup>74</sup>

By and large, there is much more material in Peter Tudebode's work that appears to come from the *Gesta Francorum* than the other way around. The issue is not a neat one, however, because, as Jay Rubenstein has shown, there are some very distinct passages which strongly suggest Peter Tudebode had the fuller version of events than that given in the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>75</sup> The solution to this puzzle offered by Jay Rubenstein is the very plausible suggestion that at least one, and, based on a study of the Monte Cassino chronicle, possibly two, early versions of the *Gesta Francorum* were in circulation when Peter Tudebode wrote his history.<sup>76</sup> In other words, Peter Tudebode was not amending the *Gesta Francorum* as we have it now, but a very similar, earlier, draft.

This is not to dispute the importance of Peter Tudebode as a source for the First Crusade in those matters where he does offer new material. It is clear that he was present on the First Crusade. He wrote several passages that offer new information, or slight revisions of the version of events that are described in the *Gesta Francorum*, consistent with his putting forward his own name as a participant. Indeed, he listed

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<sup>73</sup> PT 21–24; *Peter Tudebode*, trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 10–13.

<sup>74</sup> J. France, 'The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade', *From Clermont to Jerusalem. The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095–1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 29–42.

<sup>75</sup> J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*', pp. 190–201.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

several other individuals who were not mentioned in other sources, including two knights also with the name Tudebode.<sup>77</sup> All in all, as Susan Edgington puts it, 'his work is...chiefly of ancillary value, adding convincing and circumstantial detail particularly about the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem.'<sup>78</sup>

It is hard to distinguish Peter Tudebode as a social observer from the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*. Since they both had a great amount of material in common they necessarily had the same social language. Peter Tudebode's work did, however, have some small variations worth noting and he put a different perspective on some of the passages discussed with regard to the *Gesta Francorum*. Furthermore, he used two terms that are not to be found in the *Gesta*: *clientes* and *familiares*. His revisions and additions show a slightly greater awareness of social division within the First Crusade than does the *Gesta Francorum* itself.

Peter Tudebode retained the two usages of the expression *gens minuta* from the *Gesta Francorum*, a term so unusual that it is not found anywhere else in the *Patrologia Latina*. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* used *minores* as a broad term for the lower social order on three occasions. Peter Tudebode added two more examples.<sup>79</sup> These additions, although relatively unimportant, begin to demonstrate a greater awareness of the presence of the lower social orders in Peter Tudebode's work than in the *Gesta Francorum*. This distinction between the two texts is more clearly evident in their respective use of the term *pauperes*.

In describing the vision of Christ by a priest, Stephen of Valence, at Antioch, 10 June 1098, Peter Tudebode added an extra line of *oratio recta*, reporting that Christ ordered everyone to make penance, undertake a procession with bare feet through the churches and 'give alms to the *pauperes*'.<sup>80</sup> This is useful additional information that the visions of Stephen were giving expression to the needs of the poor. Peter Tudebode made it clear that this advice was acted upon, when he altered the *Gesta Francorum*'s report that just before battle with Kerbogha 'they gave alms' to read 'they gave alms to the *pauperes*'.<sup>81</sup> In the month

<sup>77</sup> PT 97 and 116.

<sup>78</sup> S. B. Edgington, 'The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence', *The First Crusade, origins and impact*, ed. J. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp. 55–77, p. 56.

<sup>79</sup> PT 108 and 109 referring to GF 67.

<sup>80</sup> PT 100: ...*pauperibus dent eleemosinas*.

<sup>81</sup> PT 110: *Et dederunt eleemosynam pauperibus*. Referring to GF 67–8.

after the fall of Ma'arra, 11 December 1098, the *pauperes* engaged in a form of behaviour that, in the version of events reported by Peter Tudebode, brought forth a response from the *seniores*. The *pauperes peregrini* cut open the bodies of the dead to look for coins hidden in the stomachs. They then cooked and ate scraps of flesh from the bodies. As a result, reported Peter, the *seniores* dragged the bodies outside the gates of the city, where they formed large piles that were burnt.<sup>82</sup> The version in the *Gesta Francorum* was blander, not distinguishing the *pauperes* as those responsible for cannibalism nor reporting the response of the *seniores*.<sup>83</sup>

As noted above, there is a slight but interesting change to the critical passage in the *Gesta Francorum* on the death of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy at Antioch, which alters the meaning of the passage to one where it is through the prayers of the clergy and not their own meritorious deeds that the knights will be saved.

Peter Tudebode wrote a description of an appearance of St Andrew to the lowly Provençal visionary Peter Bartholomew that is not in the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>84</sup> The phrasing was drawn from the account of Raymond of Aguilers although Peter Tudebode placed it in his account of the storming of Ma'arra, while Raymond was referring to the events of March 1099. From this and the other passages that mention the lower social order it is evident that Peter Tudebode had a greater awareness of the activities and needs of the *pauperes* than did the author of the *Gesta Francorum*.

Several times Peter Tudebode added the term *seniores* where the *Gesta* might have a more vague term like *alii*. None of these examples introduce new information or clarify the role of the *seniores*, other than the example under *pauperes* above, of the *seniores* being spurred to action to prevent acts of cannibalism by the poor.

Since the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of Peter Tudebode was so heavily dependent on the *Gesta Francorum* it added only a few new passages containing extra information that distinguishes between the various social orders of the First Crusade. Although the quantity is limited, the additional material is in fact relatively rich in social information and there is sufficient to discern a difference in outlook between the two

<sup>82</sup> PT 124–5.

<sup>83</sup> GF 80.

<sup>84</sup> For references to Peter Bartholomew see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders* (Cambridge, 1997) p. 216. See also below pp. 121–147.

authors, in particular through Peter Tudebode having shown a greater interest in the presence of the poor.

*Raymond of Aguilers's Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*

The *Historia Francorum* of Raymond of Aguilers is a critical text for the history of the First Crusade, yet it is a relatively neglected work in comparison to the other eyewitness sources. Ten manuscripts of the history have survived from the medieval period. It was first published by Jacques Bongars in the collection *Gesta Dei per Francos* (1611) and edited by various authors for the version that was published in the *Recueil* series (1866). A very important modern edition with considerable critical apparatus was prepared by John France for his PhD. thesis (1967); surprisingly this thesis has not been published, perhaps because of the publication of an edition in 1969 by J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill. Nevertheless France's is used here as easily the most reliable edition.<sup>85</sup> The edition of 1969 is based on one manuscript, Paris, B. N. MS Latin 14378. The editors seem to have been unaware of France's work, which has established that among the surviving manuscripts, MS 14378 is relatively far removed from the archetype.<sup>86</sup> France's edition used all ten manuscripts in a sophisticated reconstruction of the archetype.

The biographical information available concerning Raymond of Aguilers derives entirely from the text. The author was a canon of the cathedral church of St Mary of Le Puy, in the Auvergne region of France.<sup>87</sup> He participated on the expedition with the Provençal contingent, probably that of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, the papal legate, to judge by the bias of his detail.<sup>88</sup> Having earlier been raised to the priesthood during the course of the expedition,<sup>89</sup> Raymond of Aguilers subsequently joined the chaplaincy of Count Raymond IV of Toulouse.

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<sup>85</sup> J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611); *RHC Oc.* 3, 235–309; J. France, *A Critical Edition of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers* (unpublished PhD. thesis: University of Nottingham, 1967), hereafter RA; *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, eds. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969). I am grateful to J. France for permission to quote from his thesis. References to the more easily accessible *RHC* edition are in brackets.

<sup>86</sup> RA clxiv–ccv.

<sup>87</sup> RA 5 (235).

<sup>88</sup> RA 11–12, 17 (237, 238).

<sup>89</sup> RA 202 (276).



In referring to the events of 10 June 1098, when the visionary Peter Bartholomew first came forward, Raymond of Aguilers mentioned that he was already chaplain to Count Raymond at that time and presumably thereafter.<sup>90</sup>

The *Historia Francorum* was written very soon after the end of the First Crusade, some time after the battle of Ascalon. As John France has pointed out, it must have been written before the end of 1101, when Count Raymond of Toulouse's participation in the Lombard and French expedition in Anatolia that summer would have contradicted a statement by the historian that the count intended to return to France.<sup>91</sup> The earliest writer to make use of the *Historia Francorum* was Fulcher of Chartres, which shows the work was available in Jerusalem between 1101 and 1105.<sup>92</sup> Through an analysis of the cross-references in the work, France has made a strong case for seeing the finished work as being based on notes or longer extracts that Raymond wrote during the course of the expedition.<sup>93</sup>

As a writer Raymond of Aguilers had an above average command of Latin for a priest, but no familiarity with the classics, quoting only the Bible.<sup>94</sup> Shaped by the traditions of pilgrimage that were the dominant feature of religious life in the Le Puy region,<sup>95</sup> Raymond's *Historia Francorum* was framed by the author's perspective that the First Crusade was an *iter Dei* and that God was working miracles through the participants of the journey.<sup>96</sup>

The miracles and visions that fill the account have led later historians to treat Raymond as an excessively credulous and therefore unreliable source. Paulin Paris has described Raymond of Aguilers as a sinister fanatic.<sup>97</sup> L. L. and J. H. Hill in their biography of Count Raymond of Toulouse and in their English translation of the *Historia Francorum* considered the historian to be extremely disingenuous, describing him as inaccurate, 'superstitious, and prejudiced.'<sup>98</sup> In particular they argued

<sup>90</sup> RA 100 (255).

<sup>91</sup> RA 354 (301). See also RA cxxxviii–cxxxix.

<sup>92</sup> RA cxxxix.

<sup>93</sup> RA cxxxix–cxliii.

<sup>94</sup> RA xvii.

<sup>95</sup> RA xvi.

<sup>96</sup> *Itinere Dei* see RA 202 (276); 'miracles' see RA 59 (247).

<sup>97</sup> Anon., *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. P. Paris (Geneva, 1969) 1, xxi.

<sup>98</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 7.

that the entire account of the discovery and use of the Holy Lance found at Antioch was fanciful on Raymond's part.<sup>99</sup> In fact, they considered Raymond of Aguilers to have fabricated most of the material concerning the Lance as he 'weaves in events along with miracles to give the semblance of truth. We think that he is the creator of most of the account rather than a naive reporter.'<sup>100</sup> This is an unbalanced viewpoint. Steven Runciman's statement that 'within his limits he was obviously sincere and well informed,'<sup>101</sup> is a much more accurate assessment.

Raymond of Aguilers seems to have taken to heart his avowed belief that, having been made a priest, he should speak the truth before God.<sup>102</sup> This honesty is shown in particular with regard to the very issue of the peasant visionary Peter Bartholomew and the Holy Lance. Raymond clearly did wish to believe in Peter Bartholomew as an authentic conduit for the messages of Christ and the apostles, but this does not seem to have led him to falsify his account of events. Raymond reported the doubts of Bishop Adhémar on the subject of the Lance;<sup>103</sup> he described an interview with Peter Bartholomew in which the visionary was caught out lying about his knowledge of scripture<sup>104</sup> and, in a convincingly candid passage, Raymond admitted that he held doubts about Peter Bartholomew and secretly desired to see the visionary take the ordeal of fire to have them resolved.<sup>105</sup> Raymond of Aguilers therefore was not given to invention in order to justify his view. Nor, in his own terms, would he need to, as the fall of Jerusalem to the Christians fully satisfied the historian that the participants had performed God's work so worthily that the event would be remembered in all the world to come as the day when paganism was reduced to nothing.<sup>106</sup>

From the point of view of an investigation of social class the distinct theological perspective of Raymond of Aguilers is more helpful than harmful. It encouraged the historian to be attentive to the lower social orders, whom he understood to be especially meritorious in the eyes of

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<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>100</sup> J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, *Raymond IV Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse, 1962), p. 109.

<sup>101</sup> S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (third edition: London, 1991), 1, 328–9.

<sup>102</sup> RA 202 (276).

<sup>103</sup> RA 100 (255).

<sup>104</sup> RA 113–4 (257–8).

<sup>105</sup> RA 256–7 (284–5).

<sup>106</sup> RA 348 (300).

God, precisely because of the hardship that they had to endure during the expedition. The fact that the goals, desires and sentiments of the poor were seen as important by Raymond means that historians have an insight into the social tensions that existed during the expedition that would be almost indiscernible from the other sources.

Although the lower social orders on the expedition were no longer living and working on farms, their former status was reflected in the vocabulary of Raymond of Aguilers. He reported that in the winter of 1097 sorties from the city of Antioch against their besiegers killed squires and *rustici* who were pasturing horses and oxen beyond the river.<sup>107</sup> Writing about a foraging expedition, 31 December 1097, Raymond described how Bohemond was alerted to the presence of an enemy force when he heard certain *rustici* from his men cry out.<sup>108</sup> John France assumes this was a passing reference to Christian infantry, although, given the purpose of the expedition, it could be that non-combatants in search of foodstuffs accompanied the fighting forces.<sup>109</sup> The visionary Peter Bartholomew, who came on the expedition as the servant of a knight, was described as a *pauper rusticus*.<sup>110</sup> This shows the historian's use of *rusticus* as a general social term for someone of a lowly background. According to Raymond, those who disbelieved Peter drew attention to this low social state, refusing to accept that God would desert *principes* and bishops to reveal Himself to a *rusticus homo*.<sup>111</sup> The other two examples of *rustici* in the *Historia Francorum* are for people other than the Christian forces and convey no significant social information.<sup>112</sup>

There are only three instances in the *Historia Francorum* in which Raymond of Aguilers used the term *vulgus*, in each case with the sense of the 'crowd of commoners'. At Antioch, shortly after the discovery of the Holy Lance, 15 June 1098, the *vulgus* recovered from famine and demoralisation to accuse the *principes* of delaying battle against the forces of Kerbogha that were besieging them.<sup>113</sup> Shortly before the battle of Ascalon, Raymond reported that the Egyptians were being

<sup>107</sup> RA 36 (243).

<sup>108</sup> RA 42 (244).

<sup>109</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East. A military history of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 237.

<sup>110</sup> RA 88–9 (253).

<sup>111</sup> RA 229–30 (280–1).

<sup>112</sup> RA 81, 194–5 (252, 274).

<sup>113</sup> RA 120 (259).

told by those who had fled from the fall of Jerusalem how few were the Christian forces and of the infirmity of the *vulgus* and the horses.<sup>114</sup> In the latter case the term was deliberately chosen so as to emphasise just how lowly was the state of the Christian army in the eyes of the Egyptians; it cannot be therefore concluded that Raymond himself saw the term *vulgus* as appropriate for combatants. The one other appearance of the term *vulgus* in the history occurs with respect to non-Christian forces. When Raymond referred to the Muslims killed outside Tripoli early in March 1099, he noted the great numbers of bodies both of the nobles and the *vulgus*.<sup>115</sup>

Raymond of Aguilers's preferred term for the lower social orders on the First Crusade was *pauperes*; there are over thirty examples of his use of the term. Raymond's early usages of the term help establish the social group he was referring to. In the winter of 1096 the stragglers of the Provençal contingent became the targets of the inhabitants of Dalmatia who slaughtered the feeble old women, the *pauperes* and the sick straggling behind the army because of their infirmity.<sup>116</sup> Raymond reported that the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Comnenus, promised that when Nicea was captured he would found there a Latin monastery and hospice for *pauperes Francorum*.<sup>117</sup> In these examples Raymond's use of *pauperes* is for people in a state of weakness, not necessarily 'the poor'. As Karl Leyser has written in an important footnote, 'discussions of the *pauperes* on the First Crusade generally assume the translation *pauper* = poor, though western European usage even at this period probably still had overtones of the sense *pauper* = defenceless'.<sup>118</sup> Similarly, later, January 1099, on the march through the Buqaia, the plain that connects inner Syria to the sea, Raymond wrote that certain *pauperes*, who were experiencing weakness and were lingering a long way behind the army, were killed and despoiled by Turks and Arabs.<sup>119</sup> Raymond also reported that the Christian army before Jerusalem had no more than twelve thousand fighters, as well as many who were infirm and *pauperes*.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>114</sup> RA 369 (304).

<sup>115</sup> RA 262 (286).

<sup>116</sup> RA 6–7 (236).

<sup>117</sup> RA 22 (240).

<sup>118</sup> K. Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: the Gregorian Revolution and beyond*, trans. T. Reuter (London, 1994), p. 82 n. 26.

<sup>119</sup> RA 191 (273).

<sup>120</sup> RA 338 (298).

The term *pauperes* could, however, be used by Raymond to indicate a class of people, not simply the weak and defenceless. In his description of the famine experienced by the Christian forces as they besieged Antioch in the early days of 1098 he wrote that the *pauperes* began to leave 'and also many *divites* fearing poverty.'<sup>121</sup> In this case the juxtaposition of *pauperes* with the *divites* makes it clear they are being considered the lower part of a basic bipartite division of the Christian forces into 'rich' and 'poor'. In another example arising from the same period of the expedition the *pauperes* were described as fearing to cross the Orontes to find fodder, giving a small insight into at least one of their activities.<sup>122</sup> Raymond singled out the *pauperes* as being most affected by the expedition being stalled at Antioch due to the discord of the princes at the end of October 1098.<sup>123</sup>

Raymond's next example was the first that gives an indication that the term *pauper* could be positive one in the *Historia Francorum*, embracing the entire Christian army. Having described the victory of the Christians over the relieving forces of Ridwan, emir of Aleppo and Suqman ibn Ortuq, 9 February 1098, and the similarly successful defence of the camp from a sortie by the garrison of Antioch on the same day, Raymond wrote that the ambassadors of al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt, were in the camp at the time and seeing the miracles that God performed through His servants, praised Jesus, son of the Virgin Mary 'who through His *pauperes* trampled under foot the most powerful tyrants.'<sup>124</sup> The use of *pauperes* here is schematic (there is an obvious echo of the Magnificat, Luke 1:52–3); clearly it was the fighting force of the expedition which was responsible for the miraculous victories, but Raymond was working in a framework that saw the mighty pagan powers being confronted by a Christian force which, although in appearance lowly and weak, was powerful through the assistance of God. From this theological point of view the entire movement could be considered to be one of *pauperes*.

On 6 March 1098, a sortie from Antioch that began well ended disastrously for the Turkish forces; they were thrown back and their retreat blocked by the narrowness of the bridge between them and the

<sup>121</sup> RA 46 (245): *et multi divites paupertatem verentes*.

<sup>122</sup> RA 50 (246).

<sup>123</sup> RA 163 (267).

<sup>124</sup> RA 59 (247): *...qui, per pauperes suos, potentissimos tyrannos conculcabat*. The embassy was sent by al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt in the name of the boy caliph, al-Mustali.

city. This was the occasion for Raymond of Aguilers to enjoy the sight of certain *pauperes* returning after victory. He described these *pauperes* as dashing in among the tents on Arab horses, displaying their new found wealth to their comrades, dressing themselves in robes of silk, and being strengthened with two or three new shields. He went on to say that the *pauperes*, provoked by these scenes broke into a Saracen graveyard in search of more booty.<sup>125</sup> These *pauperes* returning from battle, on horseback, delighted that their hardship was over and carrying shields cannot therefore have been *pauperes* as traditionally understood. The incident has to be placed in the context of the loss of mounts and status by *milites* during the hard march through the desert of Anatolia and on the narrow mountain paths south of Coxon.<sup>126</sup> The people depicted by Raymond must have been those *milites* who had fallen to a status that Raymond clearly understood as being that of *pauperes* through the loss of their mounts and equipment. This conclusion is strengthened by his description of those breaking into the Saracen graves as *pauperes*, since according Robert the Monk, elaborating on the *Gesta Francorum's* brief version of the same incident, those who dug up bodies in search of booty were identified as *iuveneres*, that is, knights yet to become independent heads of households.<sup>127</sup> In a certain context then, Raymond was willing to apply the term *pauperes* even to combatants. The appearance of two such examples of this unusual use of the term shows that the choice of vocabulary was not accidental; in this sense Raymond of Aguilers's use of *pauperes* anticipates a similar use of the term by the scholar and civil servant, Peter of Blois (c. 1180), and Innocent III (r. 1198–1216).<sup>128</sup>

For Raymond of Aguilers, *pauperes* as an adjective and *paupertas*, the state of poverty, could also, depending on the context, be indicative of social status, of being a member of the *pauperes*. This seems to be the case in Raymond's writings about Peter Bartholomew, the lowly servant of William Peyre of Cunnhat, from the Provençal region of France. As noted above, Raymond introduced Peter as, 'a certain *pauper rusticus*.'<sup>129</sup> He reported that when Peter explained his reason for being hesitant

<sup>125</sup> RA 68–69 (249).

<sup>126</sup> See below p. 180.

<sup>127</sup> RM 788.

<sup>128</sup> See I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198 Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 365–6.

<sup>129</sup> RA 88–9 (253–4):...*pauperem quemdam rusticum*.

in approaching the princes, the visionary said that his reluctance had come about from ‘recognising...*paupertas mea*’<sup>130</sup> and from ‘standing in fear from *paupertas mea*.’<sup>131</sup> Peter emphasised his own *paupertas* twice more, the second time saying to the princes that reflecting on ‘*paupertas mea*’ led him not to want to come forward in case they believed he had made up the visions in order to obtain food.<sup>132</sup> In these statements are possible reminiscences from the Vulgate, where there are many references to *pauperes* and *paupertas* such as Tobias 5:25, ‘for our *paupertas* was sufficient for us.’<sup>133</sup> Or the prophet speaking in Lamentations 3:1, ‘I am the man seeing *paupertas mea*...’<sup>134</sup> Ecclesiasticus 10:33 reads, ‘the *pauper* is glorified by his discipline and fear,’<sup>135</sup> which has echoes in Peter Bartholomew’s careful and avowedly fearful initial approach to the princes. In Ecclesiasticus 11:12–13, the point is made that no matter the degree to which a person is experiencing *paupertas*, they can be raised up by the eye of God, a view that is very similar to Raymond’s with respect to Peter Bartholomew.

Evidence that Raymond had in mind a treatment of the condition of *paupertas* that indicated it to be a state which was conducive to gaining the support of God was displayed in his report of Peter Bartholomew’s vision which took place on or about 1 December 1098. Here SS. Peter and Andrew appeared, but they were not initially recognised as they were wearing misshapen clothing and were dressed most sordidly, so that Peter Bartholomew thought them to simply members of the *pauperes*.<sup>136</sup> St Peter explained to the visionary that they appeared in this condition to make him aware that anyone who serves God devotedly obtains His assistance.<sup>137</sup> This vision gave an answer to the critics of Peter Bartholomew who could not believe that God would reveal himself to one so lowly.<sup>138</sup>

Another example of Raymond seeing the *pauperes* as especially important to God arose from the deaths of six or seven people following a Saracen raid in January 1099. The corpses were found to have crosses

<sup>130</sup> RA 95 (254): *recogitans... paupertatis meae habitum*.

<sup>131</sup> RA 96 (254): *Metuens paupertati meae*.

<sup>132</sup> RA 97 (255).

<sup>133</sup> Tob 5:25, *Sufficiebat enim nobis paupertas nostra*.

<sup>134</sup> Lam 3:1, *Ego vir videns paupertatem mea*.

<sup>135</sup> Eccus 10:33, *Pauper glorietur per disciplinam et timorem suam*.

<sup>136</sup> RA 168 (268).

<sup>137</sup> RA 169 (269).

<sup>138</sup> RA 229–30 (280).

on their right shoulders. Those who saw this gave great thanks to God, reported Raymond, for His having comforted His *pauperes*.<sup>139</sup>

In his reports of the visions of Peter Bartholomew, Raymond also used the term *pauperes* in a more sociological sense, one less laden with theological overtones, particularly in describing the social tensions that existed within the expedition over the distribution of plunder. The key visions are discussed in full below, in a context provided by the full range of early crusading histories.<sup>140</sup> Most of the remaining examples of the term *pauperes* in the *Historia Francorum* are connected with Raymond of Aguilers's account of the actions of Count Raymond of Toulouse. At times the historian portrayed the count as a religious and worthy leader of the poor, but Raymond of Aguilers also indicated a tension between those who were supposedly being led and the count. These examples are also discussed in the narrative of events set out in Chapter Four.

Raymond of Aguilers seems to have believed in the obligation of the leadership of the expedition to show concern for the welfare of the *pauperes*. This idea is present in a vision of 3 August 1098 in which Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy appeared before Peter Bartholomew, having died just two nights earlier. According to Peter, as reported by Raymond of Aguilers, the Bishop said that he was saved from a punishing fire by a robe returned to him by the Lord because the robe had been given away to a *pauper* on his ordination as bishop.<sup>141</sup>

The collective term for a crowd *turba* is not, strictly speaking, one that denotes social status, but it is discussed here for the important social information that accompanies its use in the *Historia Francorum*. Raymond used *turba* on four occasions, two of the which were straightforward: he described a crowd of footsoldiers, *turba peditum*, from the army of Duquq of Damascus, who were scattered in battle by Bohemond, 31 December 1097;<sup>142</sup> secondly he wrote of the *turba* that was the Christian army being roused for battle against al-Afdal near Ascalon.<sup>143</sup> The two other usages of the term are more interesting. At an assembly during the siege of Jerusalem, in a speech by the leaders, the Christians were urged to remember the time when Christ entered Jerusalem humbly on

<sup>139</sup> RA 184 (272).

<sup>140</sup> See below pp. 120–152.

<sup>141</sup> RA 138–9 (262–3).

<sup>142</sup> RA 45 (245).

<sup>143</sup> RA 368 (304).



an ass, a *turba* running to honour him with a great procession.<sup>144</sup> This was a correct use of the Vulgate term for the crowd that spread their garments before Christ (Mat 21:8) and who surrounded him on that occasion (Mat 21:9, Luc 19:37, Luc 19:39, Ioh 12:12). But Matthew also used the same term, *turba*, for the armed mob who arrested Christ (Mat 26:47, 26:55, Mar 14:43, Luc 22:47). Mark used the term for the crowd who freed Barabbas rather than Christ (Mar 15:8, Luc 23:18). Raymond of Aguilers was familiar with how the term was used in the Vulgate, not just for a crowd, but a crowd that could be fickle and violently ungodly. This is particularly significant in his account of the ordeal of Peter Bartholomew, 8 April 1099. In the light of the Vulgate depiction of the passion of Christ it is noteworthy that in the *Historia Francorum* the watching crowds at the ordeal by fire of the visionary were described initially as *populus*, then *multitudo populi*, then *turba* as they progressed from praying, to watching, to charging across to Peter and inflicting wounds more lethal than those of the flames.<sup>145</sup> In his choice of term for the crowd Raymond appears to have been echoing the scenes in the Vulgate.<sup>146</sup>

There was a distinct grouping of craftsmen on the crusade, whose status seems to have been above that of the lowest social order on the expedition, given that pay was set aside for their work. The skills of the craftsmen were required especially in the making of siege equipment for the attacks on Nicea and Jerusalem. It was while preparing equipment for the storming of Jerusalem that they came to the attention of Raymond of Aguilers. He noted that while everyone else worked spontaneously, the *artifices* were given wages from the collections that were made among the people. Count Raymond had his own *operarii* whom he paid out of his own wealth.<sup>147</sup> The urgency to have this equipment made led the council of leaders to order those present to lend their mules and boys to the *artifices* and *lignarii*.<sup>148</sup> The term *operarii* seems to have been used by Raymond as synonymous with *artifices*. Not only is this evident in the first example above, but also in the report that Duke Godfrey and the Counts of Normandy and Flanders placed

<sup>144</sup> RA 328 (296).

<sup>145</sup> RA 252–254 (284).

<sup>146</sup> RA 252–4 (284).

<sup>147</sup> RA 333 (297).

<sup>148</sup> RA 334 (298).

Gaston, viscount of Béarn, over the same body of craftsmen, now termed *operarii*.<sup>149</sup>

Raymond of Aguilers wrote that Count Raymond put the recently arrived Genoese sailor William Ricau in charge of his *operarii* on Mount Zion.<sup>150</sup> The historian stated that the Genoese aided Count Raymond in the construction of siege equipment with the ropes, iron mallets, nails, axes, pick-axes and hatchets they had salvaged from the loss of their ships at Jaffa.<sup>151</sup> These skilled workers were paid, unlike the captured Saracens who were put to work as slaves under the direction of the Bishop of Albara.<sup>152</sup>

Although the main importance of Raymond's work in terms of the social structure of the First Crusade is with regard to the lower social orders, his observations are also valuable for those of higher status. It becomes clear from Raymond's account that the *familiares*, the members of the households of the senior princes, were a very significant political force. Their role is discussed in the narrative of events in Chapter Four, particularly with regard to the household of Count Raymond, of which Raymond of Aguilers was a member.<sup>153</sup>

The use of the ubiquitous term *milites* was generally uncontroversial in the *Historia Francorum*. There is a single passage, however, which although applied to Turkish troops in Antioch stands out in so far as it indicates Raymond's willingness to make a distinction between ordinary and senior knights. In the description of Antioch by Raymond of Aguilers at the time of the siege by the Christian army, 21 October 1097, he wrote that there were in the city two thousand *milites optimi* and four or five thousand *milites gregarii* and also ten thousand *pedites*.<sup>154</sup> Clearly the distinction here between good knights and common knights is not a reformulation of that between knights and footsoldiers. As Raymond makes this distinction only once, however, in connection with the hostile forces based at Antioch, it could be that he had in mind a very specific point here based on the difference between the lightly

<sup>149</sup> RA 331–2 (297). For Gaston of Béarn see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 206.

<sup>150</sup> RA 332 (297). For William Ricau see F. Cardini, 'Profilo d'un crociato, Guglielmo Embriaco', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 136 (1978), pp. 417–8.

<sup>151</sup> RA 337 (298).

<sup>152</sup> RA 332–3 (297).

<sup>153</sup> See below pp. 147–52.

<sup>154</sup> RA 33 (242).

armed Turkish riders who fought with bow from horseback and their better armed superiors.

One clear theme with regard to *milites* in the *Historia Francorum* is that of the importance they attached to horses and this provides valuable evidence for the discussion of *milites* in Chapter Five.<sup>155</sup> Only three individual *milites* were identified by name in the *Historia Francorum*: ‘Isoard *miles* of Ganges, a most noble Provençal’;<sup>156</sup> ‘Roger of Barneville, a most illustrious *miles*, much loved by all’<sup>157</sup> and Raymond Pilet ‘a most noble and strong *miles*.’<sup>158</sup> It is instantly obvious that the historian, possibly to distinguish these knights from the general body of *milites*, deliberately underlined the noble status of each of these *miles*.

The phrase *milites Christi* is notable for its near complete absence in the *Historia Francorum*. This is a marked contrast to all the other sources of the First Crusade and the *Gesta Francorum* in particular. Raymond wrote the formulation down only once, in reporting the battle cry of Isadore of Gaye.<sup>159</sup> Although Raymond has the most theological framework for his *Historia* of any of the early crusading historians, his was not a work that praised the deeds of God through His *milites*, but rather through His whole army.<sup>160</sup>

In the discussion of *iuvenes* in Chapter Six, important material is provided by Raymond of Aguilers, who despite his general perspective displayed a familiarity with knightly culture and the mentality of the warrior class. If his use of the term for St George was for a warrior rather than simply a ‘youth’, then it suggests that he saw the unattached knights willing to carry banners in to the heart of battle as a model knight.<sup>161</sup>

Raymond of Aguilers’ distinctive vocabulary extended to the upper social orders. Whereas in the other sources the term *principes* was limited to the most senior leaders on the crusade, Raymond employed it to indicate a wider body of magnates, such as those from within his

<sup>155</sup> See below pp. 184–5.

<sup>156</sup> RA 66–7 (249): *Isuardus miles de Gagia, Provincialis nobilissimus*. For Isoard I, count of Die see RA 66 n. 2, see also J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 213.

<sup>157</sup> RA 84 (252): *Miles clarissimus et karissimus omnibus, nomine Rotgerius de Barnevilla*. For Roger, Lord of Barneville-sur-mer, see RA 84 n. a; see also J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 221.

<sup>158</sup> RA 253–4 (284): *Miles nobilissimus et fortis*.

<sup>159</sup> RA 67 (249).

<sup>160</sup> RA 5, 14, 64, 137, 180, 368, 369 (235, 237, 248, 262, 271, 304, 304): *Exercitu Dei*. RA 12 (237): *Populus Dei*.

<sup>161</sup> See below pp. 209–11.

following who advised Count Raymond of Toulouse.<sup>162</sup> This sense, that all magnates were princes, is perhaps appropriate for someone writing from the perspective of the more lowly. When he came to write about those at the very apex of the social structure of the First Crusade he added an emphasis to the term *principes*, those leading the army were *principes maiores*.<sup>163</sup> He also referred to Bohemond and Raymond as the ‘two greatest *principes* in the army.’<sup>164</sup>

The language and perspective of Raymond of Aguilers with regard to social structure is very different from all of the other early crusading sources. His theological outlook placed a much greater emphasis on the deeds of the commoners than did any of the other accounts. The consequence of Raymond’s belief that he was recording the events of a people chosen by God was not a history of irrational mysticism but one that provides a valuable insight into the outlook of the poor on the First Crusade.

### *The Historia Hierosolymitana of Fulcher of Chartres*

Heinrich Hagenmeyer published the definitive edition of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Fulcher of Chartres in 1913.<sup>165</sup> The main strength of the 1913 edition was the fact that it took into account all fifteen existing manuscripts and the fact that in 1124 Fulcher reworked his history. While the edition of Jacques Bongars, which was reprinted in the *Patrologia Latina* was based on a reading of manuscripts of the first redaction, the 1913 edition was based on manuscripts containing Fulcher’s second redaction, giving variant readings from fourteen codices and all the printed editions.<sup>166</sup> Hagenmeyer’s edition therefore allows an examination of the text as it would have appeared both before and after the 1124 revision.

<sup>162</sup> RA 49 (245), 157 (266).

<sup>163</sup> RA 183 (272).

<sup>164</sup> RA 64 (248): *Duo maximi principes in exercitu*.

<sup>165</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), hereafter FC.

<sup>166</sup> J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611); PL 150, cols. 823–942B; *RHC Oc.* 3, 311–485.

According to his own account, on which we are almost entirely dependent for biographical information,<sup>167</sup> Fulcher was born in 1058 or 1059.<sup>168</sup> He indicated his place of birth from the use of the surname *Carnotensis*, which appeared three times in the *Historia Hierosolymitana*.<sup>169</sup> Fulcher was a participant in the First Crusade. His description of the departure of the various contingents makes it clear that he set out with Duke Robert II of Normandy and Count Stephen of Blois.<sup>170</sup> Just south of Marash, 17 September 1097, Baldwin of Boulogne detached his forces from the main body of the Christian army and marched towards Tarsus. At this point Fulcher reported that he was in the company of Baldwin.<sup>171</sup> Fulcher stayed with Baldwin after the Lotharingian prince became ruler of Edessa, 10 March 1097, and in his account of those events wrote that ‘I, Fulcher of Chartres, was the chaplain of this same Baldwin.’<sup>172</sup> This testimony implies that Fulcher was a cleric, probably a priest, the position ascribed to him by the northern French monk and historian, Guibert of Nogent, although not as one who knew him, as well as by the title of one of the manuscripts.<sup>173</sup>

Fulcher accompanied Baldwin, now count of Edessa, to Jerusalem late in 1099 to worship at the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>174</sup> He was also present when Baldwin came to Jerusalem, 9 November 1100, to obtain the title of king.<sup>175</sup> Thereafter Fulcher made his home in Jerusalem and lived at least until 1127, the year that his history abruptly ended; at this time Fulcher would have been approximately sixty-eight years old.<sup>176</sup>

The first redaction of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* was Fulcher’s account of the First Crusade from the Council of Clermont, 18–28 November 1095, and the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem up until victory of King Baldwin I at Ramleh, 27 August 1105. Much of the history is

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<sup>167</sup> With the possible exception of the appearance of ‘Fulcher’ and ‘Fulcher, prior of the Mount of Olives’ as a witness on three documents from the Kingdom of Jerusalem; see FC 2.

<sup>168</sup> FC III.xxiv.17 (687); III.xliv.4 (771).

<sup>169</sup> FC I.v.12 (153); I.xiv.15 (215); I.xxxiii.12 (330).

<sup>170</sup> FC I.vii.1–viii.9 (163–176). For Robert II of Normandy see C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 1920).

<sup>171</sup> FC I.xiv.2 (206).

<sup>172</sup> FC I.xiv.15 (215): *Ego vero Fulcherus Carnotensis, capellanus ipsius Balduini eram.*

<sup>173</sup> GN 329, FC 16.

<sup>174</sup> FC II.iii.12 (368).

<sup>175</sup> FC II.v.12 (383–4).

<sup>176</sup> FC III.xxiv.17 (687); III.xliv.4 (771).

that of an eyewitness, although once Baldwin's contingent had left the main army for Tarsus, Fulcher had to depend on other accounts for his narrative of their experience. The information that Fulcher used for events among the main body of the Christian army while he was at Edessa was mainly derived, as Hagenmeyer demonstrated, from the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum* of Raymond of Aguilers.<sup>177</sup>

Hagenmeyer has plausibly argued that Fulcher began writing his history in 1101, after news of the *secunda peregrinatio* had reached him, but before the death of Stephen of Blois at the second battle of Ramleh, 17 May 1102.<sup>178</sup> In 1105 Fulcher probably ceased writing his first version and copies of his work then began to circulate. The strongest evidence for this is the appearance of a near copy of Fulcher's history: Bartolf of Nangi's *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*.<sup>179</sup> As Hagenmeyer has pointed out, Bartolf's placing *finis* after the account of the Third Battle of Ramleh, 27 August 1105, might well have marked the completion both of Bartolf's history and that of his source, Fulcher.<sup>180</sup>

Guibert, abbot of Nogent, probably writing in 1109,<sup>181</sup> came across Fulcher's *Historia* late in the composition of his own work and incorporated a polemical response to the *Historia Hierosolymitana* in his own history.<sup>182</sup> While manuscripts of Fulcher's first redaction began to be distributed through Europe, he continued his work in the fashion of a chronicle, until reworking the entire text in 1124. The second redaction made only slight modifications in style, but was sufficiently different in tone for Verena Epp to detect a development in Fulcher's thinking. She argued that in his second redaction Fulcher became more willing to admit Christian losses in battle and she claimed that the portrayal of God in the work shifted from God as a ruler to God as a friend.<sup>183</sup> Fulcher then regularly updated the *Historia Hierosolymitana*

<sup>177</sup> FC 66.

<sup>178</sup> FC 44–45. See Fulcher of Chartres, *A history of the expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127*, trans. F. R. Ryan (Knoxville, 1941), pp. 19–20.

<sup>179</sup> *RHC Oc.* 3, 491–543. Nothing is known of Bartolf outside of this work, the internal evidence of which seems to indicate he was a resident in Syria and an acquaintance of *frater Fulcherus Carnotensis*, see *RHC Oc.* 3, 492.

<sup>180</sup> *RHC Oc.* 3, 541, FC 46.

<sup>181</sup> See below p. 75.

<sup>182</sup> GN 329.

<sup>183</sup> V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres* (Dusseldorf, 1990), p. 11.

until it abruptly stopped in 1127, probably indicating the date of death of the author.

Fulcher's terse, straightforward, style does not favour a sophisticated examination of social structure. It is mainly through his occasional digressions from the historical narrative that the historian's strong theological framework can be discerned along with a certain amount of social commentary. The most striking examples of this arise in Fulcher's observations on Christian kingship. Fulcher reported in detail the dramatic escape of Joscelin of Courtenay, count of Edessa,<sup>184</sup> from Kharput (Hisn Ziyād) in August 1123, in which Joscelin had to disguise himself as a peasant. This led the chronicler to comment on the power of God, echoing the idea in I Samuel, 2:7–8 that God cast down the mighty from on high and 'raises the *pauper* from the dust.'<sup>185</sup> Fulcher continued by writing that both Baldwin II and Joscelin of Courtenay had the experience of being a ruler in the morning, a slave in the evening.<sup>186</sup> Fulcher made an even stronger formulation concerning the power of God over kings with regard to the fact that the Kingdom of Jerusalem prospered despite the capture of Baldwin II, 18 April 1123. The historian went so far as to raise the idea that 'perhaps he was no king.'<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, Fulcher questioned whether someone deserved the title of king if he was lawless, did not fear God, was an adulterer, perjurer or sacrilegious;<sup>188</sup> if the king was a dissipater of churches, if he was an oppressor of *pauperes*, then he did not rule but brought disorder.<sup>189</sup> The perspective from which Fulcher was expressing these extremely critical ideas was not necessarily that of someone with a strong sense of social justice, but rather someone who subscribed to the ideas of ecclesiastical reform, as indicated by the ideas he attributed to pope Urban II concerning simony and the Truce of God at the Council of Clermont.<sup>190</sup>

Fulcher was clearly a believer in the rights of the church, although not necessarily an advocate of papal authority. He found himself having to formulate a response to his lord, Baldwin of Edessa, taking the title of 'king' of Jerusalem, 11 November 1100, and being crowned,

<sup>184</sup> For Joscelin of Courtenay, count of Edessa, see OV 5, 324.

<sup>185</sup> FC III.xxiv.16 (687):...*de pulvere pauperem sublimet*.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> FC III.xxi.2 (673): *Forsitan non erat rex...*

<sup>188</sup> FC III.xxi.4 (674).

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> FC I.ii.9–14 (126–130).

25 December 1100. Aware of the controversial nature of this step,<sup>191</sup> Fulcher took the side of those who argued that since Christ was crowned with thorns in Jerusalem, God had thereby turned a symbol of humiliation into one of salvation and glory. It was permissible for Baldwin to be crowned.<sup>192</sup> Fulcher, however, qualified his support for the existence of kingship in Jerusalem. A king was only rightly a king, especially in Jerusalem, if he ruled justly. During the relatively successful kingship of Baldwin I, to whom he was a chaplain, Fulcher suspended any expression of criticism. While writing on the kingship of Baldwin II, however, as noted above, Fulcher showed no hesitation in raising the question of whether a king was legitimate if he was unjust.

Another interesting passage arising from Fulcher's particular theological perspective was his view of the attitude to personal property that existed among the participants of the First Crusade. Fulcher was diverted from his account of the difficulties of the journey through Asia Minor, August 1097, to comment that although many languages divided them, everyone seemed to be brothers in the love of God and kinsmen with a shared outlook.<sup>193</sup> Fulcher added that if someone found property that had been lost, it would be kept carefully for many days, until the rightful owner was found, when it would be gladly handed back, as was proper among 'those who undertook the pilgrimage rightly'.<sup>194</sup> This is good evidence from an eyewitness that for all the regional differences, there was a sense of community among the Christian forces, at least among those who saw the expedition as a pious one.

Fulcher had a strong sense of social order, evident from his use of both the ecclesiastical and military use of the term *ordines*. In his account of the Council of Clermont, Fulcher, who may have been an eyewitness although he does not state this directly,<sup>195</sup> quoted Urban II as telling his listeners to 'maintain the Church in its *ordines* in every respect free from all secular power'.<sup>196</sup> At the end of the work Fulcher wrote that in

<sup>191</sup> FC II.vi.1 (385–6). See also A. V. Murray, 'The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon as Ruler of Jerusalem,' *Collegium Medievale*, 3 (1990), pp. 163–78; J. France, 'The election and title of Godfrey de Bouillon', *Canadian Journal of History* 18 (1983), pp. 321–29; J. Riley-Smith, 'The title of Godfrey of Bouillon', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 52 (1979), pp. 83–86.

<sup>192</sup> FC II.vi.2–3 (386).

<sup>193</sup> FC I.xiii.5 (203).

<sup>194</sup> FC I.xviii.5 (203): ... *qui recte peregrinantur*.

<sup>195</sup> FC 3 n. 5; Fulcher of Chartres, *A history of the expedition to Jerusalem*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>196</sup> FC I.ii.10 (127): *Ecclesiam suis ordinibus omnimode liberam ab omni saeculari potestate sustentate*.



the Kingdom of Jerusalem priests and the minor order (*ordo*) of clergy were known as tribunes of the people (*tribuni plebis*).<sup>197</sup> In addition to this conventional understanding of the 'orders' of the clergy, Fulcher used the term *ordo* for military order of battle in three instances, one of which occurred in the letter of the Christian princes to Pope Urban II after their victory over the Turkish atabeg of Mosul, Kerbogha, which Fulcher inserted into his history.<sup>198</sup> That Fulcher was aware that the term *ordo* could also be used in a social sense is evident from his report of a key passage in Urban II's speech at Clermont. Fulcher described the pope as appealing to his audience to urge 'everyone of whatever *ordo*, whether *equites* or *pedites*, *divites* or *pauperes*' to join the expedition.<sup>199</sup> Perhaps even more interesting is Fulcher's use of the term *gradus* for rank in a similar manner to *ordo*. At one point he wrote of a squire being raised to the *gradus* of a *miles*.<sup>200</sup> This is very significant evidence that for Fulcher being a *miles* involved more than performing the military function of a horseman; it involved being of a certain *gradus*. The same sense of the term *gradus* for rank appeared when Fulcher echoed the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, writing that secular power had different worth according to its *gradus*, firstly the Augustus or emperor, next the Caesars, then kings, dukes and counts.<sup>201</sup>

A key theme for Fulcher's entire work was to emphasise that conditions in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem were favourable for settlers of all ranks. As a result he several times gave particular mention to the situation of the lower social ranks. This was most notable in a late, 1124, digression in which the chronicler wrote that in the kingdom those who were poor (*inopes*), God had made wealthy (*locupletes*); those who had little money had countless bezants and those who did not have an estate now possessed, by the gift of God, a city.<sup>202</sup> With this same theme in mind Fulcher twice made the point that *pauperes* had become wealthy through the conquests of the Christian forces. In an important passage describing the fall of Jerusalem, 15 July 1099, the historian wrote that 'after such great bloodshed they entered the homes seizing whatever they found in them, such indeed that whoever had entered the home

<sup>197</sup> FC III.xxxiv.10 (738).

<sup>198</sup> Letter of Princes FC I.xxiv.10 (263); II.lx.2 (602); III.xlii.7 (765).

<sup>199</sup> FC I.iii.4 (134): *Cunctis cuiuslibet ordinis tam equitibus quam peditibus, tam divitibus quam pauperibus*.

<sup>200</sup> FC III.xxxi.7 (726–7).

<sup>201</sup> FC III.xxxiv.11 (739).

<sup>202</sup> FC III.xxxvii.6 (749).

first, whether he was a poor man (*pauper*) or a rich man (*dives*), was in no way to be subject to injury by any other. Whether a house or a palace, he was to possess it and whatever he found in it was his own. They had established this law (*ius*) to be held mutually. And thus many poor (*inopes*) were made wealthy (*locupletes*).<sup>203</sup>

The second appearance of a similar formulation arose with Fulcher's description of the fall of Caesarea, 17 May 1101, where he reported that many *pauperes* became *locupletes*.<sup>204</sup> Fulcher's version of the speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont had the pope offer the *pauperes* precisely this prospect. Having exhorted every *ordo*, whether *pauperes* or *divites* to support the expedition,<sup>205</sup> Urban was reported as saying that those *pauperes* here will be *locupletes* there.<sup>206</sup> This part of the speech has the appearance of a retrospective formulation made in the light of Fulcher's later examples of the poor becoming rich. The idea is not in keeping with one of the few surviving letters of Urban II, to the Bolognese, which specifically warned against taking the cross for material motives (*pro cupiditate*).<sup>207</sup> Similarly the second canon of the council of Clermont decreed that the journey was a substitute for penance only for those who set out to free the Church out of devotion and not for the acquisition of honour or wealth.<sup>208</sup>

For Fulcher, however, it was clearly important to make the point about the rise in condition of the *pauperes*. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem suffered a chronic shortage of Christian farmers as well as military forces and this fact seems to have influenced Fulcher's report of Urban's speech at Clermont as well as his own desire to emphasise

<sup>203</sup> FC I.xxix.1 (304): ...*post stragem tantam ingressi sunt domos civium, rapientes quaecumque in eis reppererunt: ita sane, ut quicumque primus domum introisset, sive dives sive pauper esset, nullatenus ab aliquo alio fieret illi injuria, quin domum ipsam aut palatium et quodcumque in ea repperisset, ac si omnino propria, sibi adsumeret, haberet et possideret. Hoc itaque ius invicem tenendum stabilierant. Unde multi inopes facti sunt locupletes.* The law (*ius*) of property refers to a tradition established during the course of the First Crusade that the first to obtain booty had the right to retain it; see below pp. 153–5.

<sup>204</sup> FC II.ix.7 (403).

<sup>205</sup> FC I.iii.4 (134).

<sup>206</sup> FC I.iii.7 (137).

<sup>207</sup> Letter of Urban II to the people of Bologna: H. Hagenmeyer ed., *Epistolae et Chartae ad Historiam Primi Belli* (Innsbruck, 1901), p. 137.

<sup>208</sup> *Decreta Claromontensia* (n. 32), ed. R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II I*, (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 74; see also I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198 Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 327–8, 343–4.

the gains for the *pauperes* on the fall of Jerusalem and Caesarea and in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem generally.

In January 1098, during a time of extreme hardship for the Christian forces besieging Antioch, Fulcher wrote that both *divites* and *pauperes* suffered either from famine or the daily slaughter.<sup>209</sup> Verena Epp noted this passage as one of her examples for the view that Fulcher blurred social distinctions.<sup>210</sup> Certainly Fulcher was emphasising how the entire body of Christians was suffering. But he was also aware that the suffering was unequal, noting that in the same period of famine the poorer people (*pauperiores*) ate even the hides of the beasts and seeds of grain found in manure.<sup>211</sup> A similar awareness of the uneven pressures on the poor seems to be evident when he reported that because of this hardship some left the siege, first the *pauperes* and then the *locupletes*.<sup>212</sup>

One appearance of the term *pauperes* for Christian inhabitants in the region of Jerusalem revealed something of their function. In a late, 1125, lament for those who lived around Jerusalem, Fulcher wrote that if they were *pauperes*, either *agricolae* or *lignarii*, they were captured or killed by the Ethiopians in ambush in ravines and forests.<sup>213</sup> The farmers and woodcutters of the region were evidently the main subgroups within the wider category of the poor settlers.

Fulcher used the couplet *minores et maiores* on three occasions to encompass the entirety of society: for his lament on the evils suffered by Europe before the First Crusade; for the hunger of all the Christians besieging Antioch in the early months of 1098 and to emphasise the scale of slaughter of the inhabitants of Ma'arra when it fell to the Christian army.<sup>214</sup> A slightly different use of the term *minores* arose in Fulcher's account of the fall of Tripoli, 12 July 1109, when he wrote that it was the *minores* of the Genoese who stormed the city after a great tumult had arisen among them due to dismay that King Baldwin I seemed about to allow the city to surrender on terms.<sup>215</sup> Here *minores* was being used not for the lower part of society in a broad sense, but the inferior Genoese combatant, probably footsoldiers. His sense of the

<sup>209</sup> FC I.xv.15 (223).

<sup>210</sup> V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres*, p. 242.

<sup>211</sup> FC I.xvi.2 (226).

<sup>212</sup> FC I.xvi.6 (228).

<sup>213</sup> FC III.xlii.4 (763).

<sup>214</sup> FC I.v.11 (152); I.xvi.1 (225); I.xxv.3 (267).

<sup>215</sup> FC II.xli.4 (533).

*minores* seems to have been a broad one that grouped together all the commoners, inclusive of footsoldiers.

By contrast Fulcher seems to have reserved the term *egeni* for the non-combatant poor of society. The first of only two usages of the term in the *Historia Hierosolymitana* arose in Fulcher's account of the activities in Jerusalem among those left behind, including himself, when, 27 August 1105, the army of King Baldwin I went out to meet an invading force of the Egyptian vizier, al-Afdal. As well as praying and participating in processions, abundant alms were bestowed upon the *egeni*.<sup>216</sup> Again when those remaining in Jerusalem were praying after the Christian army departed to attempt to relieve a siege of Joppa, May 1123, alms were bestowed upon the *egeni*.<sup>217</sup> In both these cases the phrasing echoes John 12:5, with the *egeni* clearly a passive and lowly body to whom charity ought to be extended.

A passage of interest with regard to the peculiarities of Fulcher's vocabulary concerns the fall of Jerusalem. Fulcher wrote that the *pedites pauperiores* and *scutigeri* of the Christian army searched through the intestines of the dead for hidden bezants.<sup>218</sup> Fulcher was not an eyewitness, so this activity might be apocryphal, but the report gives clear evidence that Fulcher was aware of a differentiation within the category of *pedites*, distinguishing the poorer footsoldiers from the main body. The term *scutigeri* in the passage is an unusual one, not used by any other of the early crusading sources. It has troubled modern translators, with Martha McGinty opting for the literal 'shield bearers'<sup>219</sup> and F. R. Ryan for the more interesting 'squires'.<sup>220</sup> Hagenmeyer also considered Fulcher's use of the term *scutiger* to indicate a squire, without elaborating upon the point.<sup>221</sup> An 1114 charter for Valenciennes is helpful here.<sup>222</sup> The charter lists fines for different categories of person, placing a *scutifer* below an *armiger* but above a *burgensis*. It is assumed in the charter that a *scutifer* has a *dominus* and, unlike the *burgensis*, a right to trial by combat. It is perhaps worth noting that in the early twelfth century Valenciennes

<sup>216</sup> FC II.xxxi.12 (494).

<sup>217</sup> FC III.xviii.2 (665).

<sup>218</sup> FC I.xxviii.1 (301–2).

<sup>219</sup> Fulcher of Chartres: *Chronicle of the First Crusade*, trans. M. E. McGinty (Philadelphia, 1941), p. 69.

<sup>220</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *A history of the expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 122.

<sup>221</sup> FC 302 n. 3.

<sup>222</sup> *Charta Pacis Valencensis*, MGH SS 21, 605–6.

was under the control of the counts of Hainaut<sup>223</sup> and that Baldwin II count of Hainaut had accompanied Fulcher's lord, Baldwin of Boulogne on the First Crusade.<sup>224</sup> The language of the Lotharingians may have therefore affected Fulcher's own vocabulary. It might well be that Fulcher used the term to indicate someone who cared for horses, but was not in the same category of an *armiger*, who had the prospect of becoming a knight. Such a differentiation would fit with his description of the *scutiferi* joining with the poorest footsoldiers in the scramble to search dead and burnt bodies in the hope of finding coins.

Fulcher was untypical among the crusading historians in his propensity to use the term *clientes*. He did so for persons engaged in a broad range of activities, usually associated with the lower ranks of the army, from baggage handler through to the personal followers of a prince, possibly knights. Fulcher often used the variation *clientelae* but it does not seem to represent any distinction of function, despite Hagenmeyer's suggestion that it was Fulcher's term of choice for those who minded the baggage and herds of an army.<sup>225</sup> In describing the journey of Baldwin I to take up the kingship of Jerusalem, 25 October 1100, Fulcher, who was present, wrote that the beasts loaded with possessions preceded the army, driven by *clientes*.<sup>226</sup> Soon after, however, he described how the Christian fighting forces, having been victorious in an ambush, returned to the *clientela* who had been guarding the loaded animals.<sup>227</sup> In Fulcher's account of the retreat of Baldwin II from the siege of Aleppo, January 1125, the Christian forces were described as losing one *cliens* and six tents, indicating that the *cliens* was among the baggage train rather than the fighting forces.<sup>228</sup>

The term *clientes* was more usually used in the *Historia Hierosolymitana* to indicate a section of the fighting forces distinct from the *milites*. In the wider medieval usage of the term, it covered a variety of positions, from vassal to squire to footsoldier.<sup>229</sup> Describing the seizure of Antioch by the Christian forces, 3 June 1098, Fulcher, not an eyewitness, wrote

<sup>223</sup> *MGH SS*, 21, 606.

<sup>224</sup> For Baldwin II, count of Hainaut, see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 186–7.

<sup>225</sup> *FC* 363 n. 12; 792 n. 41; 726 n. 13.

<sup>226</sup> *FC* II.ii.5 (360).

<sup>227</sup> *FC* II.iii.3 (363).

<sup>228</sup> *FC* III.xxxix.3 (755).

<sup>229</sup> J. F. Niermeyer, *Medieval Latin Dictionary*, 2 (second edition: Leiden, 2002), 1, 251.

that twenty *clientes* climbed up the walls on rope ladders.<sup>230</sup> There is no doubt these men were combatants, but can a more precise status be determined for them? In the *Gesta Francorum*, which Fulcher tended to follow at this point, one of these soldiers was described as a *serviens*, itself a term open to a variety of interpretations.<sup>231</sup> Other early crusading accounts of the same incident described the first men onto the walls of Antioch as *iuvenes*, that is, in its technical sense of a knight in the early part of his career, someone yet to establish a household.<sup>232</sup>

When, in 1122, Baldwin II learned of incursions near Antioch he hurriedly departed for the city with 300 *milites lectissimi* and 400 *clientes probissimi*.<sup>233</sup> The division of *milites* and *clientes* here is suggestive of the common description of armies as consisting of knights and footsoldiers, but the close proportion between their numbers and the similar epithets indicate that Fulcher had in mind a grouping similar to the *milites* such as squires, *iuvenes* or hired knights; the latter is the view of Hagenmeyer.<sup>234</sup> A sense that Fulcher sometimes used the term *clientela* for hired military forces comes from his report in January 1124, that to raise money for a siege of Tyre and Ascalon, even the valuable ornaments of the Church of Jerusalem were used to obtain credit. Fulcher wrote that a large sum was collected to pay *militia* and *clientela*.<sup>235</sup> Here again the distinction between *clientela* and *clientes* is not consistent. *Clientela* were almost certainly combatants and not baggage handlers in Fulcher's report that in the battle between Baldwin II and Atabeg Tughtigin of Damascus, 25 January 1126, 'our king conducted himself bravely on that day, together with all his *equitatus* and *clientela*.'<sup>236</sup> Similarly, casualties of a successful battle by Joscelin of Edessa against Nūr-ad-Daulah Belek, emir of Aleppo, in early 1124 near Manbij, included 30 *milites* and 60 *pedestris clientela*.<sup>237</sup> Again Fulcher wrote that when Joscelin, count of Edessa and Baldwin II fought Tancred near Edessa, September 1108, 500 of Tancred's *clientela* were killed; such a high figure suggests they

<sup>230</sup> FC I.xvii.5 (232–3).

<sup>231</sup> GF 46; Niermeyer, *Medieval Latin Dictionary*, 2, 1255; J. G. Gavigan, 'The Syntax of the *Gesta Francorum*,' *Language* 19, III (1943), pp. 10–102, here pp. 34–5. See also above p. 19.

<sup>232</sup> RM 800; GP 164–6; RC 654–5.

<sup>233</sup> FC III.xi.4 (649).

<sup>234</sup> FC 649 n. 8.

<sup>235</sup> FC III.xxvii.2 (694).

<sup>236</sup> FC III.l.13 (791): *Optime se habuit rex noster in die illa, cum omni equitatu suo, nec non et clientela*.

<sup>237</sup> FC III.xxxi.4 (725).

were combatants.<sup>238</sup> Although in the first two of these cases, F. R. Ryan, striving for consistency, translated *clientela* as baggage handlers, it seems more likely that Fulcher himself was not rigorous in his application of the term.<sup>239</sup> Other *clientes* displaying military activity were those fifty who were smuggled into Kharput (Hisn Ziyād) to help the escape of Baldwin II and Joscelin of Edessa in August 1123.<sup>240</sup>

Fulcher also seems to have interchanged *clientela* and *clientes* in writing about servants. A Egyptian raid from Cairo that reached as far as Ramleh, 16 May 1102, threatened the bishop, Robert,<sup>241</sup> and the *clientela* who stayed with him in the Church of St George.<sup>242</sup> After the escape from Kharput, Joscelin hid while his *cliens* brought an Armenian farmer back to his lord (*dominus*).<sup>243</sup> This same *cliens* was also described by Fulcher as being Joscelin's *famulus*.<sup>244</sup>

Fulcher's employment of the terms *militēs*, *equites* and *equestres* provides important evidence with regard to the discussion in Chapter Five concerning the social status of knights. It is worth stating here that Fulcher had a relatively strong sense of the existence of a distinct noble class, using the adjective *nobilis* to indicate someone of noble birth. An assessment of Fulcher's concept of nobility can be found in Chapter Seven.

Fulcher of Chartres wrote a succinct accounts of events without significant literary flourishes or extemporisation; nevertheless his work does convey a considerable amount of social information concerning the First Crusade and the early period of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. It is notable that Fulcher had a more sophisticated and consistent vocabulary for the higher social orders than the poor. He was unusual in the early crusading sources in lumping together the non-combatant poor with the footsoldiers as *minores*. Fulcher's interest in writing about the condition of the poor was particularly directed towards illustrating to potential settlers in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem that the lower orders had benefited from their participation in the First Crusade.

<sup>238</sup> FC II.xxviii.4 (480–1).

<sup>239</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *A history of the expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 291 and p. 263.

<sup>240</sup> FC III.xxiii.3 (678); FC III.xxiii.4 (679).

<sup>241</sup> Robert of Rouen, Norman priest and possibly former chaplain to Duke Robert of Normandy, created Bishop of Ramleh soon after its capture by the forces of the First Crusade (3 June 1099). See J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 221.

<sup>242</sup> FC II.xv.3 (426–7).

<sup>243</sup> FC III.xxiv.5 (683).

<sup>244</sup> FC III.xxiv.4 (683).

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE EARLY HISTORIANS

Four histories of the First Crusade were written in the decade following the conquest of Jerusalem by the crusaders, an undertaking that to Christian contemporaries seemed to be the most miraculous deed since the Crucifixion and one that was more glorious than any event of ancient times.<sup>1</sup>

Three of the histories have a very similar provenance, being the work of Benedictine monks from northern France, all basing their accounts on the *Gesta Francorum* and all seeking to improve the original account by writing a more sophisticated and edifying history. These histories were written in the aftermath of a journey by Bohemond, then prince of Antioch, through France in 1105; a tour that A. C. Krey plausibly conjectures led an increase in the circulation of the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>2</sup>

Modern narrative historians have worked hard to glean small amounts of additional information from these histories: extra data that might have been added to the basic text after the author had conversed with returned crusaders. In writing narrative history the eyewitness account is much the more reliable text and there is not a great deal to choose between the three subsequent versions, despite their considerable elaborations on the *Gesta Francorum*. From the point of view of attempting to understand the social dynamics of the First Crusade, however, the additional commentary is extremely important and the fact that each of the authors proves, on investigation, to have a distinct social and theological perspective makes each of them uniquely valuable.

The fourth history under consideration in this chapter was the first to be written and stands quite apart from the others, not least in the fact it was composed at Aachen, in Lotharingia, a part of the kingdom of Germany, rather than France.

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<sup>1</sup> RM 727; GN 86.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Krey, 'A neglected passage in the *Gesta* and its bearing on the literature of the First Crusade', *The Crusades and other historical essays presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. L. J. Pactow (New York, 1928), pp. 57–76.



*The Historia Hierosolymitana of Baldric, Archbishop of Dol*

Baldric was born at Meung-sur-Loire in 1046. He was a monk of the Benedictine monastery of Bourgeuil, becoming abbot of there in 1089. In 1107 he was made Archbishop of Dol, a position he held until his death in 1130.<sup>3</sup> Baldric had a high level of education and extensive knowledge of the classics, reflected in his poetry and hagiography, for which he is better known than his history.<sup>4</sup>

The *Historia Hierosolymitana* was written not long after Baldric's appointment to the Archbishopric of Dol. This is the convincing conclusion of the editors of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, made on the basis of Baldric's dedication of the work to Abbot Peter of Maillezais, himself an *orator* and *viator* of the First Crusade.<sup>5</sup> In reply Peter of Maillezais congratulated Baldric's achievement in becoming a bishop, praise that only seems appropriate if Baldric had been recently raised to that position.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, in his prologue to the work, Baldric claimed to have been writing for nearly sixty years.<sup>7</sup> If his education was similar to that of his friend Orderic Vitalis, he would have been 'taught letters' from the age of five.<sup>8</sup> Even without a certain exaggeration arising from the prestige of being venerable, this would indicate the history was being written before 1111 with Peter's congratulations indicating a date closer to 1107.

There is no modern edition of the *Historia Hierosolymitana*. The 1611 edition in the collection of Jacques Bongars was based upon Paris, B. N. MS latin 5513. This manuscript has been the subject of a study by N. L. Paul, who concluded that it was an untypical version of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* 'redacted to suit the political and commemorative imperatives of the seigneurial family of Amboise'.<sup>9</sup> J. P. Migne reproduced Bongar's edition for volume 166 of the *Patrologia Latina* (1854). The editors of the 1898 fourth volume of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*

<sup>3</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Hierosolymitanae Historiae*, *RHC Oc.* 4, 1–111 (hereafter BD), here iii.

<sup>4</sup> See F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2 (Oxford, 1997), I, 337–348.

<sup>5</sup> BD vi, 5, 8.

<sup>6</sup> BD 7.

<sup>7</sup> BD 10.

<sup>8</sup> OV 6, 550; 6, 551.

<sup>9</sup> N. L. Paul, 'Crusade, memory and regional politics in twelfth-century Amboise', *Journal of Medieval History*, 31.2 (June 2005), pp. 127–41, here p. 127.

considered seven manuscripts for the construction of their text. They recognised the untypical features of MS 5513, producing the best edition to date and the one used by this study. At the time of writing, a research project has been created under Marcus Bull to produce a new edition, which will hopefully appear in due course.

Baldric took the *Gesta Francorum* as the *fons formalis* for his own history. He amended the original text for much the same reasons as those given by Guibert of Nogent and Robert the Monk, namely that the anonymous author was rustic, simple and that as a consequence a noble subject matter had become worthless.<sup>10</sup> The effect of Baldric's rewriting of the *Gesta Francorum* was to expand on the original to make the work more dramatic, richer in detail and, at a cost to historical precision, more favourable to the Christian forces. Baldric was also keen, where opportunity arose, to make the writing more poetic and indeed it was the sound of the concatenation of Baldric's sentences that was singled out for praise by Peter of Maillezais.<sup>11</sup>

The following comparison provides a useful illustration of the relationship of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* to the *Gesta Francorum*. It is the account of cannibalism by the Christian forces at Ma'arra, December 1098.

*Gesta Francorum*: [Some of us] were cutting up the flesh of these [Saracen bodies] for scraps of food, and cooking them in order to eat them.<sup>12</sup>

*Historia Hierosolymitana*: It is recorded and proven that many [of the Christians] touched Turkish flesh, that is, human flesh, which they butchered and roasted with fire, shamelessly biting it. They therefore went out secretly from the city and kindling fires at some distance they cooked it. After devouring their criminal banquets they thus preserved their miserable lives. For all their secrecy, nevertheless word of this spread openly among the army. But since famine was so great, punishment was suspended. The magnates beat their breast but maintained a horrified silence. Nevertheless, their [the cannibal's] behaviour was not imputed criminal since they willingly suffered that hunger for the sake of God and they made war on their enemies with hands and teeth.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> BD 10.

<sup>11</sup> BD 86.

<sup>12</sup> GF 80: *Caedebant carnes eorum per frusta, et coquebant ad manducandum.*

<sup>13</sup> BD 86: *Relatum est enim et compertum quia multi carnes turcinas, carnes scilicet humanas, verutatas et ignibus assas, inverecundis morsibus tetigere... Palam tamen verbum hoc factum est in exercitui; sed quoniam fame praevalebat, ultio suspendebatur. Majores tamen pectus et os percutiebant*

For the terse comment in the *Gesta Francorum*, Baldric substituted not only a more vivid description but also an attempt to absolve the crusaders by representing their cannibalism as a continuation of the Holy War.

The *Historia Hierosolymitana* is a much longer work than the *Gesta Francorum* as a result of these elaborations; the *Gesta* is a little over 20,000 words, the *Historia* 36,000. For a historian attempting to reconstruct a narrative of events these revisions have to be treated extremely carefully. The additional information cannot always be dismissed as imaginative; Baldric himself drew attention in his prologue to the fact that the work as a whole did include new information from returning veterans.<sup>14</sup> It is likely that Baldric had read the work of Raymond of Aguilers and occasionally drew upon information from it to supplement that of the *Gesta Francorum*, the work on which he was otherwise so dependent that the editors of the *RHC* edition did not seek for other written sources that might have informed Baldric's account.<sup>15</sup>

It has also to be borne in mind that Baldric dedicated his history to someone who he knew had been present on the expedition and therefore could not have engaged in completely fanciful invention. In the particular case of the report of cannibalism at Ma'arra, however, the idea that some crusaders were so impoverished that they fought with hands and teeth has enough of an echo of the description of the cannibalism and gnashing of teeth of the *tafurs* in the *Chanson d'Antioche* to cast doubt on it as an example of new material arising from the reports of returning crusaders.<sup>16</sup>

As a classicist Baldric's enrichment of the text of the *Gesta Francorum* is of mixed value. Some of his language for social orders seems to have been chosen to display his powers of rhetoric rather than convey accurate social information. So, for example, Baldric was unique among historians of the First Crusade in referring to its leaders as *patres conscripti*. He was sufficiently attracted to the term that he used it on six

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*at horrentes silebant; nec tamen imputabatur eis pro scelere, quoniam famem illam pro Deo alacriter patiebantur, et inimicis manibus et dentibus inimicabantur.*

<sup>14</sup> BD xi–xii.

<sup>15</sup> A modern editor might be able to identify the written sources used by Baldric other than the *Gesta Francorum*. A possible use of Raymond of Aguilers, for example, is the description of a shower at the start of the battle against Kerbogha, see BD 76, RA 131. At times, also, there seem to be complicated parallels between Baldric's history and Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos*.

<sup>16</sup> CA 4050–4118.

occasions, all of them in passages of *oratio recta*.<sup>17</sup> *Patres conscripti* was a much-used classical term for the senate; Cicero, whose works were to become an essential part of the trivium, made considerable use of it.<sup>18</sup> By Baldric's day, however, the term was an unusual one, Orderic Vitalis, who imported large extracts of Baldric's history verbatim into his own, edited it out of his version of events, probably considering it inappropriate. It is perhaps significant, given that Baldric only ever used the phrase within a passage of *oratio recta*, that an early medieval guide to rhetoric drew attention to two speeches as examples worthy of emulation in which those being addressed were the *patres conscripti*.<sup>19</sup> Its appearance in the *Historia Hierosolymitana* is probably best understood as Baldric displaying his knowledge of classical oratory rather than it being used to convey information about the relationship of the leaders of the First Crusade to their followers.

A similar interpretation should probably be made of the phrase 'Consuls of the Lord' that appears in the opening remarks of a speech by Bohemond before leaving the Christian camp at the siege of Antioch to meet the relieving expedition of Ridwan, emir of Aleppo, and Suqman ibn Ortuq, at the 'Lake battle', 9 February 1098. According to Baldric, Bohemond began by saying, *domini consulares et illustres viri*...<sup>20</sup> Although the term *consules* was evolving to have a contemporary technical meaning, especially in the Italian city states, for example featuring in Caffaro's *Annales Genuenses* for the year 1099,<sup>21</sup> the fact it was employed by Baldric in a rhetorical context indicates that it was more being used to provide a classical flourish to the speech than to indicate anything about the social status of those being addressed. By contrast, when, for example, Fulcher of Chartres reported that King Baldwin I of Jerusalem made an agreement with the *consules* of a Genoese fleet, 25 April 1101, a precise social grouping was meant.<sup>22</sup>

For the social historian Baldric's interpolations can be extremely valuable. Just as with the revisions of the *Gesta Francorum* by Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent, the fleshing out of simple statements into more

<sup>17</sup> BD 44, 44, 49, 49, 53, 99.

<sup>18</sup> See especially Marcus Tullius Cicero, *In Catilinam*, I.2, 4, 11, 12, 13; II.6; IV.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10.

<sup>19</sup> Anon., *Principia Rhetorices*, PL 32, cols. 1439–1449.

<sup>20</sup> BD 46.

<sup>21</sup> Caffaro, 'Annales Ianuenses', ed. L. T. Belgrano, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori* (Rome, 1890), I, 5.

<sup>22</sup> FC II.viii.2 (396–7).

colourful passages by someone with a much richer social vocabulary leads, at the very least, to an insight into the author's understanding of contemporary social relations.

Baldric's theological and social frameworks for his understanding of the importance of the First Crusade were intertwined. This is evidenced by a very interesting report of the speech of the envoys of Raymond of Toulouse at Clermont, shortly after the announcement that Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy, had volunteered to go. 'Behold! God be thanked, two men voluntarily offered to proceed with the Christians on their journey. Behold! Religious and secular power, the clerical *ordo* and the laity, harmonise in order to lead the army of God. Bishop and count, we imagine ourselves like another Moses and Aaron.'<sup>23</sup>

This speech shows Baldric using the social framework of *ordo*, here not quite the famous tripartite division between those who pray, those who fight and those who work, but a bipartite version obtained by referring to the entire laity as one undifferentiated order. It also shows Baldric tentatively engaging with the theological issue of leadership. The reference to Moses and Aaron seems to refer to the Lucan and Gelasian doctrine of the 'two swords', that is, the idea that the world was properly run by two authorities: the sacred authority of the bishop over ecclesiastical matters and the secular authority of the prince over all other forms of government.<sup>24</sup> Baldric indicated here that Count Raymond's envoys were evoking, indirectly, the traditional view of authority. Some contemporary Gregorian reformers, however, who were in favour of a view that the clergy should be considered the 'masters of kings and princes'<sup>25</sup> would not have equated the roles of bishop and count in the manner of Baldric's formulation.<sup>26</sup> Nor, during the First Crusade, was such a division of authority between Bishop Adhémar and Count Raymond ever actually realised.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> BD 16: *Ecce, Deo gratias, jam Christianis ituris, duo ultronei processere viri; ecce sacerdotium et regnum; clericalis ordo et laicalis ad exercitum Dei conducendum concordant. Episcopus et comes, Moysen et Aaron nobis reimaginantur.*

<sup>24</sup> Luke 22:38; Galasius I, *Epistola* 12 (JK 632) ed. A. Thiel, *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae* I (Braunsberg, 1868), p. 350.

<sup>25</sup> Gregory VII.viii.21 (15 March 1081), ed. E. Caspar, Gregory VII, *Registrum, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae selectae* 2, 553; see also I. S. Robinson, *Authority and resistance in the Investiture Contest* (Manchester, 1978).

<sup>26</sup> I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 296–300, 320.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 322–3. See Chapter Eight.

Another key passage that intertwines a distinct theological perspective on the First Crusade with social information was Baldric's observation that 'in that expedition the *duces* themselves fought, the *duces* themselves took watches, so that you would not know a *dux* from a *miles*, or how a *miles* differed from a *dux*. In addition, there was such a community of all things, that hardly anyone designated anything individually to himself, but, just as in the primitive Church, nearly all those things were communal.'<sup>28</sup> Gregorian reformers made much of the notion of the *Ecclesia Primitiva*;<sup>29</sup> here Baldric's desire to portray the First Crusade in the spirit of an imagined age of harmony between the social orders almost certainly was distorting the historical information of the passage. The communal sharing of property was an exaggeration of reports by the eyewitnesses Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers that there did exist a concern to give property to its rightful owners.<sup>30</sup> The social information, however, regarding the relationship between a *dux* and a *miles* is of interest.

There is a speech attributed to Bohemond in the *Gesta Francorum* shortly before the 'Lake battle' in which the anonymous author had Bohemond urge his fellow leaders of the First Crusade that while the footsoldiers should remain to guard the camp, the knights should ride out to meet the enemy. In a key passage for the exposition of his social schema, Baldric of Dol wrote a considerable elaboration of the speech, including the lines: 'For until the *populus Dei* entrust themselves to us we will see many die. How does a *dominus* differ from a *servus*, a *nobilis* from a *plebeius*, *dives* from *pauper*, *miles* from *pedes*, if not that the counsel of us who rule over them should be useful, and our help should protect them?'<sup>31</sup> The sense of the speech is noteworthy, for its message is that good leadership is the best means by which those of the upper half of society can protect those of the lower. This was one of Baldric's major themes and his history utilised every opportunity to emphasise

<sup>28</sup> BD 28: *In ista siquidem expeditione duces ipsi militabant, ipsi duces excubabant, ut nescires quid dux a milite, quid miles differret a duce. Praeterea ibi erat tanta omnium rerum communitas, ut vix aliquis aliquid sibi diceret proprium; sed, sicut in primitiva Ecclesia, ferme illis erant omnia communia.*

<sup>29</sup> G. Miccoli, 'Ecclesiae primitivae forma' *Studi Medievali*, II, 3a (1960), pp. 470–498.

<sup>30</sup> RA 73 (250), FC I.xiii.5 (203).

<sup>31</sup> BD 45–6: *Nam quoad populum Dei qui se nobis commisit, multum mori conspiciamus. Quid differt dominus a servo, nobilis a plebeio, dives a paupere, miles a pedite, nisi nostrum qui praesidemus eis prosit consilium, et patrocinetur auxilium?*

the mutual interest of rich and poor. Several times Baldric described the motive for action of the rich being concern for the poor. This passage also indicates Baldric's awareness of basic bipartite distinctions in society: lord from servant, noble from commoner, rich from poor, knight from footsoldier. These divisions, as we shall see from several examples, Baldric considered to be harmoniously reconciled in the Christian forces of the First Crusade.

Examining Baldric's social vocabulary in more detail gives some greater precision to his outlook. A literal, if unusual, depiction of the lower social orders by Baldric arose through his use of the adjective *deteriores* in his account of the speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont. Baldric, who from the tone of his report is generally considered to have been an eyewitness,<sup>32</sup> described Urban's lament at the state of affairs arising from the pagan subjugation of former Christian lands, where *nos abjectio plebis facti, et omnium deteriores*.<sup>33</sup> Urban, using the language of Psalm 21:7, was emphasising how far Christians had fallen by their having become as abject as *plebs* and all the *deteriores*. Baldric's use of the term *plebs* here is unusual but consistent with his list of bipartite divisions of society, in which he juxtaposed the *plebs* with the *nobiles*. In both cases Baldric, in contrast to the other early crusading historians but in keeping with his classicising bent, was using the term *plebs* for commoners and not simply all of the laity, noble and common.

The division of *nobiles* and *plebs* occurs in a number of other instances in the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, discussed for their understanding of the social status of nobles in Chapter Seven. Here it is worth noting that as Baldric altered his *fons formalis* his conscious intent was to emphasise that it was proper for nobles to exert a paternalistic care for the commoners. When Baldric commented on the motives of the crusade leaders in building a castle at Antioch in the spring of 1098, he explained that the nobility were mercifully concerned to look after the *plebs*.<sup>34</sup> The *plebs* appeared again as a grouping requiring the protection of the mighty (*proceres* and *optimates*) in a sermon given after the capture of Jerusalem. Baldric had the *maiores* deliberate on the need to elect

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<sup>32</sup> F. Duncalf, 'The councils of Piacenza and Clermont', *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Setton, 1 (Madison, 1969), pp. 220–52; D. C. Munro, 'The speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095', *American Historical Review* 11 (1905–6), pp. 231–42; R. Somerville, 'The council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Studia Gratiana* 20 (1976), 323–37.

<sup>33</sup> BD 14.

<sup>34</sup> BD 48.

a ruler in order to provide for the *plebs* that intended to remain. This ruler was to allocate the responsibility of protecting and taking care of the *plebs*.<sup>35</sup> Baldric further used the idea of a basic division between the noble and the commoners in an interesting passage in which Bohemond was given a speech reminding the leaders of the Christian forces of the hardship everyone was suffering. Speaking to the *optimates*, he drew to their attention the plight of the *plebei homines*, only to acknowledge that it was unnecessary to do when even those of illustrious birth (*illustris sanguinis*) were starving.<sup>36</sup>

Other, less significant, passages are consistent with the view that Baldric considered the *plebs* to be commoners. Baldric reported the Norman prince and nephew of Bohemond, Tancred, hid among the *plebs* in order to avoid taking an oath to the Alexios I Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor.<sup>37</sup> The account of the defeat of an expedition from Antioch led by the Provençal knight, Raymond Pilet, 5 July 1098, included the report that many of the fainthearted and *gens plebeia* were killed.<sup>38</sup> This last example was an amendment of the *Gesta Francorum*'s highly unusual term *minuta gens*.<sup>39</sup> A further passage containing a description of the *gens plebeia* was a description of the reaction of the commoners to the preaching of the First Crusade. Baldric described how the *gens plebeia* displayed a cross that because of the presumption of certain foolish women they believed had been created from heaven.<sup>40</sup> He could well have been an eyewitness to such behaviour in the local population, which he considered to be credulous and erroneous. In all these instances the *plebs* were a lowly and somewhat shameful class.

An interesting passage concerning the spirit of common leadership that Baldric imagined to have existed on the First Crusade also showed that Baldric's opinion of the *plebs* was not always a negative one. After commenting on the unheard of nature of the Christian army, which was *sine rege, sine imperatore*, he praised the fact that everyone took responsibility for themselves, supported the common decision of the wise and

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<sup>35</sup> BD 104.

<sup>36</sup> BD 53–4.

<sup>37</sup> BD 25.

<sup>38</sup> BD 82.

<sup>39</sup> GF 74.

<sup>40</sup> BD 17.



praised the resolution of the *plebs*.<sup>41</sup> The passage echoed the Children of Israel in Hosea 3:4,<sup>42</sup> who were also *sine rege, sine principe*.

Shortly before Christmas 1097 the hardship experienced by the Christian forces before Antioch resulted in a decision to send out a detachment in search of supplies. Baldric's account of this period follows the *Gesta Francorum* very closely, but after he reported the announcement of the decision to send out foragers Baldric added the extra observation that naturally, with paternal affection, the *maiores* gave protection to the *minores*.<sup>43</sup> This was the only instance of Baldric's use of the couplet *maiores* and *minores* for the basic bipartite division of noble and commoner. Again the message of the passage was that during the First Crusade the mighty took particular concern for the lowly.

An important term for the poor in Baldric's work was *pauperes*. He used the term several times for those who were in need of assistance from the rich, although with less frequency than Raymond of Aguilers for whom the *pauperes* were not simply those experiencing poverty, but the people chosen by God. In describing the journey of Bohemond's contingent through Greece the *Gesta Francorum* reported that Bohemond called a council to restrain his forces from engaging in plunder.<sup>44</sup> Baldric took the opportunity to compose a speech for Bohemond at this point, in which he gave important social commentary. 'You however, our *proceres*, our *familiares*, who are unencumbered, attend vigilantly to the *pedites*, that they do not falter on the road and wait for them. Go forward as soon as possible and pitch your tents in good time. And those of you who by the grace of God are *opulentiores*, pour out your resources as alms to the *pauperes*. Have God always present before your eyes.'<sup>45</sup> As *pauperes* were coupled with *opulentiores* by Baldric here the meaning of the term as the 'poor' is unambiguous, and a fundamentally bipartite division of society between rich and poor is indicated. Here also Baldric saw it as the responsibility of the wealthy to be charitable to the poor, if for no other reason than such action was meritorious in the eyes of God and would not pass unnoticed. This is a similar theme

<sup>41</sup> BD 9.

<sup>42</sup> Hosea 3.4: ...*sine rege, sine principe*.

<sup>43</sup> BD 42.

<sup>44</sup> GN 8.

<sup>45</sup> BD 22–3: *Vos autem, proceres nostri, familiares nostri, qui expeditores estis, de peditibus vigilantius procurate, et ne deficiant in via, eos expectando maturius procedite, et tentoria vestra tempestive figite. Et quoniam, Deo gratias, opulentiores estis, opes vestras pro eleemosyna pauperibus effundite: Deum ante oculos praesentem semper habete.*

to that in the passage above, in which Baldric had Bohemond refer to the responsibility of the *dives* to the *pauperes* in a list of other bipartite ways of looking at society: *dominus* and *servus*; *nobilis* and *plebs*; *miles* and *pedes*.<sup>46</sup> In this latter case, however, the responsibility was to give leadership rather than charity.

Upon the surrender of Nicea, 19 June 1097, Emperor Alexios I Comnenus was described by Baldric as making a large donation to the *pauperes* of the Christian forces.<sup>47</sup> Baldric also described, however, expressions of discontent among the Christian forces that the city was not given over to plunder. In keeping with his theme of the sharing of resources among the Christian army, Baldric rather optimistically imagined that had this sacking of the city taken place the wealth would have become public property and so alleviated the poverty of the *egeni*, the 'destitute'.<sup>48</sup> The two terms *pauperes* and *egeni* were linked again when, at a council of the princes sometime after the defeat of Kerbogha, 28 June 1098, they resolved, according to Baldric, to show compassion for the *pauperes*,<sup>49</sup> before going on to make an offer to take into service those *egeni* who were fit enough to leave Antioch. This was Baldric's version of an important passage in the *Gesta Francorum* in which the princes had it announced throughout the whole city that if there should be present someone *egens* who wished for gold or silver, the princes would be pleased to make an agreement for their services.<sup>50</sup>

Baldric inherited the use of the term *egeni* for his own version of this offer, adding the detail that the princes said that 'if someone is *egenus* and is a vigorous person, he should join service with us, and we, having bestowed a stipend on each, shall give relief to all. The sick will be nourished at public expense until they get well.'<sup>51</sup> It is clear that for Baldric the offer of the princes was made for the well-being for the poor, with it being proposed that those who were able to do so should leave the city in the following of a prince. While this might well have been the actual content of the offer, the information provided by the *Gesta Francorum* is once again being used to illustrate Baldric's message

<sup>46</sup> BD 46.

<sup>47</sup> BD 30.

<sup>48</sup> BD 30.

<sup>49</sup> BD 80.

<sup>50</sup> GF 72-3.

<sup>51</sup> BD 80; *Si quis egenus est et corpore vegetus, jungatur nobis, et nos omnibus, datis unicuique stipendiis, subsidiabimur; infirmi publica stipe donec convalescerint, sustententur.*

that on the First Crusade the wealthy acted out of concern for the poor, rather than self-interest.

In general Baldric was clearly sympathetic to the position of the poor, who appear in much greater vividness in his work than that of his *fons formalis*. Typically, however, their appearance is as the lowly group to whom charity and concern is offered by their seniors. An implicit tension over property can perhaps still be deduced, especially in Baldric's account of the fall of Jerusalem, where the poor are portrayed in a more assertive manner: free from lordship and paid, rather than commanded, for their work.

The same material concerning the poor also indicates how, in Baldric's version of the Crusade, the princes played a paternalistic role. He also had a few noteworthy social comments concerning the intermediary groupings between the great and the lowly. An interesting theological use of the term *familia*, normally used for the following of a prince, appears in the *Historia Hierosolymitana* in a speech that Baldric attributed to the priests of the Christian army, 15 July 1099, in preparing everyone for the assault on Jerusalem. The entire army, *milites et pedites* were addressed as *familia Christi*.<sup>52</sup> This was an unusual variation of the idea of the *miles Christi*. Grouping the combatants into a *familia* served Baldric's purpose by emphasising the unity of the Crusading army, which in fact was displaying distinct regional tensions at that point.<sup>53</sup>

In other respects Baldric used the term *familiares* straightforwardly for the following of a prince. The one example of an individual being referred to directly as a *familiaris* was a person of relatively high status. The knight Raymond Pilet, who at one point led his own expeditionary force east of Antioch, was described by Baldric, following the *Gesta Francorum*, as one of the *familiares* of Count Raymond of Toulouse.<sup>54</sup> Contemporaries, such as Raymond of Aguilers, saw Raymond Pilet as a *miles nobilissimus*.<sup>55</sup> The other appearances of the term *familiares* in the *Historia Hierosolymitana* are without significance, except perhaps Baldric's amendment to the statement in the *Gesta Francorum* that in the summer and autumn of 1098 the *seniores* left Antioch with an agreement to return in November. Baldric made the alteration that it was

<sup>52</sup> BD 101.

<sup>53</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East. A military history of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 331–2.

<sup>54</sup> BD 81.

<sup>55</sup> RA 253–4.

the '*duces et familiae*' who thus dispersed throughout the neighbouring regions, choosing in his version of the same information to emphasise the presence of a household alongside the senior princes, indicating that he understood it as natural that a noteworthy body of household troops would accompany a leading prince.

Baldric used the term *satellites* in a similar sense to his use of *familiares* with perhaps a slight variation of meaning. The two instances in which he applied the term to Christian forces concerned Tancred. Baldric wrote that having taken up the responsibility of garrisoning a castle south west of Antioch at St George's monastery, 5 April 1098, Tancred's *satellites* watched and blocked the way.<sup>56</sup> The second instance arose soon after the fall of Jerusalem, when Tancred and Count Eustace of Boulogne took many *satellites* and *clientes* to Nablus.<sup>57</sup> It is possible that whereas Baldric thought it appropriate to use the term *familiares* for the members of the household of a very senior and long established prince, he preferred *satellites* for the status of those recently attached to Tancred, a knight still in the early stage of his career whose following was established during the course of the First Crusade. Orderic Vitalis, a contemporary and friend of Baldric, showed that *satellites* could be distinguished from *equites*. Orderic used the term *satellites* in a manner that suggested, in equipment at least, they were slightly inferior to *equites* when he wrote of *loricati equites ac spiculati satellites*.<sup>58</sup> The knights had breastplates, the followers javelins.

Baldric's contribution to the discussion of the social status of *militēs* is important and the relevant material from his history is discussed in Chapter Five. Those individuals assigned the epithet *miles* by Baldric were Robert of Flanders, a *miles audacissimus* and in all respects a *miles expeditissimus*;<sup>59</sup> Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia, a *miles acerrimus*;<sup>60</sup> Robert fitz-Gerard, the constable to Bohemond, a *miles audacissimus*;<sup>61</sup> Raymond Pilet;<sup>62</sup> Tancred, a *princeps et miles strenuus* and a *miles acerrimus*;<sup>63</sup> Achard

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<sup>56</sup> BD 52.

<sup>57</sup> BD 105. For Eustace III, count of Boulogne see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 193.

<sup>58</sup> OV 8, 14.

<sup>59</sup> BD 28, 35.

<sup>60</sup> BD 34.

<sup>61</sup> BD 47. For Robert fitz-Gerard see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 221.

<sup>62</sup> BD 81.

<sup>63</sup> BD 33, 75, 108.

of Montemerle, twice referred to as a *miles audacissimus*<sup>64</sup> and Letold of Tournai.<sup>65</sup> Clearly senior leaders of the First Crusade were included in the category of *miles*, but in the interesting passage noted above about the divine nature of the Christian army Baldric made it clear that at the same time he retained a notion that in wider society the *duces* were a social grouping distinct from the *milites*. 'In that expedition the *duces* themselves fought, the *duces* themselves took watches, so that you would not know a *dux* from a *miles*, or how a *miles* differed from a *dux*.'<sup>66</sup> Baldric saw the blurring of distinction between *miles* and *dux* as untypical of his day.

A curious division of the social groupings present at the siege of Antioch involves the term *miles*. When, 9 February 1098, the knights departed from the Christian camp to fight the 'Lake Battle', Baldric wrote that everyone became anxious. 'No one was confident in himself, neither the priest, nor the woman, nor the *populus*, nor the *miles*.'<sup>67</sup> There is an echo here of the famous three orders based on function with the *populus* substituted for *laboratores*. Baldric also found the distinct presence of women was sufficiently notable that they too merited mention as a distinct category.

The phrase *milites Christi* occurs several times in the *Historia Hierosolymitana* and was clearly theologically laden, rather than a method of identification.<sup>68</sup> This is most evident with regard to the speeches that Baldric attributed to Bohemond in which the Norman prince addressed his fellows as *milites Christi*. As the Italian contingent marched through Greece in the winter of 1096 they were warned by Bohemond not to plunder their fellow Christians, according to the report in the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>69</sup> Baldric used the report to imagine the actual speech of Bohemond, in which he attributed to him the statement that 'we are pilgrims for God, we are *Christi milites*.'<sup>70</sup>

Another speech by Bohemond, in Baldric's version of events, also addressed the *Christi milites* as did the *maiores* of the army on one further occasion.<sup>71</sup> These instances are clearly different from the *duo*

<sup>64</sup> BD 99.

<sup>65</sup> BD 102. For Letold of Tournai see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 215.

<sup>66</sup> BD 28: *In ista siquidem expeditione duces ipsi militabant, ipsi duces excubabant, ut nescires quid dux a milite, quid miles differret a duce.*

<sup>67</sup> BD 46: *Neuter de se confidebat, nec sacerdos, nec mulier; nec populus, nec miles.*

<sup>68</sup> For *milites Christi* see above p. 20.

<sup>69</sup> GF 8.

<sup>70</sup> BD 22: *Peregrini pro Deo sumus, Christi milites sumus.*

<sup>71</sup> BD 34, 42.

*milites Christiani* who were killed by Turkish raiders from the castle of Harem early in the siege of Antioch. The *milites Christi* addressed in the speeches were ‘pilgrims for God’; those killed in the raid were two from the Christian forces. The more theological, Gregorian, sense of the special relationship with God of the knight on crusade was present in Baldric’s account of the election of Duke Godfrey to the rule of Jerusalem, 23 July 1099, where the assembly told Godfrey ‘you will be a *miles Dei*.’<sup>72</sup>

Baldric’s preferred term for the leading nobles of the First Crusade was *optimates*, which he favoured over that used by his *fons formalis*: *seniores*. For example, the *Gesta Francorum* reported a speech of Bohemond to the other Christian princes as beginning: *Seniores et prudentissimi milites*.<sup>73</sup> Baldric adjusted the same speech to begin: *Optimates et domini*.<sup>74</sup> The term *seniores*, which was common in the *Gesta Francorum*, was consistently edited out of his own history by Baldric. *Seniores* appears just once in the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, surviving in the address of Bohemond to the other princes shortly before the capture of Antioch.<sup>75</sup> Baldric’s preference for *optimates* over *seniores* almost certainly reflected a geographical difference between the terminology used for magnates in northern France and southern Italy.

Baldric of Dol is a relatively neglected source for the First Crusade; his work lacks a modern edition and translation. Undoubtedly this is because the vast majority of actual historical material in the *Historia Hierosolymitana* came from the *Gesta Francorum*. Baldric’s history, however, merits analysis in its own right for the theological and classical perspectives that Baldric offers on the First Crusade. As a source of information concerning the events of the expedition it is limited; as a source for how a senior member of the northern French clergy framed their understanding of the First Crusade some ten years later it is extremely rich. In the process of investigating Baldric’s language of social class his major themes can be seen, namely the parallel between the Children of Israel and the participants of the First Crusade; their behaviour mirroring that of the primitive Church; the responsibility of the seniors to the poor and as a result the harmony that existed between the social classes.

<sup>72</sup> BD 105: ‘*esto miles Dei*.’

<sup>73</sup> GF 30.

<sup>74</sup> BD 42.

<sup>75</sup> BD 54.

*The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*

Although the *Historia Iherosolimitana* was popular in the medieval period, with around a hundred surviving manuscripts, there is no modern edition. In large part this is because the vast majority of the historical information in the work was based on a rewriting of the *Gesta Francorum* and modern historians have naturally favoured the eyewitness account. Its fall from favour has been relatively recent. An edition of the *Historia Iherosolimitana* appeared as early as 1492 in Cologne, it was printed in Basle in 1533 and Frankfurt-am-Main in 1584.<sup>76</sup> It was included in Jacques Bongars' important 1611 collection of crusading accounts and was printed in the *Patrologia Latina* series in 1844 by J. P. Migne.<sup>77</sup> The most recent edition, however, was that published in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* series in 1866.<sup>78</sup> This edition is not ideal, as it lists just twenty-four of the surviving manuscripts, nevertheless it is used here.<sup>79</sup> The manuscript used as the base text for the *RHC* edition was Paris, B. N. MS latin 5129, a twelfth century manuscript from Reims.<sup>80</sup>

The *Historia Iherosolimitana* was written by a monk, Robert, who, apart from his testimony that he was present at the Council of Clermont, 18–28 November 1095,<sup>81</sup> was not an eyewitness to the events he described. He worked from a monastery in the episcopate of Reims. This might well have been the Benedictine abbey of St-Rémi in the city itself, given that the abbey was large institution with a high reputation in the twelfth century. Although some scholars have identified Robert the monk with an Abbot Robert of St-Rémi, d. 1122, the most recent study of the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, the English translation by Carol Sweetenham, points out that the abbot's chequered career, the basic style of the text and, particularly, the fact that Robert the historian says he was writing *per obedientiam* of his abbot, makes the connection unlikely.<sup>82</sup>

There is no internal evidence in the text for even an approximate date of composition, but based on the probable use of Robert's work

<sup>76</sup> *RHC Oc.* 3, 719–20.

<sup>77</sup> J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611); *PL*, 155, 669–758.

<sup>78</sup> *RHC Oc.* 3, 717–882.

<sup>79</sup> *RM* xlviii–l.

<sup>80</sup> *RM* l.

<sup>81</sup> *RM* 725.

<sup>82</sup> Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade*, trans. C. Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 3–4.

in the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/8, a plausible suggestion is 1106.<sup>83</sup> This would place Robert's work in chronological proximity to that of the two other rewritings of the *Gesta Francorum* in northern France, those of Guibert, abbot of Nogent, c. 1109 and Baldric, bishop of Dol, c. 1107. If A. C. Krey's conjecture that Bohemond's tour of France in 1105 led to an increase in the circulation of the *Gesta Francorum* was correct, then this would also fit with Robert having started his own version soon after.<sup>84</sup>

Robert was heavily dependent on the *Gesta Francorum* for the basic form of his history and for most of its content. His reworking of the *Gesta Francorum*, however, introduced new material and significant elaborations. Where the *Gesta Francorum* is some 20,000 words long, the *Historia Iherosolimitana* is around 35,000. There is a certain amount of historical information in the text that is original to Robert. This might well be valuable eyewitness testimony from returning crusaders, but any such genuine material has to be reconstructed to free it from the distorting effect of the strong theological lens through which Robert viewed his *fons formalis*.

Robert made his outlook clear in the prologue of the *Historia Iherosolimitana* when he wrote that just as Moses held the principal place among historians of the Old and New Testament due to his description of the beginning of the world, so the historian who embarked on writing about the journey to Jerusalem must be pleasing to God, for this, with the exception of the martyrdom of Christ, was the most miraculous undertaking since the creation of the world.<sup>85</sup> Throughout his work Robert therefore underlined both the heroic achievements of the Christian forces and that they were performing the work of God. The speeches that Robert gave to the leaders of the First Crusade were particularly adapted to this purpose. So, for example, Bohemond's negotiations with Firuz, the warden of three towers along the walls Antioch, which eventually led to the Christian forces being let into the city, 3 June 1098, are considerably reworked from the account of the

<sup>83</sup> G. Constable, 'The Place of the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/08 in the History of Eastern Germany and of the Crusades,' *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70 Geburtstag* ed. F. J. Felten and N. Jaspert (Berlin 1999), pp. 283–300. See also *Robert the Monk*, trans. C. Sweetenham, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> A. C. Krey, 'A neglected passage in the *Gesta* and its bearing on the literature of the First Crusade', *The Crusades and other historical essays presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. L. J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 57–76.

<sup>85</sup> RM 723.



*Gesta Francorum*, through new passages of *oratio recta*. These additional speeches completely avoided mention of the offer by Bohemond to make Firuz rich,<sup>86</sup> but instead took the form of a theological debate during which Bohemond had to seek the assistance of his chaplain to explain certain miracles.<sup>87</sup>

For a study of the social classes of the First Crusade, Robert's reworking of the *Gesta Francorum* is of considerable value. Robert had a richer social vocabulary than the anonymous author and in revising what he felt to be a crudely written work, as part of his attempt to give more details and a greater theological meaning to the history, he gave descriptions of social textures that are lacking in his main source. While Robert was not an eyewitness to the events of the First Crusade, his social commentary can be taken as that of a contemporary. To illustrate the difference between the social and historical information available in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* it is helpful to take an example.

An embassy sent by al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt arrived at the crusader camp outside of Antioch in early spring, 1098. This was an opportunity for Robert to describe a vivid scene in which the *iuventus* displayed their riding prowess by exercising at quintain and other sports, while the elders sat together.<sup>88</sup> With Robert as the only source for this activity by the *iuventus* it cannot be relied upon as historical information. But the passage does show Robert's awareness of the *iuventus* as a social grouping with their own particular activities and characteristics. It is in this latter sense that he can be treated as an important witness for the social dynamics of his era, and, with care, of the First Crusade.

In a useful passage that outlines how Robert understood the divisions in his society, he wrote about the assembling of people to Bohemond's contingent of the First Crusade. 'Therefore the *optimates* of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily hearing that Bohemond had taken up the cross of the journey of the Holy Sepulchre all gathered to him, and both the *mediocres* and the *potentes*, both the old and the young, both *servi* and *domini* pledged themselves to the way of the Holy Sepulchre.'<sup>89</sup> These couplets indicate a basic bipartite division of society, with equivalent

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<sup>86</sup> GF 44.

<sup>87</sup> RM 796–8.

<sup>88</sup> RM 791.

<sup>89</sup> RM 742: *Audientes igitur optimates Apuliae, et Calabriae, et Siciliae, quod Boamundus crucem viae Sancti Sepulcri suscepit, omnes ad eum conflunt, et tam mediocres quam potentes, senes quam iuvenes, servi quam domini, viam Sancti Sepulcri promittunt.*

terms: *potentes* and *domini*, *mediocres* and *servi*. Although the term *mediocres* could be used for a middle class,<sup>90</sup> it also could be used for persons of lower means.<sup>91</sup> It is the latter sense that seems more appropriate here as the term is juxtaposed with the *potentes*. *Servi* was also a term that covered a wide range of social status, from slave through serf to a personal servant who could be of relatively high position. Here, the juxtaposition with *domini* and the association with *mediocres* suggests ‘servants.’

While Robert was not here using the term *servi* for slaves, he did make reference to the practice of slavery during the First Crusade. On the fall of Jerusalem at the Temple of Solomon many of the young, both male and female, were spared so as to be sold into slavery.<sup>92</sup> The next day, those on the roof of the Temple were slaughtered. Again, Robert reported, many of them were spared to servitude.<sup>93</sup> Some of those on the roof preferred to meet with swift death than to die slowly from the wretched yoke of slavery.<sup>94</sup> This comment from Robert contradicts some of the eyewitness reports of the total annihilation of the population, but, as modern historians have pointed out, claims that the entire non-Christian population of the city were killed were not in fact correct.<sup>95</sup> Several times Robert used the theologically conventional phrase *servus Dei* to indicate that he saw the entirety of the Christian forces as being *servi* of the Lord.<sup>96</sup>

There is a sense in Robert’s work that all the events of the First Crusade were a fulfilment of biblical prophecies and that to some extent the entire expedition were the ‘humble.’ After his description of the battle of Dorylaeum, 1 July 1097, Robert exulted in his report of the extent of captured booty, ‘indeed those of His people desiring food He filled with good things, those *divites* not of His people He sent away empty. He has deposed *potentes* and elevated *humiles*. *Potentes* cast down,

<sup>90</sup> See below pp. 83–4.

<sup>91</sup> J. F. Niermeyer, *Medieval Latin Dictionary*, 1, 870.

<sup>92</sup> RM 868.

<sup>93</sup> RM 869.

<sup>94</sup> RM 869.

<sup>95</sup> S. D. Goitein, ‘Contemporary Letters on the Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders’, *The Journal of Jewish Studies*, 3, No. 4, 1952, pp. 162–177; D. Hay, ‘Gender Bias and Religious Intolerance in Accounts of the “Massacres” of the First Crusade’, in *Tolerance and Intolerance—Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. M. Gervers and J. M. Powell (New York, 2001), pp. 3–10; J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 355–6. For a discussion of the massacre at Jerusalem see below pp. 153–7.

<sup>96</sup> RM 817, 821, 822, 868.

*humiles* gloriously restored.<sup>97</sup> This passage was drawn from the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:52–3) and cast the entire crusading body in the position of the humble, who have overthrown the Turkish *potentes* and become elevated. It was more a theological point than a social one and this sense there are echoes of the similar way in which Raymond of Aguilers sometimes put the entire expedition into the category of *pauperes*.

Robert achieved a similar effect through an unconventional use of the term *minores* in a passage in which he praised the success of the crusade in obtaining the submission of Arab towns. He wrote that since the *principes* who normally directed the people were far away, the Lord began to overcome even the kings themselves through the *pauciores* and *minores*.<sup>98</sup> This is an unusual use of the term *minores* as it embraces the entirety of those present on the First Crusade rather than being the lesser part of a body of the bipartite division *maiores et minores*. Here, as with *humiles* above, Robert was portraying the entire expedition as being modest and humble enough that it should receive success through divine intervention rather than the support of kings.

As an eyewitness to the Council of Clermont Robert's report on the speech of Urban II that launched the crusade is one of the key accounts. He wrote that one of the points made by Urban was that 'the *diores* should give assistance to the *inopes*'.<sup>99</sup> The bipartite division between rich and poor is clear, what is inconclusive is whether the pope at the time of his speech anticipated a strong response from the *inopes* and made provision for them. A letter written later by Urban II as the momentum for the crusade was gathering strongly discouraged non-combatants from joining the expedition, suggesting that such was not his intention.<sup>100</sup> Robert may have rewritten the pope's speech in the light of his later knowledge that a large body of poor did in fact undertake the crusade.

Robert the Monk was more attentive to the presence of the *pauperes* on the First Crusade than was the anonymous author of his *fons formalis*. His descriptions of the *pauperes*, however, follow the *Gesta Francorum* in that they largely appear as a passive body of people requiring sustenance from the wealthy. After fall of Nicea, the Byzantine emperor, Alexios

<sup>97</sup> RM 764.

<sup>98</sup> RM 854–5.

<sup>99</sup> RM 729: *Diores inopibus subveniant*.

<sup>100</sup> Letter of pope Urban II to the people of Bologna: Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 137–8.

I Comnenus, instructed a payout of lavish alms to the *pauperes*.<sup>101</sup> As a result of the booty acquired at the battle of Dorylaeum, says Robert, those who were *pauperes* were made *divites*; those who were before semi-nude were being clothed in silk garments.<sup>102</sup> As an eyewitness to the setting forth of the crusade, Robert's description that some of the *pauperes* were semi-nude might have some value, even allowing for exaggeration in order to emphasise the impact of the captured booty for the expedition.

In describing the effect of famine in the winter of 1097 while the crusade was besieging Antioch, Robert emphasised the hardship of the entirety of the Christian forces by saying that it was hardly surprising that those of poor and feeble spirits wavered when even the staunchest faltered.<sup>103</sup> When the herald of al-Afdal, vizier of Cairo, came to the camp of the crusaders at the siege of Antioch, Robert elaborated on the *Gesta Francorum* by reporting the details of the offer that the envoy is supposed to have made. The proposal was to allow the Christians to travel and worship at Jerusalem with great honour, provided that they travelled as unarmed pilgrims. Moreover, they would be endowed with rich property so that from *pedites* they would be made *equites*. Those who were *pauperes* would be provided both for the journey and their return.<sup>104</sup> The important offer to make *equites* from *pedites* is discussed in Chapter Five, but here the passage illustrates Robert's picture of the expedition: that there was a fundamental division between the combatants and the non-combatants. He also clearly believed that the latter, the *pauperes*, wished above all to be relieved from want.

Robert slightly reworked the very important eulogy to Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, the papal legate, in the *Gesta Francorum*. 'Everyone lamented [the death of Adhémar], rightly as was due, because he was the counsellor of the *divites*, comforter of the grieving, sustainer of the weak, treasurer of the needy, reconciler of the quarrelling. He was accustomed to say this to the *milites*: "If you wish to be triumphant and the friends of God, guard cleanliness of the body, and feel pity for the *pauperes*."' <sup>105</sup> Here, Robert retained the idea that the *milites* could

<sup>101</sup> RM 758.

<sup>102</sup> RM 764.

<sup>103</sup> RM 781.

<sup>104</sup> RM 791.

<sup>105</sup> RM 839: *Hunc omnes iure debito lacrymabantur, quia consilium erat divitum, consolator moerentium, sustentator debilium, thesaurus indigentium, reconciliator discordantium. His militibus*

themselves earn the favour of God by assisting the *pauperes*, an idea that was changed in the version of the passage written by Peter Tudebode.

The day before the storming of Jerusalem, reported Robert, the Christian forces celebrated by fasting and distributed alms to the *pauperes*.<sup>106</sup> Finally, on the fall of Jerusalem, ‘then [Jerusalem] enriched her sons, coming from afar [Isa 60:4], so that no one in her remained a *pauper*.’<sup>107</sup> This passage is more theological and literary than historical, although the information it does convey is consistent with other sources, which indicate that the *pauperes* gained considerable property on the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>108</sup> But its main message, echoing Chapter 60 of Isaiah, was that the journey of the *pauperes* had culminated in a glorious conclusion and that they had obtained their just reward. Again the fulfilment of biblical prophecy seems to have been uppermost in the historian’s mind.

The term *plebs* occurs twice in the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in both cases when Robert was writing in a lyrical mode and a theological context. After Jerusalem had fallen he wrote that the humble Christian *plebs* humbly worshiped Christ.<sup>109</sup> Before the battle of Ascalon the *plebs* marched out from the church and ran to arms and despite their fasting proceeded to the enemy.<sup>110</sup> The context suggests that Robert was using the term *plebs* to indicate the entirety of the Christian people, intentionally emphasising unanimity, rather than for just the commoners.

As can be seen from the other early crusading histories, *clientes* was a term that could cover a wide variety of meanings, from relatively senior vassals, footsoldiers or lowly servants. For Robert, who used the term *clientes* just once, it is clear that the term meant squires. In a passage concerning the fighting that flared up between the forces of Duke Godfrey and Alexios I Comnenus, the Byzantine emperor at the end of May 1097, Robert wrote that when Godfrey began to send his *clientes* to acquire necessary provisions the Emperor commanded his Turcopoles

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*dicere solitus erat: ‘Si vultis esse triumphatores et amici Dei, munditiam corporum custodite, et pauperum miseremini.’*

<sup>106</sup> RM 866.

<sup>107</sup> RM 868: *Tunc quippe filios suos, de longe ad se venientes, ita ditavit quia nullus in ea pauper remansit.*

<sup>108</sup> For a discussion of the *pauperes* and the fall of Jerusalem see below pp. 153–7.

<sup>109</sup> RM 869.

<sup>110</sup> RM 873.

and Patzinaks to attack them.<sup>111</sup> This is an amendment of the *Gesta Francorum*, which described the same people as squires (*armigeri*),<sup>112</sup>

While most of the eight historians examined here tended to understand the *miles* as a knight, a warrior with a certain social status, the same term for Robert could be employed more broadly. This is fully discussed in Chapter Five, but it is worth noting here that it is those passages in the *Historia* in which Robert was making a theological point that the term *milites* was used for soldiers in a broad sense rather than knights in particular. In particular it is formulations like *milites Christi* and *milites Dei*, which had a Biblical resonance, echoing St Paul's second letter to Timothy, that are more likely to have meant 'soldier' of Christ or God rather than 'knight'.<sup>113</sup>

Robert was clearly very aware of the class of knights, often young in age but not necessarily so, who had yet to establish themselves as heads of independent households and were termed *iuvenes*.<sup>114</sup> His is perhaps the richest history with regard to their actions and the relevant material is examined in Chapter Six below.

The *Historia Iherosolimitana* employed a wide range of terms for the higher social order: *consules*, *ditiores*, *divites*, *principes*, *domini*, *maiores*, *optimates*, *potentes*, *seniors* and *proceres*. The nuances of these are discussed in Chapter Seven, but it worth noting here that as with the other variations of the *Gesta Francorum*, once a writer with a more sophisticated vocabulary turned to the material provided by the anonymous author, the depiction of the upper classes of the First Crusade becomes considerably more textured.

Robert the Monk's most important contribution to an understanding of the social dynamics of the First Crusade was his enrichment of the raw material provided by the *Gesta Francorum*, particularly his descriptions of the activities of the *iuvenes* which allow the modern historian to identify a distinct layer of knights, which must have existed in society around him. In other respects his departures from his *fons formalis* seem to be exaggerations to suit a theological purpose, namely to portray the First Crusade as the greatest event since creation. As shall be seen in Chapter Five though, in his acceptance of the reports

<sup>111</sup> RM 743.

<sup>112</sup> GF 6.

<sup>113</sup> 2 Tim 2.3: *labora sicut bonus miles Christi Iesu*. For *milites Christi* see above p. 20.

<sup>114</sup> For a full discussion of the category *iuvenes* and their role on the First Crusade see below Chapter Six.

in the *Gesta Francorum* that *miles* fell to the state of *pedes* and that *pedes* could be promoted to *miles* he did, however, provide corroboration for the relative fluidity of those boundaries.

### *Guibert of Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos*

Guibert, abbot of Nogent, is the best known of the early crusading historians, largely because he wrote an autobiography so vivid that it has drawn a great deal of attention from those interested in the psychology of the Middle Ages.<sup>115</sup> Born near Beauvais around the year 1060, to parents of whose nobility he never ceased to be proud, Guibert entered the abbey of St Germer de Fly, where he obtained a relatively sophisticated education and was attracted to the *verba dulcia* of Ovid and Virgil.<sup>116</sup> In 1104 he obtained the position of abbot at the Benedictine monastery of Nogent-sous-Coucy that he held until his death in 1124.

He was a prolific writer, many of whose works have survived, most focused on theological issues.<sup>117</sup> To a large extent Guibert's history of the First Crusade can be seen as being shaped by religious concerns.<sup>118</sup> In common with Robert the Monk and Baldric of Dol, Guibert wrote the *Gesta Dei per Francos* based on a reworking of the material in the *Gesta Francorum*. Written with the intention of providing many edifying passages for the reader, however, the work has many commentaries, observations, reports of visions and miracles which means that, unlike

<sup>115</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. E.-R. Labande (Paris, 1981); J. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1064–c. 1125)* (New York, 1970); J. Benton, 'The personality of Guibert of Nogent,' *Psychoanalytical Review*, 57, 4 (1970), pp. 563–86; C. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050–1200* (London, 1972), pp. 83–5; M. D. Coupe, 'The personality of Guibert of Nogent Reconsidered,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), pp. 317–29; Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, 2002).

<sup>116</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, I. 17.

<sup>117</sup> *Quo ordine sermo fieri debeat*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CC 127, 47–63; *Moralium Geneseos libri decem*, PL 156, cols. 032–337; *Tropologiae in prophetas Osee, Amos ac Lamentationes Jeremiae*, PL 156, cols. 337–488; *Tractatus de Incarnatione contra Judaeos*, PL 156, cols. 489–528; *Epistola de buccella Judae data et de veritate dominici Corporis*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CC 127, 65–77; *De laude sanctae Mariae libex*, PL 156, cols. 537–578; *De virginitate opusculum*, PL 156, cols. 579–608; *De pignoribus sanctorum libri quatuor*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CC 127, 79–175.

<sup>118</sup> J. Charaud, 'La conception de l'historien de Guibert de Nogent', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 8 (1965), pp. 381–95; J. G. Schenk, *The Use of Rhetoric, Biblical Exegesis and Polemic in Guibert of Nogent's 'Gesta Dei per Francos'* (unpublished Masters thesis: TCD, 2001).

the works of Robert and Baldric, it diverges considerably in structure and in content from the *Gesta Francorum*. Guibert also incorporated more historical material into the work than either of the other two northern French historians, both concerning the departure of the expedition, to which he was an eyewitness, and from the testimony of those who had returned from the expedition.

There are five editions of the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, the most recent being the exemplary modern edition by R. B. C. Huygens, 1976, which is used here.<sup>119</sup> The Huygens edition is a modern reconstruction of the text on the basis of eight surviving full manuscripts and other manuscripts that contain extracts from the *Gesta Dei per Francos*.<sup>120</sup> Huygens recognised that the manuscript traditions of the work divided into two branches and that there was a need for a modern edition given that the edition for the series *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* was based on the branch that was further away from the archetype.<sup>121</sup> From the references in the text to a number of individuals and our knowledge of their careers from other sources, Huygens argued that the date of composition of the archetype was probably 1109.<sup>122</sup> The strongest evidence in this regard is that Guibert wrote that the death of Gervase of Bazoches, who was killed in May 1108, took place 'last year'.<sup>123</sup>

The fact that Guibert held strong opinions and enjoyed polemics makes him a valuable source of social history. Guibert interrupted his narrative to engage in theological debate and commentary more than any other early source for the First Crusade. This resulted in passages full of social information; such as his report that after the death of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, the papal legate, 1 August 1098, 'there began to arise amongst the *principes* quite frequent arguments and insolent behaviour, and especially among the *mediocres* and *vulgares* licentiousness, which it was by no means fitting that it should take place... Therefore while they obeyed no one single ruler and all things

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<sup>119</sup> J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611); Dom. L. D'Achery, *Venerabilis Guiberti abbatis B. Mariae de Novigento opera omnia* (Paris, 1651), pp. 367–453; PL 156 (Paris, 1853), cols. 679B–834A; *RHC Oc.* 4, 117–260; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CC LXXVIIa, (Turnhout, 1996), hereafter GN. For a discussion of these editions see GN 18–23.

<sup>120</sup> GN 24.

<sup>121</sup> GN 24–5.

<sup>122</sup> GN 51–56.

<sup>123</sup> GN 349–50. See also J. Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 95–6. For Gervase of Bazoches, lord of Tiberias see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2000), p. 201.



were regarded as equal among them and very often while the desire of the people (*libido vulgi*) prevailed, judgments that were inappropriate were made among them.<sup>124</sup>

This passage not only reveals Guibert's aristocratic disdain for the lower social orders, but an interesting social schema. Guibert had a tripartite view of society, but not the famous division of the 'three orders': the *bellatores*, *oratores* and *laboratores*.<sup>125</sup> For Guibert the divisions of society were hierarchical, not functional: *principes*, *mediocres*, *minores*. This schema was made clear by a speech by Bohemond to other leaders during the siege of Antioch, May 1098, Guibert had the Norman prince refer to 'all of our people, *magni*, *minores*, and *mediocres*.'<sup>126</sup> It is Guibert's use of the term *mediocres* that is distinctive here. The notion of the 'middle rank', the *mediocres*, was not a common one in the early twelfth century. It was not used in the Vulgate and nor did it fit comfortably with the division of society into three orders based on their profession. The Church Fathers, Bishop Ambrose of Milan and Augustine of Hippo, spread the use of *mediocres* as a social term in the fourth century and while it was subsequently part of the vocabulary of medieval writers, it was not used with any great popularity, except by Rabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda and the leading scholar of the early ninth century.<sup>127</sup>

The richness of Guibert's social vocabulary led to his coining new phrases. In explaining that the desire to take up the cross reached to the very bottom of the social structure, Guibert devised the unique phrase *homines extremæ vulgaritatis*. So, for example, he noted that 'the men of the furthest level of the *vulgi*' were taking up the crusade.<sup>128</sup> In his description of the praiseworthy behaviour of King Baldwin I, who would not have a prisoner wounded in order to study the treatment of his own condition, Guibert had Baldwin declare that he would not

<sup>124</sup> GN 262: *Cepere inter principes similtates aliquotiens ac insolentiae oboriri, apud mediocres preterea et vulgares licentiae quas non omnino deceret haberi... Dum ergo nemini singulariter parent et universa inter eos estimantur equalia, fiebant sepius, dum vulgi libido prevalet, apud ipsos minus apta iudicia.*

<sup>125</sup> See G. Duby, *The three orders, Feudal Society Imagined* (London, 1980).

<sup>126</sup> GN 201: *Cunctisque personis magnorum, minorum atque mediocrum...*

<sup>127</sup> A conclusion reached by examining the pattern of usage of the term by the authors in the *Patrologia Latina* database. For Rabanus Maurus' use of *minores*, *mediocres*, *summi vires* see PL 112, col. 961D.

<sup>128</sup> GN 300.

be the cause of the death of any man, not even a man of the lowest condition of all, *hominum deterrimae omnium conditionis*.<sup>129</sup>

When the *Gesta Francorum* reported that Roger I of Sicily lost his army at Amalfi because most of the *mīlites* there joined with Bohemond, Guibert wrote instead that Roger lost 'people of all sorts,' *omnimodī gentium*. Other rare terms for types of person in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* include *personae dignitatis*;<sup>130</sup> *personae opulentes*;<sup>131</sup> and *personae spectabiles*;<sup>132</sup> persons of dignity, wealth and importance. Guibert had a strong sense of *ordo*. He reported that many of the 'illustrious orders' *inclyti ordines* departed on the crusade.<sup>133</sup> In praising his friend, an *eques*, Matthew, Guibert wrote that 'of all his *ordo*', *pre omnibus suae ordinis*, he had the most impressive moral conduct.<sup>134</sup>

In his eulogy to Adhémar Guibert wrote that everyone, of whatever *ordo*, mourned him<sup>135</sup> and in his description of the entourage of Count Stephen of Blois at Constantinople in 1101 Guibert reported that there were many worthies of all *ordines*.<sup>136</sup> Three times Guibert wrote of the 'knightly order', *ordo equestris*.<sup>137</sup> As the abbot of a monastery Guibert also used the term *ordo* not in its social sense but with respect to the need for proper order within the monastic discipline. In describing how Peter the Hermit attempted to abandon the expedition at Antioch, early in 1098, Guibert directly addressed Peter, pointing out that his behaviour did not comply with the monastic *ordo*.<sup>138</sup>

At times, however, Guibert's sense that the First Crusade was an important event that echoed the journey of the Children of Israel, led him to portray it as an occasion where harmony overcame social tension. At one point Guibert wrote that in the army of the *iter Dei*,<sup>139</sup> 'no *servus* had to look up to the *dominus*, nor the *dominus* claim anything from the *famulus* except brotherhood.'<sup>140</sup> In the same theme Guibert wrote that

<sup>129</sup> GN 287.

<sup>130</sup> GN 312.

<sup>131</sup> GN 225.

<sup>132</sup> GN 111.

<sup>133</sup> GN 133.

<sup>134</sup> GN 198. For Matthew see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 215.

<sup>135</sup> GN 246.

<sup>136</sup> GN 314.

<sup>137</sup> GN 87, 323, 344.

<sup>138</sup> GN 180.

<sup>139</sup> GN 118.

<sup>140</sup> GN 312: *...ut non respectaret servus ad dominum, nec dominus nisi fraternitatem usurparet in famulum.*

on the expedition, ‘without prince, without king’, (Hosea 3:4) under God only, both the *parvus* and the *magnus* learned to carry the yoke.<sup>141</sup> This was his one use of the couplet *parvus et magnus* to represent a basic bipartite division of the whole people. In a passage rich with the kinds of classical and biblical references that Guibert delighted in, he again indicated a similar outlook. Guibert drew attention to the fact that Stephen of Blois, who had been granted leadership of the holy army and Hugh the Great, ‘a man of royal name’, had both abandoned the crusade.<sup>142</sup> Therefore, when ‘shades of a great name’ (Lucan I.135)<sup>143</sup> were rejected it was the *pusillus grex* who remained, relying now on God’s aid only. When decisions were made not according to birth, but by God’s choice, ‘the unexpected one wore the crown’ (Ecc. 11:5).<sup>144</sup> In the course of making the point that the First Crusade was not led by those of the highest birth, as might have been expected, Guibert here also displayed an ability to adapt Scriptural terms to his social schema. In Luke’s account of Christ’s words to a multitude, the *pusillus grex* were told not to fear, for they had been promised a kingdom,<sup>145</sup> Guibert invoked Luke’s image of the destitute crowd, the *pusillus grex*, for the lower social orders, knowing that his readers would themselves make the connection between the heavenly kingdom promised by God and the crusaders’ actual establishment of a kingdom after the capture of Jerusalem.

Guibert’s confidence as a writer, his broad vocabulary and willingness to coin new phrases rather than repeat the language of the *Gesta Francorum*, make his rewriting of that text extremely valuable from the point of view of gathering information about social structure in the early twelfth century.

Guibert is a useful source for the fact that the enslavement of Christians was not practised in northern France around 1100. He expressed outrage at the practice of the Byzantines who bought and sold Christians like brute animals and, even worse, sent them to be sold as *mancipia* to pagans.<sup>146</sup> The practice of Christians enslaving pagans, however, was clearly in another category, as Guibert reported without

<sup>141</sup> GN 312: *sine rege, sine principe*.

<sup>142</sup> GN 328: *Hugo Magnus... homo regii nominis*.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*: *magni nominis umbris*.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*: *insuspicabilis portavit diadema*.

<sup>145</sup> Luke 12.32.

<sup>146</sup> GN 93.

comment the capture of the inhabitants of Ma'arra for sale in the slave market of Antioch.<sup>147</sup> He also noted the reverse. Those Christians captured after the defeat of the section of the People's Crusade led by the Italian lord, Rainald, 7 October 1096, faced dismal servitude at the hands of cruel *domini*.<sup>148</sup> Those taken to Antioch also experienced wretched slavery.<sup>149</sup> Turks fleeing from the defeat at Dorylaeum looted the cities that they passed before abandoning them taking the sons of Christians as *mancipia*.<sup>150</sup>

When Guibert wished to comment on the lower social orders in a pejorative context he tended to use the term *vulgus*.<sup>151</sup> Two passages in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* contain not only this negative sense to his use of the term *vulgus* but important additional social commentary. After reporting the death of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, Guibert wrote the significant passage discussed above, in which he stated that with the loss of the authority of the legate, the *principes* began to argue leading to a collapse in authority in which the desire of the *vulgus* now prevailed: they were insolent and made inappropriate decisions.<sup>152</sup> This comment provides a valuable observation from Guibert that it was division amongst the leadership of the First Crusade that created the conditions under which the lower social orders began to successfully assert themselves.

Another equally important passage concerning the *vulgus* was Guibert's commentary on the value of the *iter Dei* as a way of earning heaven for the participants. 'God ordained holy wars in our time, so that the knightly order (*ordo equestris*) and the erring *vulgus*, who, like their ancient pagan models, were engaged in mutual slaughter, might find a new way of earning salvation.'<sup>153</sup> Again attached to the term *vulgus* is a pejorative adjective, but here Guibert also imparted the information that he saw the crusade as important in preventing a violent social conflict

<sup>147</sup> GN 117.

<sup>148</sup> GN 126. For Rainald see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 218.

<sup>149</sup> GN 126.

<sup>150</sup> GN 160.

<sup>151</sup> See also Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, III. 8: *vulgus insolens*; *Tropologiae in prophetas*, PL 156 col. 373D, II.7.3: *ineptum vulgus*; col. 393C III.10.5: *vulgus ineptum*; col. 454A, V.1.7: *vulgus lasciviens*; *Tractatus de Incarnatione contra Judaeos*, PL 156 col. 511C, III: *profanum et pertinax vulgus*.

<sup>152</sup> GN 262.

<sup>153</sup> GN 87: *Instituit nostro tempore praelia sancta deus, ut ordo equestris et vulgus oberrans, qui vetustae paganitatis exemplo in mutuas versabantur cedes, novum reperirent salutis promerendae genus.*

between the knightly and the common order that he considered to be part of society since ancient times.

The use of the term *vulgus* in both these commentaries was consistent with many other examples in which Guibert clearly considered the body of people referred to as *vulgus* to be ignorant and gullible.<sup>154</sup> In his description of the enthusiasm of the crowds for Peter the Hermit, Guibert wrote that *vulgus*, with their love of novelty, even tore out the hairs of the mule as if they were relics.<sup>155</sup> This passage has echoes of the classical commonplace, that the people were always 'avid for new things.'<sup>156</sup> A passage with an even stronger connection to the same idea was written about the credulity of the *vulgus* in response to various claims of divine intervention during the period in which the crusade was being preached; here Guibert referred to the *vulgus* as *indocile et novarum rerum cupidum*.<sup>157</sup>

When Guibert wished to refer to the lower social order in a less pejorative sense he preferred to use the term *pauperes*. In a very interesting aside with regard to William Carpenter, one of the knights active in the People's Crusade who eventually abandoned the expedition shortly before the battle with Kerbogha, Guibert reported that William Carpenter, when he set out for Jerusalem, first plundered from the *pauperes* near to him to obtain his provisions.<sup>158</sup> He also wrote about other unnamed knights from France, who before departing on the expedition had been fighting unjustly and were making *pauperes* by their criminal plunder.<sup>159</sup> This awareness of social conflict between rich and poor pervades the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, although Guibert's sympathy for the *pauperes* in these cases is not typical of the work as a whole.

After the victory of the Christian army over Kerbogha, Guibert wrote that if a *pauper* took something that he wanted, no wealthier man (*ditior*) tried to take it from him by force, but each permitted the other to take what he wanted without a fight.<sup>160</sup> The suggestion that rich and poor in other circumstances could come to blows is consistent

<sup>154</sup> GN 88, 97, 120–1, 121, 156, 262, 314.

<sup>155</sup> GN 121.

<sup>156</sup> For example, Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 1.18; Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.8, 3.4, 3.12 (specifically the *vulgus*); Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.13, 5.3, 5.46.

<sup>157</sup> GN 88.

<sup>158</sup> GN 178–9. For William Carpenter see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 226.

<sup>159</sup> GN 179.

<sup>160</sup> GN 243.

with Guibert's description of the plundering of *pauperes* by knights in France. The description of the distribution of booty here is significant and agrees with other sources, which indicate that after the siege of Nicea the Christians adopted a policy that seems to have been that the first to obtain booty was entitled to keep it, regardless of their social status.<sup>161</sup> The same sentiment reappeared in Guibert's description of the sacking of Jerusalem in which he reported an equality in the distribution of plunder in the Lord's army, such that even the poorest (*pauperrimi*) kept thereafter whatever good things came to them, without doubt or challenge, whatever the rank (*conditio*) of the man into whose hand it had first fallen.<sup>162</sup>

In his description of the building of the castle Malregard, soon after 17 November 1097, Guibert made a remark consistent with his view that the crusade saw a lull in a state of affairs that more usually saw the rich prey upon the poor. He wrote that no *egena manus* was able to complain that it had to endure service inflicted upon him by the power of *maiores*, since they too worked hard to bring the work to completion.<sup>163</sup> Again a basic bipartite division of the expedition, this time between *principes* and *minores*, was indicated by Guibert's description of a meeting of the *principes*, 10 June 1098, which resulted in the swearing of oaths that they would not abandon the enterprise. When the oath-taking had been learnt of by the *minores* they took heart.<sup>164</sup>

The body of people who demanded that the visionary Peter Bartholomew test the legitimacy of the Holy Lance were termed *plebeculae* by Guibert. He wrote that a *murmur* began to circulate that the discovery of the relic had been staged and that it was merely any old lance, therefore an enormous *plebeculae* began to mutter (*mussitare*).<sup>165</sup> To 'mutter' was a very serious offence against the rules of St Benedict and therefore has an extremely pejorative sense in the work of an abbot of a Benedictine monastery. Guibert was a supporter of the legitimacy of the Holy Lance and consequently there is a negative connotation attached to the term *plebeculae* for those who by doubting the Holy Lance damaged the faith of others. Although not strictly a social term there is a similarly negative connotation in Guibert's use of *turba*, which in the

<sup>161</sup> See below pp. 153–7.

<sup>162</sup> GN 281.

<sup>163</sup> GN 172.

<sup>164</sup> GN 221.

<sup>165</sup> GN 262.

*Gesta Dei per Francos* was consistently employed in the sense of a ‘mob.’ Examples of its appearances include for the credulous crowd who follow Mohamed; the People’s Crusade in general; those of the People’s Crusade at Exorogorgum [Eski-Kaled] and Civetot; the potentially seditious people of Edessa under Baldwin’s recently established rule and those who rushed to loot the city of Ma’arra on its fall.<sup>166</sup>

Guibert’s use of *plebs* was consistent with its appearances in the Vulgate as being a broad term for the people or the laity. Echoing Romans 9:25, Guibert had Kerbogha’s mother remind her son that by the mouth of God it was said that those who had not been his *plebs* were now his *plebs*.<sup>167</sup> He referred once to the ‘Catholic *plebs*.’<sup>168</sup> Before the final assault on Jerusalem, Guibert wrote that the bishops and priests directed the *plebs*, who were their subjects, to sing litanies, undertake fasts, pray and give alms.<sup>169</sup> The other examples of Guibert’s use of the term are equally straightforward; although it is perhaps worth noting that he reported that those Christians who urged the *principes* to resume the march to Jerusalem after they expedition had rested over five months in Antioch were the *plebs*.<sup>170</sup> In this instance the *plebs* were distinct from the *princes* within the whole laity.

Guibert is the only one of the early crusading historians to mention the *tafurs*, a distinct body of the poor.<sup>171</sup> They were provided with a lengthy description in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. According to Guibert the *tafur* marched barefoot, carried no arms, and was not permitted to have any quantity of money. Naked, needy and altogether filthy, the *tafurs* went ahead of everyone, living on the roots of herbs and on any worthless growth. Their leader was a certain well-born man originating from Normandy, who, having become a *pedes* from an *eques*, saw these impoverished people going astray. Casting aside his arms he declared his wish to become their king and thus he was called King Tafur.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>166</sup> GN 98, 124, 127, 165, 254.

<sup>167</sup> GN 214.

<sup>168</sup> GN 341.

<sup>169</sup> GN 276.

<sup>170</sup> GN 250.

<sup>171</sup> For *tafurs* see CA and *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. Nigel R. Thorpe, (Tuscaloosa, 1991), *passim*; L. A. M. Sumberg, ‘The “Tafurs” and the First Crusade’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 21 (1951), pp. 224–246; N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1970), pp. 65–7, 72, 89, 283; N. Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (London, 1979), pp. 133–4.

<sup>172</sup> GN 310.

Both of the vernacular epics, the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Chanson de Jérusalem* give descriptions of the *tafurs*. Although there is continuing debate over the value of the *Chanson d'Antioche* as a source, the consensus of modern historians is that it does contain eyewitness material.<sup>173</sup> The *Chanson de Jérusalem* is, however, clearly not historical and both epics are likely to have exaggerated those aspects of the *tafurs* that would have appeared comical for the sake of entertainment. Nevertheless, as Norman Daniel has argued, the kinds of behaviour they ascribe to the *tafurs* was likely to have been a reflection of a social reality, even if their specific actions and speeches were fictitious.<sup>174</sup> The *tafurs* were portrayed in these epics as being near to starvation, resorting to cannibalism and being so wild that even the Christian princes did not dare to approach them.<sup>175</sup> As Guibert might well have been exposed to epic material concerning the First Crusade before writing the *Gesta Dei per Francos* around the year 1109, he cannot be considered an independent source for the actions of the *tafurs* or the existence of King Tafur. However his comment that the king of the Tafurs was an *eques* who had become a *pedes* is crucial evidence that for Guibert and his readers such a change in status was readily conceivable under the difficult circumstances of the First Crusade.

The *Gesta Dei per Francos* has a more polished form of writing about the middle ranks than any author before William of Tyre's *Chronicon* (1184). That Guibert used the term *mediocres* for a middle rank is made clear from its appearance in a tripartite division of the entire people, noted above, in a speech by Bohemond who referred to 'all of our people, *magni*, *minores*, and *mediocres*.'<sup>176</sup> In describing those who set out from France on the Crusade of 1101, Guibert used the same schema when he wrote of a great crowd of the *summe*, *mediocris* and *infimi generis*.<sup>177</sup>

Guibert wrote an important passage on the disintegration of the leadership of the First Crusade after the death of Adhémar, in which he described unfitting licentiousness taking place among the *mediocres* and the *vulgus*.<sup>178</sup> In his polemic against Mohamed, Guibert accused

<sup>173</sup> S. B. Edgington, 'The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence', *The First Crusade, Origins and Impact*, ed. J. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp. 55–77, p. 62.

<sup>174</sup> N. Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, p. 133.

<sup>175</sup> CA 4050–4118.

<sup>176</sup> GN 201. See above p. 76.

<sup>177</sup> GN 313.

<sup>178</sup> GN 262.



the followers of Mohamed of intolerable crimes against the *mediocres* and the lowest people.<sup>179</sup> After the fall of Nicea, Alexios I Comnenus, the Byzantine emperor rewarded the princes and the very poor of the Christian army. According to Guibert envy and enmity towards the *principes* grew among the *mediocres exercitus personae* of the army, whom his generosity had overlooked.<sup>180</sup> This is important evidence of serious social tension at the outset of the crusade, somewhat more complex than simply rich against poor, focused on the issue of plunder.

There is a great deal of rich material concerning *militēs* in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, which is discussed in Chapter Five. Of all the writers discussed in this book Guibert was the most consistent in using the term for knights, a noble class distinguished in social status from the common footsoldier. He also provides valuable examples of the term *iuvenes* being employed to indicate not ‘youths’, but knights in an early stage of their careers. These are discussed in Chapter Six.

His own aristocratic leanings made Guibert very sympathetic to the upper social orders for whom he employed a great range of terms, reflecting a sensitivity to gradations among them: *nobiles, maiores, optimates, principes, primores, potentes, seniores, comites, procures, domini*. The different senses of these terms are discussed in Chapter Seven.

From the point of view of drawing out the nuances of social differentiation that are barely present in the *Gesta Francorum*, Guibert of Nogent’s work is by far the most important. His rich vocabulary and sense of social order led him to write a history full of social texture. His awareness of ‘middle ranks’, both in society as a whole, but also within the nobility was perhaps his most important contribution, not only to the history of the First Crusade but to sociological writing generally. Not until William of Tyre’s work was such a sophisticated social schema seen again.

### *Albert of Aachen’s Historia Iherosolimitana*

The *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen has been restored to prominence as a very important source for the First Crusade, in large part due to the work of Peter Knoch and, especially, Susan B.

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<sup>179</sup> GN 102.

<sup>180</sup> GN 153.

Edgington.<sup>181</sup> Although not an eyewitness account, the strength of Albert's history is that it is rich with vivid descriptions, supplying a great amount of detail that makes the other sources appear sparse in comparison. It is a substantial work that covers the period from the initiation of the Crusade, ascribed to the itinerant preacher, Peter the Hermit, through to 1119.<sup>182</sup> It is around 128,000 words long, in comparison to the 20,000 words of the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>183</sup>

The *Historia Iherosolimitana* was written in twelve books by one person, whom historians refer to as Albert of Aachen on the basis of a thirteenth century introductory sentence to one of the manuscripts.<sup>184</sup> The first six books form a distinct unity in style and framework, as they narrate the history of the First Crusade. Thereafter the work becomes more like a chronicle and continues up to 1119. It is on the basis of this clear distinction in style that Edgington and Knoch have argued that completion of the first part of the work should be considered separately from the second six books. They have dated the completion of the first six books to soon after 1102. Knoch dated the prologue of the work as being written 1100–1101, 'with some probability', then books I–VI were, 'evidently written in one flow of literary activity', in 1102 or soon after. Edgington made a similar case, seeing the author's original intention as rounding off the work with the victory of the Christians over al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt, 12 August 1099.<sup>185</sup>

The perception that the first six books were written up shortly after the events they described represents something of a revolution. Earlier historians saw the *Historia Iherosolimitana* as a much later work, with Steven Runciman, for example, dating it to around the 1130s, nonetheless relying heavily on it for his famous narrative of the

<sup>181</sup> P. Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart, 1966); S. B. Edgington, *The 'Historia Iherosolimitana' of Albert of Aachen, a critical edition* (unpublished PhD. thesis: University of London, 1991); S. B. Edgington, 'The First Crusade: reviewing the evidence', *The First Crusade, Origins and Impact*, ed. J. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp. 55–77; S. B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen reappraised', *From Clermont to Jerusalem* ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 55–68; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), hereafter AA.

<sup>182</sup> For Peter the Hermit see J. Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la Première Croisade* (Paris, 1999); see also H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* (Leipzig, 1879); E. O. Blake and C. Morris, 'A hermit goes to war: Peter and the origins of the First Crusade,' *Studies in Church History* 22 (1984), pp. 79–107; M. D. Coupe, 'Peter the Hermit—A reassessment,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 31 (1987), pp. 37–45 and below pp. 198–201.

<sup>183</sup> S. B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen reappraised', p. 55.

<sup>184</sup> AA xxiii–iv.

<sup>185</sup> Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen*, p. 89; AA xxiv–v.

crusades.<sup>186</sup> As Albert based his history primarily on oral sources, 'the narration of those who were present',<sup>187</sup> and epic songs his is a very valuable work, independent of the other traditions, so much so, that the opinion of John France is that 'given the early date and the nature of his sources Albert's work deserves to be treated as an eyewitness account.'<sup>188</sup>

As a social historian Albert is extremely valuable. Not only is his vocabulary far richer than that of his contemporaries, but also he reported vivid details that give an insight into social life, such as the falcons of the lords dying of thirst as the First Crusade crossed Anatolian plateau.<sup>189</sup> The manner of Albert's description of events was straightforward, lively and full of anecdote. In contrast to the northern French revisers of the *Gesta Francorum*, Albert did not organise his material to suit theological themes, in fact his biblical citations were, as Susan Edgington notes, mainly references to well-known gospels and the psalms.<sup>190</sup> Nor did Albert engage in displays of classically inspired rhetorical oratory. His main stylistic peculiarity was a very helpful one for a study of Albert's language of social order: he was fond of forming couplets from synonymous words. As Edgington puts it, 'Albert was addicted to duplication. He duplicated nouns, like *cedes et strages, menia et muri*; adjectives such as *nudus et vacuus, fessus et gravatus*; verbs, as in *videre et intelligere* and *offere et dare*.'<sup>191</sup> This habit of Albert's makes it easier to establish social terms that he considered to be synonymous, such as *magni* and *nobiles*, *parvi* and *ignobiles*.

Albert was aware of the existence and importance of social gradations and used the terms *ordo*, *gradus*, *manus* and *status* to express them. In a very interesting passage concerning the departure of great princes on the crusade he wrote that along with so many *capitanei primei* 'were no few *sequaces* and *inferiores: servi, ancillae*; married and unmarried maids; men and women of every *ordo*.'<sup>192</sup> Most of the early crusading historians

<sup>186</sup> S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 (fifth edition: London, 1991), 1, 331.

<sup>187</sup> AA i.1 (2): *relatione nota fierent ab hiis qui presentes affuissent*. See also AA iii.2 (138).

<sup>188</sup> John France, *Victory in the East*, p. 381

<sup>189</sup> AA iii.2 (140).

<sup>190</sup> S. B. Edgington, *The 'Historia Iherosolimitana' of Albert of Aachen, a critical edition* (unpublished PhD. thesis: University of London, 1991), p. 41. I am grateful to

S. B. Edgington for permission to quote from her thesis.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>192</sup> AA ii.24 (100): *... non paucos affuisse sequaces et inferiores, servos, ancillas, nuptas et innuptas, cuiusque ordinis, viros ac mulieres*.

did not go beyond simple bipartite schema, rich and poor, for the social structure of the First Crusade; here Albert was indicating his awareness of a variety of *ordines* among the *inferiores*. Even Raymond of Aguilers, who wrote with particular interest in the activity of the *pauperes*, did not have this conscious sense of gradation among the lower ranks. Albert similarly differentiated *ordines* within the ranks of the princes. In his account of Pope Urban II's call to the crusade at Clermont, he wrote that 'the great *principes*, of every *ordo* and *gradus*' vowed to undertake the expedition.<sup>193</sup>

The implied gradations among the nobility were reflected in his vocabulary. A social group between the nobles and commoners, soldiers in the following of Count Baldwin of Boulogne, probably footsoldiers, were also termed a *plebeius ordo* by Albert.<sup>194</sup> He also made a reference to the city of Edessa having inhabitants of every *status*.<sup>195</sup> It seems that Albert adopted a hierarchical framework for social order, where a grouping was defined by its social 'status', rather than the framework of the 'three orders' that grouped together those who fought, prayed and worked by function.<sup>196</sup>

Of all the early crusading sources the *Historia Iherosolimitana* has the most sophisticated vocabulary and understanding of the lower social orders. For example, unnoticed by the other historians were those people brought along as servants to the princes. *Servi* and *ancillae*, as noted above, were listed among those inferiors who accompanied the captains of the first rank.<sup>197</sup>

A common term for Albert, used to indicate a fundamental bipartite division in the crusade, was *ignobiles*. It never appeared other than in the couplet *nobiles et ignobiles*. It appears, for example, in an important passage concerning the plague of August 1098 among the Christian forces in Antioch, where both *nobiles et ignobiles* wept over the death of Adhémar, the papal legate.<sup>198</sup> Soon afterwards the losses in the city due to plague were so great that 'both *nobiles et ignobiles* gave up the spirit of life.'<sup>199</sup> Furthermore 'whether *equites* or *pedites*, *nobiles et ignobiles*,

<sup>193</sup> AA i.5 (8):...*magnique principes, cuiusque ordinis et gradus*...

<sup>194</sup> AA iii.11 (156).

<sup>195</sup> AA iii.19 (168).

<sup>196</sup> For the 'three orders' see G. Duby, *The Three Orders, Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago, 1978).

<sup>197</sup> AA ii.24 (100).

<sup>198</sup> AA v.4 (342).

<sup>199</sup> AA v.4 (344): *Tam nobiles quam ignobiles spiritum vite exalarent*.

*monachi et clerici, parvi et magni*, to say nothing of the female gender, more than 100 thousand were laid waste by death without being struck down by swords.<sup>200</sup> While *parvi et magni* seems to be synonymous with *nobiles et ignobiles* in this passage, the appearance of clergy and fighters alongside them has confused overtones of the notion of 'three orders.' The image created of the Christian army here is one in which there was a basic horizontal division between the great and the lesser men, with a separate, vertical, order of clergy and indeed a further distinct grouping, women.

Another couplet *parvi et magni* was used independently but with the same sense in several instances, particularly those where formal decisions were made.<sup>201</sup> In all of these the point of the couplet seems to be to indicate the consent of the entirety of the population to a decision. One variation on *magni et parvi* was that of *magni et pusilli*. It occurred in an interesting passage in which it is joined with *primores et subditi*, a rare phrase but expressive of a social relationship between the two orders, the 'magnates and subordinates.' In August 1099, at Jerusalem, *magni et pusilli, primores et subditi*, planned to return home.<sup>202</sup> Again the point of the couplets was to emphasise the unanimity of feeling on the issue.

A less frequently used term in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* for the lower of two basic social orders was *minores*. When Baldwin first triumphantly entered the city of Edessa, 6 February 1098, everyone ran to meet him, whether *maiores* or *minores*.<sup>203</sup> During the siege of Antioch, towards the end of 1097, due to his success in a counter attack against those raiders from the city threatening the Christian foragers, the glorious *iuuenis*, Engelrand, son of Hugh of Saint-Pol, was lifted up with the goodwill and applause of all persons *maiores ac minores*.<sup>204</sup> In August 1099 Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, unexpectedly encountered Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders, returning from Jerusalem, near Latakia. Albert gave an implied indication of the untrustworthy nature of the future controversial patriarch of Jerusalem through a description of the over-effusive greeting that Daimbert then

<sup>200</sup> AA v.4 (344):...*tam equites quam pedites, nobiles et ignobiles, monachi et clerici, parvi et magni, quin sexus femineus supra centum milia sine ferro morte vastati sunt.*

<sup>201</sup> AA ii.32 (114); ii.37 (124); iii.22 (172); iv.46 (320); v.4 (344); v.27 (372); v.36 (386); vi.37 (450); vi.58 (482); vii.37 (540); vii.37 (540); viii.18 (610); x.37 (752).

<sup>202</sup> AA vi.54 (474).

<sup>203</sup> AA iii.20 (168).

<sup>204</sup> AA iii.49 (216). For Engelrand see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 192–3.

proceeded to make. Daimbert was described as weeping with joy and rushing upon the necks of everyone, *maiores ac minores*, to kiss them all warmly, declaring everyone to be the sons and allies of the living God.<sup>205</sup>

Albert twice used the term *egeni* as a means of indicating the destitute. At the funeral of Guy of Possesse and Walo of Lille, during the siege of Nicea, a large amount of alms were generously distributed to the *egeni* and the *mendici*.<sup>206</sup> In a very interesting comment on the effect of hardship on the different social classes, Albert wrote that during the siege of Jerusalem a rich supply of wine always abounded among the *primores*. For the *egeni*, however, even drinking water was in short supply.<sup>207</sup>

The term *vulgus* was an important and much used one in the *Historia Iherosolimitana*. In a significant passage concerning Peter the Hermit, Albert described how ‘through his assiduous warnings and summonses and by calling upon bishops, abbots, clerics, monks, then the most noble laity, the princes of various kingdoms, and the whole of the *vulgus*, whether pure or unchaste, adulterers, murderers, thieves, perjurers, robbers, everybody, in fact, of the Christian faith, even the feminine sex, all joyfully undertook the journey, led by penitence.’<sup>208</sup> In a manner similar to his description of those who died of plague at Antioch, noted above, Albert was presenting the crusade as consisting of the order of clergy, then the laity, both great and lesser (including conspicuous numbers of criminals). Additionally the presence of women was significant enough to be noted and again they were outside the bipartite schema, clergy and laity.

The implicit connection between the *vulgus* and irresponsible, seditious, behaviour created by the inclusion of the unchaste and criminals under the term is sustained in Albert’s writing concerning the People’s Crusade. He described Peter’s following as ‘the rebellious and

<sup>205</sup> AA vi.57 (481).

<sup>206</sup> AA ii.29 (112). For Guy of Possesse see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 210. For Walo of Lille there are no other references other than by William of Tyre WT (203).

<sup>207</sup> AA vi.7 (412).

<sup>208</sup> AA i.2 (2–4): *Huius ergo admonitione assidua et invocatione, episcopi, abbates, clerici, monachi, deinde laici nobilissimi diversorum regnorum principes, totumque vulgus, tam casti quam incesti, adulteri, homicide, fures, periuri, praedones, universum scilicet genus Christiane professionis, quin sexus femineus penitentia ducti ad hanc letanter concurrerunt viam.*

incorrigible *vulgus* on foot' when they set off from Nish, 4 July 1096.<sup>209</sup> When, in mid-June 1098, the Christian forces in Antioch were experiencing demoralisation and desertions, a vision of St Ambrose of Milan was reported to the crusaders. The priest to whom Ambrose appeared was unsure whether the expedition was a genuinely pious enterprise, because very many of the *vulgus* had been motivated by an improper lightness of mind.<sup>210</sup>

Thereafter the term *vulgus* was used in a less pejorative sense. It was his term of choice for unarmed commoners, especially when there were large numbers of women present.<sup>211</sup> Albert applied two interesting adjectives to the *vulgus* during his account of the siege of Antioch. Trapped in the city by Kerbogha, famine led the inactive and *modicum vulgus* to devour the leather from their shoes.<sup>212</sup> While the 'middle commoners' were driven to eating their shoes, the *humile vulgus*, the 'lowly commoners' were those whom were ignorant of the fact that some princes were conspiring to flee the city and abandon them.<sup>213</sup> Given that it seems unlikely there were any significant layers of people beneath those barely surviving on worn leather, these adjectives were probably employed to elicit sympathy for the *vulgus* rather than to indicate a sense of hierarchy among them.

A priest, Godschalk, leader of one of the contingents of the People's Crusade, was described as gathering together more than 15,000 soldiers and *pedestre vulgus*.<sup>214</sup> It would be natural to understand this distinction to be between fighting forces and non-combatants, but for the fact that elsewhere the *pedestre vulgus* were clearly fighters. Thus it is likely that Albert intended to convey that Gottschalk had gathered to himself 15,000 knights and footsoldiers. When the battle against Kerbogha began, a whole band of archers of the class of *pedestre vulgus* were sent ahead.<sup>215</sup> In Albert's description of the battle of Ascalon, the Christians cavalry charged into the midst of their enemies accompanied by the

<sup>209</sup> AA i.12 (24): *Pedestris vulgus rebellis et incorrigibilis*.

<sup>210</sup> AA iv.38 (307).

<sup>211</sup> Albert nevertheless used *vulgus* as a masculine noun, rather than neuter, its classical form.

<sup>212</sup> AA iv.34 (300).

<sup>213</sup> AA iv.39 (308).

<sup>214</sup> AA i.23 (22). For Godschalk see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 209.

<sup>215</sup> AA iv.49 (324). See also J. France, *Victory in the East*, p. 290.

war cry of the *pedestre vulgus*.<sup>216</sup> The victory was miraculous, with no one dying, except a few of the *pedestre vulgus*.<sup>217</sup>

Albert recorded that during the siege of Nicea a certain Turkish soldier flung rocky stones in the middle of the *vulgus* with both hands.<sup>218</sup> The *vulgus* here were sufficiently close to the enemy that it seems that they might have been playing a part in the battle. Equally, it could simply have been that, anticipating a breakthrough, non-combatants drew too close to the city. This seems to be the case for the two uses of *vulgus* that arose in Albert's description of the fall of Jerusalem. Here, in both instances, the *vulgus* were described as crowding around the walls, ready to pour into the city once it had been breached.<sup>219</sup> These are probably better understood to be a crowd of non-combatant poor than the common footsoldiers for whom Albert seemed to prefer the phrase *pedestre vulgus*. Once inside the city it was the *vulgus* who, at Solomon's Palace, inflicted a massacre of excessive cruelty on the Muslims.<sup>220</sup>

A key term for the lower social orders in other early crusading sources, especially in the work of Raymond of Aguilers, was *pauperes*. For Albert of Aachen, however, it was a relatively infrequent term. The *pauperes* appear in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* almost always as a passive category, the weak and poor who require charity or assistance. There is only a limited sense in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* that the *pauperes* were an active grouping, although Albert did once indicate that he considered their presence on the crusade to accord with the holy nature of the expedition through his use of the phrase *pauperes Christi*.<sup>221</sup>

With the exception of Baldric of Dol, for whom as discussed above, the term meant 'commoners', all the early crusading historians, including Albert of Aachen used the term *plebs* very broadly, to indicate 'the people'. An important example, however, that shows Albert consciously using the adjective *plebeius* for a specific *ordo* relates to Baldwin's control of Tarsus in September 1098. Having just wrested the city from Tancred, Baldwin refused to let 300 soldiers into the city who had come from the main army to reinforce Tancred. These soldiers and the whole of the *plebeius ordo* from the escort of Count Baldwin pleaded

<sup>216</sup> AA vi.47 (464).

<sup>217</sup> AA vi.50 (468).

<sup>218</sup> AA ii.33 (118).

<sup>219</sup> AA vi.19 (426); vi.21 (428).

<sup>220</sup> AA vi.25 (436).

<sup>221</sup> AA v.14 (354).



with him to let them inside the city.<sup>222</sup> Since Baldwin had left his wife and baggage behind when he had parted from the main army to enter Cilicia this grouping making a protest were combatants, in all likelihood footsoldiers. A similar formulation was used in Albert's description of the plague in Antioch, August 1098, where many of the princes together with a plebeian class (*plebeia manus*) were dying.<sup>223</sup>

When Albert used the term *plebs* to indicate the poor, he qualified it. In the winter of 1097, during the siege of Antioch, a famine led to an uncountable mortality of the *humilis plebs*.<sup>224</sup> As a result Duke Godfrey agreed to lead an expedition so as to restore the *adtenuta plebs*.<sup>225</sup> The other three occurrences of *plebs* in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* arise from the phrase *plebs Christiana*, 'the Christian people.' In each case Albert seems to have envisaged it as an all-embracing term for Christian society. He wrote of the army at Antioch overcoming the enemies of the *plebs Christiana*;<sup>226</sup> of King Baldwin I stating that he was prepared to distribute the gold from the Lord's Sepulchre and altar to pay the knights and defenders of the *plebs Christiana*;<sup>227</sup> and of Baldwin I referring to his nobles as *primores* of the *plebs Christiana*.<sup>228</sup>

Since Albert was writing at Aachen, in Lotharingia, his use of the term *milites* deserves a great deal of attention, as it considerably extends the geographical extent of an investigation into the social content of the term and, in particular, to a province in which the use of *ministeriales* as warriors was far more common than in France and Italy. The origins of this class, who would later be assimilated into the nobility, was servile, although their status was improving at the time of the First Crusade.<sup>229</sup> Did this difference in the composition of the warrior class affect Albert's understanding of the social content of the term *milites*?

The meaning of *miles* in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* is discussed in full in Chapter Five, but here it is worth noting the one possible example where regional differences in the use of the term might have been an issue. When faced with the outbreak of plague in Antioch, August 1098, Albert described how Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia recalled being in

<sup>222</sup> AA iii.11 (156).

<sup>223</sup> AA v.14 (354).

<sup>224</sup> AA iii.52 (220).

<sup>225</sup> AA iii.58 (228).

<sup>226</sup> AA iv.1 (248).

<sup>227</sup> AA vii.62 (572).

<sup>228</sup> AA x.57 (770).

<sup>229</sup> See B. Arnold, *German Knighthood 1050–1300* (Clarendon Press, 1985), *passim*.

Italy with Henry IV, at which time ‘in the pestilential month of August 500 very brave *milites* and many *nobiles* had died [in Rome].’<sup>230</sup> The incident was presumably that of 1083, where Bernold of St Blaisen (Constance) spoke only of *milites*.<sup>231</sup> The distinction between being a noble and being a *miles* is untypical of Albert and it might be that in this case we are dealing with a description of *ministeriales* as they were particularly likely to have been present in an imperial army.

Albert attached to the Christian fighting forces the phrase *milites Christi* on twenty-five occasions, it was evidently an expression he favoured greatly. An interesting variant used three times by Albert was *milites peregrini*.<sup>232</sup> This latter use suggests that in some cases at least Albert must have considered there to be a pious content to the phrase *milites Christi*, although he used *pedites Christi* simply to identify Christian footsoldiers from non-Christian forces and by analogy it cannot be taken for granted that all the instances of *milites Christi* in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* are examples of a particular theological framework held by the author. The fact that no individual knight was described as a *miles Christi* by Albert puts him in distinct contrast with the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* who conveyed in his a work a stronger spiritual dimension in the practice of being a *miles* on the First Crusade.<sup>233</sup>

As with his vocabulary for the lower social orders, Albert had a rich and varied range of terms for the upper classes. The perspective they offer on the social structure of the crusade is discussed in Chapter Seven.

Albert of Aachen was unusual in early crusading historians in that his reports were evenly spread across all the social orders. Whereas Raymond of Aguilers paid particular attention to the activities of the *pauperes*, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* the *milites* and Fulcher the nobility, Albert was much more balanced. His vocabulary was rich and nuanced, with a straightforward style largely unadorned by classical allusion or biblical citation. This makes him a key source for social *ordo* on the First Crusade.

<sup>230</sup> AA v.13 (354): *In pestifero mense Augusto quingenti fortissimi milites et plures nobiles obierint.*

<sup>231</sup> I. S. Robinson, *Henry IV*, p. 255. Bernold of St Blaisen (Constance), *Chronicon*, ed. I. S. Robinson, *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz*, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum nova series* 14 (Hannover, 2003), p. 432.

<sup>232</sup> AA i.22 (44); iv.30 (292); iv.42 (314).

<sup>233</sup> See above p. 20.



### CHAPTER THREE

#### *PAUPERES* AND THE FIRST CRUSADE: FROM THE PREACHING OF THE CRUSADE TO THE RISE OF THE VISIONARIES

Six months before the main armies of Europe set forth on the crusade under the leadership of princes, a more turbulent crowd embarked on the expedition under a variety of leaders: peasant visionaries, rogue magnates, mercenary commanders. This, the first wave of Christian armies making for Jerusalem, has become known as the Peasants' Crusade or People's Crusade, in contrast to the Princes' Crusade that followed them soon after. Most of narrative accounts of the activities of 'poor' of the First Crusade have tended to concentrate on the People's Crusade, after the defeat of which, at Civetot, 21 October 1096, their role is often depicted as being negligible, at best a burden to the better-armed sections of the army.

In 1921, Frederick Duncalf published his study of the People's Crusade, helping shift a perception that the participants were separated from those of the Princes' Crusade by a wide social gulf and were something of a rabble.<sup>1</sup> Duncalf pointed out that although the proportion of knights was indeed far less than for the later expeditions, they did include members of the nobility and displayed a high degree of organisation; especially the early contingents of the People's Crusade. The first group, who set off under the leadership of a knight from Poissy, Walter Sanzavohir, reached Constantinople, 20 July 1096, without significant mishap.<sup>2</sup> Duncalf's article, primarily a narrative of events based upon the account in Albert of Aachen's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, concluded with an argument that the economic background to the appeal of the Crusade was one of prosperity rather than poverty. This, rather unconvincing conclusion, was somewhat tangential to the study and left unconsidered the question of the size and contribution of the survivors of the People's Crusade to the subsequent united army.

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<sup>1</sup> F. Duncalf, 'The Peasants' Crusade,' *American Historical Review*, 26 (1920/1), pp. 440–453.

<sup>2</sup> For Walter Sanzavohir see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 224.

The key study of the role of the *pauperes* on the First Crusade, therefore, was that of Walter Porges published in 1946.<sup>3</sup> At the core of his study was a belief that 'by the time the siege of Antioch was well underway, the non-combatants—the sick, crippled, and destitute, the women, children, and clergy—had captured and maintained an absolute and overwhelming majority.'<sup>4</sup> Although the article did not explore in full the consequence of this observation for the internal dynamics and tensions of the expedition, it did allow Porges to emphasise the importance of the role of the large numbers of clergy present in acting as the guardians of the common welfare, with responsibility above all for the poor.<sup>5</sup> He was particularly insightful with regard to events at Antioch immediately before battle between the besieged Christian forces and Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul, 28 June 1098. Porges demonstrated that it was an alliance of the poorer Christians with the clergy, led by the papal legate, Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, which, via visions and miracles, insisted the magnates lead the Christian forces into battle.<sup>6</sup> On this issue Porges has not been superseded, despite the publication of a number of subsequent studies.

Colin Morris's detailed study of the finding of the Holy Lance (1984) added an important political dimension to the context of the discovery of that particular relic, namely the rivalry between the Norman and the Provençal contingents.<sup>7</sup> His defence of the reliability of the account of Raymond of Aguilers was an important corrective to the view of the key historian for that event, whose credibility as a witness had been subject to challenge, particularly by J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill.<sup>8</sup> Morris's observation that the outlook of the visionary Peter Bartholomew was shaped by three influences, Provençal, social, and clerical, was astute and while only briefly substantiated in the short article, is nevertheless borne out by a close examination of the content of all of the visions.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> W. Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade,' *Speculum*, 21 (1946), pp. 1–21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17. See below pp. 118–130.

<sup>7</sup> Colin Morris, 'Policy and Visions: the case of the Holy Lance at Antioch,' in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: essays in honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 33–45.

<sup>8</sup> See above pp. 28–9.

<sup>9</sup> Morris, 'Policy and Visions,' pp. 41–2. For Peter Bartholomew and an analysis of his visions see below pp. 121–147.

Randall Rogers's subsequent study (1992) of the career of the most prominent visionary, Peter Bartholomew, in relation to the *pauperes* on the First Crusade was disappointing.<sup>10</sup> Ironically, given the title of his work, Rogers did not include the perspective of the poor in the context of the discovery of the Holy Lance, except as a passive body in need of alms.<sup>11</sup> Although he referenced Porges, Rogers failed to consider the earlier argument that behind the discovery of the Holy Lance was an active body of the poor, in alliance with the clergy, who through visions were articulating their own perspective and in particular their desire that the Christian forces should march out against Kerbogha before desertions by the magnates caused the expedition to disintegrate. Rogers's most valuable observation was a passing one, that 'the thoroughness with which the poor and pilgrims conducted their sackings were in part a consequence of the structure of the expedition and the economic impulses of crusading. Looting captured cities was a primary source of the income so essential for continued crusading.'<sup>12</sup> Not only is this statement true but the sources also allow considerable insight into the tension that existed within the First Crusade over the distribution of booty and its eventual resolution in favour of the poor in the form of a 'law of conquest.'<sup>13</sup> This 'law' did not allocate any captured goods or houses by right to the leaders of the army, but insisted that all booty be considered the inviolate property of its discoverer.

Rogers's discussion of the trial by ordeal of Peter Bartholomew fell short of that of Morris's brief account and was wrong in asserting that 'the poor exercised no independent political role subsequent to the fall of Peter Bartholomew.'<sup>14</sup> As discussed below, an alliance between the *pauperes* and the *familiares* of Count Raymond of Toulouse drove their prince on to Jerusalem, both from 'Arqa and from an attempt to stall at Tripoli. The lower social orders also asserted their property rights in advance of the storming of Jerusalem. Rogers stated in his conclusion

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<sup>10</sup> R. Rogers, 'Peter Bartholomew and the Role of "The Poor" in the First Crusade', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages*, ed. T. Reuter (London, 1992), pp. 109-122.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>13</sup> See below pp. 153-7; see also J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1972), p. 65, and *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 253-4; see also W. G. Zajac, 'Captured Property on the First Crusade,' *The First Crusade, Origins and Impact*, ed. J. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp. 153-180.

<sup>14</sup> Rogers, 'Peter Bartholomew', p. 121.

that he considered the poor to have been a grouping on the crusade who 'tried to influence its course,'<sup>15</sup> but gave no evidence that he believed they actually did so, other than as auxiliaries in military activities.

A few modern longer works give some attention to the role of the poor during the First Crusade.<sup>16</sup> Particular mention must be made of Norman Cohn's distinct perspective in *The Pursuit of the Millennium* where a short but vivid section attempts to place the violence of the poor in a context of wider medieval traditions of messianic fervour.<sup>17</sup> This argument certainly carries some weight and draws attention to the fact that the official ideology of the First Crusade, as represented by Pope Urban II, might not have been the dominant one in the minds of the majority of the participants. Cohn's work is a useful corrective to those historians who simply take the hegemony of the senior princes for granted. A close study of the sources, however, particularly the work of the historian and eyewitness with the greatest interest in the thoughts of the poor, Raymond of Aguilers, does not reveal a feverish subterranean messianism among the poor but in fact a pragmatic adoption of ideas that would have been recognised as orthodox by the senior clergy. This is not to belittle the levels of insubordination evidenced by the poor, but simply to recognise that their actions were justified by reference to current religious practices, rather than violent eschatological language. Peter Bartholomew was no Jan Brockelson.<sup>18</sup>

Possibly the most significant study of the poor on the First Crusade is the least readily available. In the introduction to his unpublished PhD. edition of Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, John France undertook a considerable analysis of the political

<sup>15</sup> Rogers, 'Peter Bartholomew', p. 122.

<sup>16</sup> P. Alphandéry, *L'Europe et L'idée de Croisades*, 1 (Paris, 1954); N. Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, (London, 1979), pp. 120–135; J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986) chapters 3 and 4; J. Flori, *Pierre L'Ermite et la Première Croisade* (Paris, 1999) chapters 17 and 18.

<sup>17</sup> N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1957: Fifth edition 1972), pp. 61–70.

<sup>18</sup> Jan Brockelson (John of Leyden), leader of an Anabaptist sect and insurrection in Münster (1534–5), see N. Cohn, *In Pursuit of the Millennium*, pp. 261–280. See also J. Riley-Smith, 'Christian Violence and the Crusades,' A. Sapir Abulafia, ed., *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives* (New York, 2002), pp. 3–20. On eschatology and the First Crusade see J. Rubenstein, 'How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit', in S. J. Ridyard ed., *The Medieval Crusade* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 53–70.

activities of the lower social orders. Some of this material has found its way into his later work.<sup>19</sup> France added to Porges' view of the finding of the Holy Lance an assessment of the first vision of Peter Bartholomew that drew attention to those elements hostile to the princes.<sup>20</sup> He also saw the vision following the death of Adhémar, 1 August 1098, as one that 'revealed the anger, fears and desires of the people.'<sup>21</sup> The vision was correctly analysed as 'virtually a popular manifesto, but one with a strong Provençal bias.'<sup>22</sup> France also convincingly showed that there is a tension between the elements of the visions that articulate the needs of the poor and those that reserve a special position for Count Raymond of Toulouse.<sup>23</sup> This is the key, in fact, to understanding the fall of Peter Bartholomew, immediately after he gave voice to a vision that stood too firmly in the camp of Count Raymond.<sup>24</sup> In providing an introduction to one particular author France was necessarily restrained from expanding these important insights into a full account of the career of Peter Bartholomew and the political role of the poor on the First Crusade.

A precondition for a thorough analysis of the role of the *pauperes* on the First Crusade has to be a close examination of the vocabulary of the major sources, in particular their complex use of a variety of terms for the lower social orders. The value of building a discussion on the results of the opening chapters of this book is that a tight focus can be obtained on the subject matter and it becomes possible to construct a fuller account of their role than has hitherto been achieved. But there is a further source of material that can be tapped, particularly with the setting forth of the expeditions and that is the substantial annalistic evidence. Typically, an annalist would only write a sentence or two about the crusade: 'in this year was the great expedition to Jerusalem', or some similar terse comment. But occasionally they would add an observation, which although brief, when compiled with the remarks by all the other annalists of the day, amounts to something of a treasure trove.

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<sup>19</sup> J. France, 'The crisis of the First Crusade: from the defeat of Kerbogha to the departure from Arqa', *Byzantion*, 40 (1970), pp. 276–308; J. France, *Victory in the East* (Cambridge, 1994), Chapter 10.

<sup>20</sup> RA XXX.

<sup>21</sup> RA XXXI.

<sup>22</sup> RA XXXII.

<sup>23</sup> RA XXXVIII.

<sup>24</sup> See below pp. 143–7.



In his article on the People's Crusade, Frederic Duncalf advanced the argument that the movement took place against 'favourable economic conditions rather than in famine and distress'.<sup>25</sup> Duncalf wished to reinforce his view that the expeditions of the People's Crusade were better organised than is generally given credit for. But while the main thrust of his argument was valid, this particular assertion needs amendment, for it gives the impression of an untroubled background to the preaching of the crusade. In fact, while the year 1096 might have been a relatively prosperous one, there is little doubt that the years immediately preceding the departure of people on the First Crusade were extremely difficult ones all over northern Europe.

An examination of the annalistic evidence makes clear that an acute upsurge of famine and plague took place at this time. Taking as the basis for a survey those annals published in the 38 volumes of the *MGH Scriptores* series, it can be seen that for the year 1092 there were three reports of a plague. Additionally, Bernold of St Blaisen (or Constance) recorded a famine for the whole of Saxony.<sup>26</sup> For 1093, four annals report a plague, one a famine and one both.<sup>27</sup> With respect to the entries for 1094, however, twenty annals record plague, two famine and three both.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore Orderic Vitalis wrote of England that a drought that year gave rise to famine;<sup>29</sup> Bernold that a plague led to an increase in penitence and confession<sup>30</sup> and Frutolf that it was a year of plague, hurricanes and floods.<sup>31</sup> The upsurge of plague waned the following year, 1095, but it was still reported in seven annals, two of which recorded both plague and famine.<sup>32</sup> Six annals reported famine for 1095, including Sigebert's, which added that as a result theft and arson against the rich had increased.<sup>33</sup> Additionally the *Annals of the*

<sup>25</sup> F. Duncalf, 'The Peasants' Crusade', p. 452.

<sup>26</sup> *MGH SS* 17, 744; 30, 527; 2, 246. Bernold of St Blaisen (Constance), *Chronicon*, I. S. Robinson ed., *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz*, *MGH Scriptores rerum germanicarum nova series* 14 (Hannover, 2003), p. 494.

<sup>27</sup> *MGH SS*: 3, 134; 6, 394; 9, 568; 17, 277; 17, 744; 24, 36.

<sup>28</sup> *MGH SS*: 3, 134; 4, 21; 4, 29; 5, 8; 5, 27; 6, 366; 8, 547; 10, 21; 10, 35; 10, 54; 10, 54; 10, 253; 11, 103; 16, 16; 16, 604; 16, 726; 17, 14; 17, 294; 17, 585; 17, 744; 21, 313; 27, 521; 30, 366.

<sup>29</sup> OV 5, 8.

<sup>30</sup> Bernold of St. Blaisen, *Chronicon*, 515.

<sup>31</sup> Frutolf, *Chronicon*, *Frutolfs und Ekkehard's Chroniken und die Anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. F.-J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 106.

<sup>32</sup> Plague, *MGH SS*: 5, 8; 5, 1301; 10, 111; 13, 648; 17, 713. Plague and famine, *MGH SS*, 8, 547; EA 123.

<sup>33</sup> *MGH SS*: 4, 29; 5, 27; 6, 367 (Sigebert); 14, 307; 19, 2; 23, 803.

*Four Masters* reported that in Ireland up to a quarter of the population died of famine in 1095.<sup>34</sup> Astonishingly, the only annals to record any natural disaster for 1096 were *Annales Pragenses*, to where the plague had evidently spread, and the Peterborough version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which reported the continuation of famine in England.<sup>35</sup> In 1097, Ekkehard and Sigebert reported a famine and a plague respectively, but no other annal did so. In 1098 not one annal or chronicle reported a natural disaster.

These figures are not unproblematic, as some later annals incorporated earlier ones wholesale.<sup>36</sup> So, for example, information from the entries in the *Annals of Rosenfeld* or the *Annals of Würzburg* has not been used here, as at this point both were copies of the *Annals of Hildesheim*. The picture created by this information is nevertheless distinct enough to draw firm conclusions. Famine and plague were present but localised in 1092 and 1093, only to rage widely during the years 1094 and 1095, before abruptly ending. The preaching of the crusade, from November 1095 and through 1096, took place then against a background of recent hardship and dislocation. Indeed, according to the brief entry in the *Annals of St Blaisen* for 1093, it was the plague that created the movement to Jerusalem.<sup>37</sup>

The annalistic evidence is supported by the crusading sources. Guibert of Nogent, an eyewitness, reported that the preaching of the crusade took place at a time of famine, which had the consequence that the *inopum greges* learned to feed often on the roots of wild plants.<sup>38</sup> The famine reduced the wealth of all and was even threatening to the *potentes*.<sup>39</sup> Guibert condemned those magnates who stored food for profit during a year of famine, writing that they considered the anguish of the starving *vulgus* to be of little importance.<sup>40</sup>

The Bavarian monk, Ekkehard, later abbot of Aura (1108–1125), wrote the relevant parts of his chronicle around 1105, having returned

<sup>34</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. J. O'Donovan (Dublin, 1856), p. 949.

<sup>35</sup> *MGH SS* 3, 120; Anon. various, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. Michael Swanton (London, 2000), p. 233.

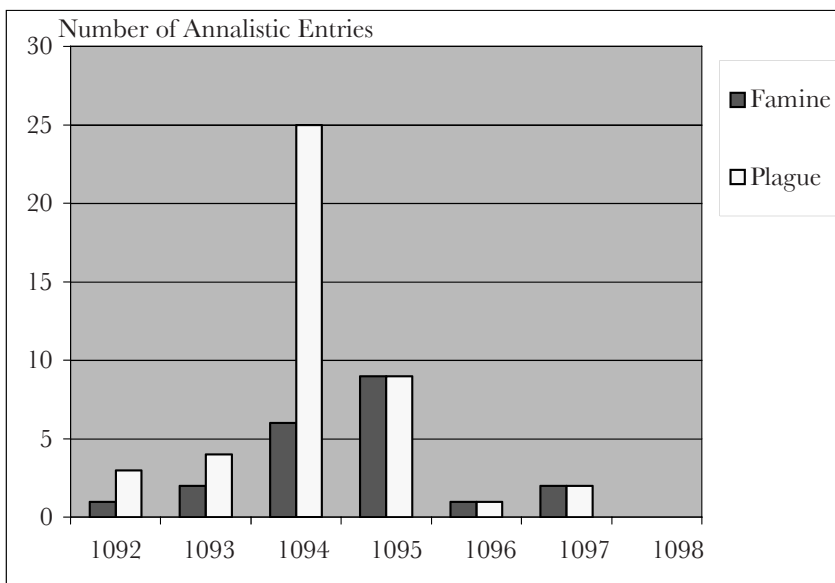
<sup>36</sup> For a discussion of this problem in general see F. Curschmann, *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 2–5. For the *Annals of Nieder-Altaich*, *Regensburg*, *Freising*, *Salzburg* and *Passau* in particular see W. Wattenbach ed., *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1948), I.3, 545–562.

<sup>37</sup> *Annales Sancti Blasii*, *MGH SS* 17, 277.

<sup>38</sup> GN 118.

<sup>39</sup> GN 118.

<sup>40</sup> GN 119.



from Jerusalem where he had been a participant of the Crusade of 1101 and had come across a *libellus* of the First Crusade.<sup>41</sup> He reported in his chronicle that it was easy to persuade the *Francigenae* to go to the orient because for some years previously *Gallia* had been afflicted by civil disorder (*seditio*), famine and an excessive mortality.<sup>42</sup> Ekkehard vividly portrayed the appearance of a plague that caused limbs to wither through an invisible fire. It has plausibly been suggested that this was an outbreak of ergot poisoning among the rye crop, which would fit not only Ekkehard's description but also the pattern of a sharp outbreak of plague that disappeared by the time of the following harvest.<sup>43</sup>

In Robert the Monk's account of the preaching of the crusade by Pope Urban II at the council of Clermont, specific mention of the shortage of food in Christendom formed part of the appeal.<sup>44</sup> If the

<sup>41</sup> EA 148.

<sup>42</sup> EA 140.

<sup>43</sup> EA 140: *Tactus quisquam igne invisibili quacumque corporis parte tam diu sensibili, immo incomparabili tormento etiam inremediabiliter ardebat, quosque vel spiritum cum cruciatu vel cruciatum cum ipso tacto membro amitteret. Testantur hoc hactenus nonnulli manibus vel pedibus hac pena truncati.* For Ergot poisoning, high temperatures and gangrenous limbs, see M. McMullen and C. Stoltenow, *Ergot* (Fargo, 2002). See also J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage* (paperback edition: London, 2002), p. 75; J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 16.

<sup>44</sup> RM 728.

contrast between the poverty of the Western lands and lands flowing in milk and honey (Exodus 3:8) did indeed form part of the official message concerning the crusade addressed to the magnates, then it was all the more likely to have been an aspect of the unrecorded sermons of those who from their own initiative were preaching to more lowly orders.<sup>45</sup>

By the time for departure, however, especially for those leaving in the autumn of 1096, after the harvest, it was clear that yields for that year, on the continent, had recovered. Fulcher of Chartres, setting out in October 1096 with the contingent of Robert, duke of Normandy, wrote that there was a great abundance of grain and wine, so that there was no lack of bread for the travellers.<sup>46</sup> Duncalf may have been right, therefore, to conjecture that the relatively successful march of the great crowds with Peter the Hermit, the itinerant preacher of the crusade,<sup>47</sup> and Walter Sanzavohir to Constantinople implied ample supplies were present. But the supplies for these early crusading contingents, setting out before the autumn harvest, would either have been costly grain purchased from the great chest with innumerable gold and silver coins in which Peter the Hermit stored the contributions given to him,<sup>48</sup> or else would have been livestock brought by the farmers.

Walter Sanzavohir left Cologne shortly after Easter, 12 April 1096, and Peter soon after, on or around 20 April 1096, both too early to benefit from any improved grain or legume harvests but perhaps able to find sufficient resources from a revival of livestock numbers and milk products. Whether or not the armies of Walter and Peter departed with adequate provisions, Duncalf certainly underestimated the agricultural hardship of 1094-1095 and thus the sense of dislocation that would have formed the background to the dissemination of the news of the crusade in the winter of 1095 and the spring of 1096.

There was clearly a massive response from the lower social orders to the idea of an expedition for God under the sign of the cross.

<sup>45</sup> 'Freelance' preaching, see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, p. 31.

<sup>46</sup> FC I.vi.2 (154). Although famine persisted in England, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. Michael Swanton (London, 2000), p. 233.

<sup>47</sup> For Peter the Hermit see J. Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la Première Croisade* (Paris, 1999). See also H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* (Leipzig, 1879); E. O. Blake and C. Morris, 'A hermit goes to war: Peter and the origins of the First Crusade,' *Studies in Church History* 22 (1984), pp. 79-107; M. D. Coupe, 'Peter the Hermit—A Reassessment,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 31 (1987), pp. 37-45.

<sup>48</sup> AA i.12 (24).

Ekkehard was an eyewitness to the departure of people in Bavaria on the expedition and a key source for the People's Crusade. He observed of the very first contingents that along with a great many legions of *equites* were as many troops of *pedites* and crowds of *rusticolae*, women and children.<sup>49</sup> Ekkehard also noted that some of the *plebs* as well as persons of higher rank admitted to having taken the vow through misfortune.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, a great part of them proceeded laden with wives and children and all their household goods.<sup>51</sup>

Guibert of Nogent, an eyewitness to the departure of people from northern France to join with Peter the Hermit's contingent, observed exactly the same phenomena, that entire families of *pauperes* with carts full of their belongings joined the various contingents. He wrote that after the Council of Clermont: 'the spirit of the *pauperes* was inflamed with great desire for this [expedition] so that none of them made any account of their small wealth, or properly saw to the sale of homes, vineyards and fields.'<sup>52</sup> This passage is evidently a description of property-owning farmers, turning their fixed assets into ready wealth for the journey, even at much reduced prices. Guibert referred to the same body of people again, with additional detail: 'There you would have seen remarkable things, clearly most apt to be a joke; you saw certain *pauperes*, whose oxen had been fitted to a two-wheel cart and iron-clad as though they were horses, so as to carry in the cart a few possessions together with small children.'<sup>53</sup> Independently but with a similar turn of phrase, the northern French historian and the Bavarian chronicler found it noteworthy that peasant families participated in the crusade.

Guibert also provided clear evidence that people from the very lowest layers of the eleventh-century social spectrum responded to the idea of the crusade. He noted that the meanest most common men (*homines extremae vulgaritatis*) appropriated the idea of the expedition for themselves.<sup>54</sup> Further evidence of the presence of those at the very bottom of society at the outset of the movement comes from a variety

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<sup>49</sup> EA 140.

<sup>50</sup> EA 140.

<sup>51</sup> EA 140.

<sup>52</sup> GN 119: *...pauperum animositas tantis ad hoc ipsum desideriis aspiravit ut eorum nemo de censuum parvitate tractaret, de domorum, vinearum et agrorum congruenti distractione curaret.*

<sup>53</sup> GN 120: *Videres mirum quiddam, et plane joco aptissimum, pauperes videlicet quosdam bobus biroto applicitis, eisdemque in modum equorum ferratis, substantiolas cum parvulis in carruca convehere.*

<sup>54</sup> GN 300.

of sources. The Anglo-Saxon chronicler, writing in Peterborough, had very little to say about the Crusade, but he did think it noteworthy that countless people set out, with women and children (*wifan and cildan*).<sup>55</sup> The near contemporary *Annals of Augsburg* say that along with warriors, bishops, abbots, monks, clerics and men of diverse professions, 'serfs and women' (*coloni et mulieres*) joined the movement.<sup>56</sup> For 1096 Cosmas of Prague wrote that so many people departed for Jerusalem that there remained very few *coloni* in the *urbes* and *villae* of Germany and Eastern France.<sup>57</sup>

The appearance of the term *coloni* is important here. Christopher Tyerman's very impressive survey across the history of the crusades as to the various social groupings who took the cross expresses doubts when it comes to the question of serfs. Because, he argues, the serf had no freedom of action or choice, the serf could not participate in the movement independently of their master. Also their lack of resources meant that 'it does seem to have been the case that...serfs did not become crusaders.'<sup>58</sup> But this precludes the possibility that some serfs took advantage of the crusading message to leave their homes without permission from their lords, hoping to survive on charity and the distribution of captured booty.

That such a phenomena could happen in a crusading context is evident from the writings of Gerhoch, provost of Reichersberg, with regard to the departure of forces for the Second Crusade (1147). He noted that there was no lack of peasants and serfs on the expedition, 'the ploughs and services due to their lords having been abandoned without the knowledge or against the will of their lords.'<sup>59</sup> That this insubordinate participation took place in regard to the First Crusade is suggested by the mention of *coloni* in the *Annals of Augsburg*, the chronicle of Cosmas, and also the *Monte Cassino Chronicle*, which reported that so great a commotion of men and women took place in all the regions of the world wishing to join the Holy Journey that 'the father did not dare restrain the son, nor the wife the husband, and the *dominus* did not dare to restrain the *servus*.' Because of the fear and love of God,

<sup>55</sup> Anon. various, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, p. 232.

<sup>56</sup> *Annales Augustani*, MGH SS, 3, 134.

<sup>57</sup> *Cosmae Chron. Boemorum*, MGH SS 11, 103.

<sup>58</sup> C. Tyerman, 'Who Went on the Crusades?' in B. Z. Kedar ed., *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 14–26, here p. 24.

<sup>59</sup> Gerhoch, *De Investigatione Antichristi Liber I* MGH *Historica Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et pontificum*, *Saeculis XI et XII conscripti*, 3 (Hanover, 1897), p. 374.

everyone was free to join the journey.<sup>60</sup> Marwan Nader assumes *servus* here stands for a serf,<sup>61</sup> which is entirely possible, but even if its alternative meaning of ‘servant’ was meant by the compiler of the history, the point still stands, that the usual bonds of authority could be undermined by the appeal of the crusade.

The key figure in the mobilisation of the lower social orders on the First Crusade was Peter the Hermit. In an important passage concerning Peter the Hermit, the monk and historian Albert of Aachen, who had direct experience of the mobilisations for the crusade, described how through his powers of persuasion and his ability to inspire people to action, Peter mobilised all kinds of person, from senior clergy to the worst of criminals.<sup>62</sup> Albert went to some length to indicate that Peter was preaching to all social layers and he drew attention to the preacher’s success in appealing to women.

Guibert of Nogent, who wrote as an eyewitness to the preaching of Peter the Hermit, gave a very similar picture. He described Peter as moving through cities and towns surrounded by great multitudes and being given great donations.<sup>63</sup> The fact that Peter the Hermit was described as travelling through towns and cities has been noted by E. O. Blake and C. Morris as showing that his was an urban audience.<sup>64</sup> The report of the donations of sizeable gifts suggests that Peter was obtaining some support from those with wealth in these urban centres. The evidence that Peter, nevertheless, had a particular appeal to the poor comes from Guibert’s observation that the *vulgus*, slender in possessions and abundant in numbers, clung to the hermit. By contrast with the princes these *vulgus* made no careful preparations for the journey.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore Peter was very generous to the *pauperes* with the gifts he was given.<sup>66</sup> Guibert also reported that the *vulgus*, from love of novelty, tried to obtain hairs from the tail of the Hermit’s donkey, as relics.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> MC 174: *Pater non audebat prohibere filium, nec uxor prohibere virum, et dominus non audebat prohibere servum.*

<sup>61</sup> M. Nader, *Burgesses and the burgess law in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus (1099–1325)* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 20.

<sup>62</sup> AA i.2 (2–4).

<sup>63</sup> GN 121.

<sup>64</sup> E. O. Blake and C. Morris, ‘A hermit goes to war: Peter and the origins of the First Crusade’, *Studies in Church History* 22, 1984, 79–107.

<sup>65</sup> GN 121.

<sup>66</sup> GN 121.

<sup>67</sup> GN 121.

In a passage that could well have been that of an eyewitness, Baldric of Dol also noted a similar eagerness of the poor to believe in miracles in response to news of the expedition. Baldric wrote that the *gens plebia* displayed a cross that certain 'foolish women' (*mulierculae*) claimed had been made in heaven.<sup>68</sup>

Once Peter and his following were underway the sources make it clear that the army was not a conventional one. Albert reported that the contingent of Walter Sanzavohir contained only eight knights;<sup>69</sup> while that of Peter the Hermit was as innumerable as the sands of the sea and contained people who were foolish (*insipientes*) and rebellious (*rebelles*).<sup>70</sup> Several times both Albert and Guibert described the contingent of Peter the Hermit as the *vulgus*. Albert again described Peter's following as 'rebellious' and also this time 'the incorrigible *vulgus*' when they set off from Nish, 4 July 1096, with their carts.<sup>71</sup> That Albert was using the term *vulgus* in a pejorative manner is clear not only from the adjectives *rebellis* and *incorrigibilis* but also from his later account of a vision in which St Ambrose of Milan appeared. In this vision the saint explained that not everyone had departed on the expedition in the proper spirit, some of the *primores* and very many of the *vulgus* had set about this through lightness of mind (*pro levitate animi*).<sup>72</sup>

In a digression from his account of the People's Crusade Albert made his opinion clear, that many of these 'innumerable' people were using the glorious expedition inappropriately, particularly the women who boasted about the opportunities for pleasure offered by the expedition.<sup>73</sup> Guibert, having observed that Peter the Hermit was unable to restrain the wayward behaviour of his followers in Hungary, described them as an *indisciplinatum vulgus utpote mancipia et publica servitia*.<sup>74</sup> Again Guibert described the same immense army as an *indocile vulgus* who ran completely wild (*debacchari*).<sup>75</sup> Robert the Monk wrote that because they did not have a wise *princeps* who ruled over them, they performed reprehensible deeds.<sup>76</sup> When reporting that the Turkish forces annihilated

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<sup>68</sup> BD 17.

<sup>69</sup> AA i.6 (8).

<sup>70</sup> AA i.7 (12); i.16 (32).

<sup>71</sup> AA i.12 (24).

<sup>72</sup> AA iv.38 (307).

<sup>73</sup> AA i.25 (49). For these women, see below Chapter Nine.

<sup>74</sup> GN 123.

<sup>75</sup> GN 121.

<sup>76</sup> RM 732.



the People's Crusade at Civetot, Robert wrote that 'there the *multitudo* overcame rashness, not rashness the *multitudo*.'<sup>77</sup> Guibert of Nogent applied the term *turba* to the People's Crusade on three occasions.<sup>78</sup>

This kind of language was not used for the forces marshalled under the leadership of the senior princes. In part it expresses a sense of offended propriety by monastic authors that a section of the population should display an independence of spirit in choosing to join the crusade outside the direction of a superior. But it also reflects a genuine incoherence in these armies, arising from the fact that non-combatants and poorly armed farmers with no military experience formed such a large part of their body. In the course of his account Albert used the device of an imagined letter from Qilij Arslan, sultan of Rūm, to Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul, after the destruction of the army of Peter the Hermit. It provides a summation of how Albert supposed an outsider would see the forces of the People's Crusade, namely: a pitiful band, mostly footsoldiers and a useless *vulgus* of women, all being wearied from the long journey, with only 500 knights.<sup>79</sup>

Thousands more gathered together in armies intending to join with Peter the Hermit. One of these was the contingent led by the priest Godshalk, described by Albert of Aachen as having been inflamed by the preaching of Peter,<sup>80</sup> and by Ekkehard as a false servant of God.<sup>81</sup> A priest, Folkmar, led another and a third was led by Count Emicho of Flonheim.<sup>82</sup> Parts of Emicho's army were described by Albert of as being *stultus* and having a 'frenzied *levitas*' for claiming to follow the lead of a goose and a she-goat.<sup>83</sup> These expeditions disintegrated without contributing to the Christian forces in Asia Minor (with the exception of a group of knights from the company of Emicho, who later joined with Hugh the Great), although not before terrorising the Jewish communities of the Rhineland.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>77</sup> RM 735: *Ibi multitudo audaciam, non audacia multitudinem superavit.*

<sup>78</sup> GN 98, 124, 127.

<sup>79</sup> AA iv.6 (254).

<sup>80</sup> AA i.23 (44).

<sup>81</sup> EA 144. For Godschalk see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 209.

<sup>82</sup> For Folkmar see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 205, for Emicho of Flonheim see AA 51 n. 66.

<sup>83</sup> AA i.30 (58).

<sup>84</sup> See N. Golb, 'New Light on the Persecution of French Jews at the Time of the First Crusade,' *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. 34. (1966), pp. 1–63. R. Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade*, (Berkeley, 1987). See also J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 50–7; J. Riley-Smith, 'The First Crusade and the

The reunited army of Peter the Hermit and Walter Sanzavohir at Civetot, 11 August–21 October 1096, was a vast one with a disproportionate body of people from the lower social orders. Can an estimate be made of its numbers? Among the wilder stylistic and biblical figures given by the sources, Jean Flori, in his discussion of the subject, draws attention to two plausible figures.<sup>85</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, who would have obtained the information only after his arrival at Constantinople the following April, wrote that 60,000 followers of Peter the Hermit were lost when the Christian forces suffered their catastrophic defeat at the battle of Civetot.<sup>86</sup> Albert of Aachen wrote that Walter Sanzavohir led out 500 knights and 25,000 footsoldiers to that battle. The two figures are not incompatible as Albert also reported that ‘innumerable’ non-combatants remained in the camp.<sup>87</sup> An impressionistic but vivid indication of the large numbers of people who had been killed in and around the camp at Civetot was that given by Fulcher of Chartres, who shed tears at the great number of severed heads and bones he saw in the fields nine months after the battle of Civetot.<sup>88</sup>

With the destruction of the armies of Peter the Hermit and Walter Sanzavohir the unspoken assumption of many twentieth century narrative histories of the First Crusade is that the impact of the lower social orders on subsequent events was negligible. It will be demonstrated that this was not the case. A sizeable remnant of the forces of the People’s Crusade joined with the princes, not only the fragment remaining with Peter at Constantinople, but also those who had been taken to Nicea and Antioch as prisoners.

The *Gesta Francorum* has quite a detailed account of the destruction of the united army of the People’s Crusade. Although the anonymous author did not arrive in the region until April 1097, the details seem to be convincingly authentic and agree with the well-informed account of Albert of Aachen. Albert wrote that three thousand pilgrims sought

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Persecution of the Jews’, *Studies in Church History*, 21 (1984), pp. 51–72; R. Chazan, *In the year 1096: The First Crusade and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1996); A. Haverkamp ed., *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Krezzüge* (Sigmaringen, 1999); D. Malkiel, ‘Destruction and Conversion: Intention and Reaction, Crusaders and Jews in 1096’, *Jewish History* 15 (2001), pp. 257–80.

<sup>85</sup> J. Flori, *Pierre L’Ermite*, pp. 455–7.

<sup>86</sup> RA 63.

<sup>87</sup> AA i.19 (38).

<sup>88</sup> FC I.ix.5 (180).

to defend themselves in a ruined fortress and that the Turks sought to force them to surrender.<sup>89</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* reported these Christians as having been captured alive and distributed through all the neighbouring lands.<sup>90</sup> Raymond of Aguilers made a similar observation.<sup>91</sup> Guibert described how the defeated forces faced dismal servitude at the hands of cruel lords.<sup>92</sup> It is clear that the Turks sought for captives after defeating the military forces of the People's Crusade.<sup>93</sup> This explains the observation of Albert of Aachen, that on the surrender of Nicea, 19 June 1097, many of the Christian prisoners were returned, including a nun from the convent of St Maria in Oeren (Trier) who was described as having been captured at the time of the reduction of Peter the Hermit's forces.<sup>94</sup> Given the nature of the market for slaves, it is likely that these released prisoners were female or young non-combatants. A large slave market was held at Antioch and after the crusade had captured the 'Iron Bridge', a fortress on the bridge that controlled the crossing of the Orontes to the north of the city, they discovered 'very many of Peter's army' who had been imprisoned all around the region of Antioch.<sup>95</sup>

If the regrouped remnants of the People's Crusade under Peter the Hermit, together with those released from captivity from Nicea and the regions of Antioch, formed a part of the *pauperes* that now marched with the united expedition, there were even greater numbers of *pauperes* present who had set off with the princes. The sources indicate that a body of *pauperes* accompanied each of the main contingents.

Raymond of Aguilers wrote of how in the winter of 1096 the stragglers of the Provençal contingent became the targets of the inhabitants of Dalmatia who slaughtered old women, the *pauperes* and the sick.<sup>96</sup> Fulcher reported with compassion that very many of the *plebs* of the contingent of Duke Robert of Normandy and Count Stephen of Blois drowned in a sudden surge of the current as they tried to cross the Skumbi (*Genusus*) river on the *Via Egnatia* between Durazzo and Constantinople, April 1097.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> AA i.21 (42).

<sup>90</sup> GF 5.

<sup>91</sup> RA 23 (240).

<sup>92</sup> GN 126. For Rainald see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 218.

<sup>93</sup> GN 126; GF 4; AA i.17 (36); i.21 (42).

<sup>94</sup> AA ii.37 (126).

<sup>95</sup> AA iii.35 (194): *plurimos de exercitu Petri*.

<sup>96</sup> RA 6–7 (236).

<sup>97</sup> FC I.viii.6 (172).

The author of the *Gesta Francorum* noted that the offer by the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Comnenus, to Duke Godfrey that encouraged the leader of the Lotharingian contingent to cross the Arm of Saint George included the promise that the emperor would give alms to the *pauperes* of the Lotharingian forces.<sup>98</sup>

The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* had a limited vocabulary of social order and elsewhere rarely commented on the *pauperes*. The Benedictine monks of Northern France who used his work as their *fontis formalis*, however, added more social detail, including observations made with regard to the lower social orders. Robert the Monk, for example, wrote that when Bohemond gathered forces to him from Apulia for the journey to the Holy Sepulchre, it was not only *optimates* but people from across all social layers came to him, the *mediocres* and the *potentes*, the old and the young, *servi* and *domini*.<sup>99</sup> Guibert of Nogent indicated that he also considered there to have been a sizeable presence of *pauperes* in the contingent of Bohemond. According to the *Gesta Francorum*, as a result of a shortage of markets in Greece, 5 April 1097, Bohemond left the route that he had agreed with the Byzantine authorities to march along and entered a valley abundantly supplied with different kinds of food.<sup>100</sup> In Guibert's recounting of this incident he added that the decision was taken in order to provide for the *pauperes*.<sup>101</sup>

Baldric took the opportunity provided by the same incident to compose a speech for Bohemond that expressed one of Baldric's major themes: that the Christian forces on the expedition displayed social harmony. He had Bohemond urge the *proceres* and *opulentiores* to attend to the *pauperes* and use their resources as alms for the *pauperes*.<sup>102</sup> The speech is fanciful but it indicates that Baldric considered there to have been a sizeable body of *pauperes* attached to Bohemond's forces. This is also evident in Baldric's report that when the Norman prince Tancred wished to avoid taking an oath to Alexios, together with Richard of the Principate, count of Salerno, he hid among the commoners.<sup>103</sup> Albert of Aachen gave a summary of this issue with regard to all the contingents led by senior princes when he wrote that 'it is not to be

<sup>98</sup> GF 7.

<sup>99</sup> RM 742.

<sup>100</sup> GF 11.

<sup>101</sup> GN 141.

<sup>102</sup> BD 22–3.

<sup>103</sup> BD 25.

doubted that together with so many captains of the first rank were not a few *sequaces* and *inferiores*: *servi*, *ancillae*; married and unmarried maids; men and women of every *ordo*.<sup>104</sup>

The combined grouping of *pauperes* formed a significant body within the expedition. There were enough young children present for Guibert of Nogent later to learn that they formed themselves into an army and elected princes of their own, named after the adult leaders of the army.<sup>105</sup> Albert of Aachen noted the presence of the poor during the siege of Nicea, April 1097–19 June 1097. A large amount of alms was distributed to the *egeni* at the funeral of Guy of Possesse and Walo of Lille.<sup>106</sup> Here the ‘destitute’ were simply the conventional body to whom charity extended. Albert recorded, however, a more active role for the lower social orders at the siege when he described a certain Turkish soldier as flinging rocky stones with both hands into the middle of the *vulgus*.<sup>107</sup>

Towards the end of May 1097, during the siege, Albert wrote about the ‘whole of the Christian army, *parvi et magni*’ assembling as one, so that innumerable numbers of the *vulgus* both on horse and on foot, could go to Civetot where there were ships that needed to be hauled overland to the lake at Nicea.<sup>108</sup> It is notable that for an undertaking that required the labour of thousands of people, the princes could not simply order the commoners, but had to win their agreement through the mechanism of a decision-making council in which *parvi* participated.

Lacking one overall leader the expedition had decision-making bodies of several types. Each contingent held meetings of its own people, and, separately, its own *proceres*. Collectively, a council of the senior princes usually made the major decisions of the crusade, but sometimes, as in this instance, it seems to have been the case that a much broader assembly of people was called together.

After the siege of Nicea, very many of the sources noted that the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Comnenus, gave a distribution of alms to the *pauperes*. This was one of the few occasions that the *pauperes* came to the attention of the author of the *Gesta Francorum*. In summing up

<sup>104</sup> AA ii.24 (100): *Nec dubitandum est cum tot capitaneis primis, non paucos affuisse sequaces et inferiores, servos, ancillas, nuptas et innuptas, cuiusque ordinis, viros ac mulieres.*

<sup>105</sup> GN 309.

<sup>106</sup> AA ii.29 (112).

<sup>107</sup> AA ii.33 (118).

<sup>108</sup> AA ii.32, (115): *Universi de exercitu, parvi et magni.*

the siege and the sense of frustration that the sacrifices of the crusading forces had not been properly rewarded, he pointed out that many of the *pauperrimae gentes* starved to death.<sup>109</sup> Immediately afterwards he nevertheless noted that, exceedingly pleased with the fall of Nicea, Alexios 'ordered alms to be distributed bountifully to *nostri pauperes*.'<sup>110</sup> Karl Leyser wrote that those who received alms from the emperor were 'our "poor", i.e. the mass of the *pedites*.'<sup>111</sup> The conflation of *pauper* with *pedes* here is unhelpful. It does not seem to be the case that the alms distributed by Alexios were given to footsoldiers, since there was considerable resentment after the siege of Nicea that those who actively took part in it were left without reward.<sup>112</sup> It seems inherently more likely that the alms were given to the most impoverished among the Christian forces, the non-combatant poor.

Robert the Monk simply repeated the information that after fall of Nicea, Alexios instructed a payout of lavish alms to the *pauperes*.<sup>113</sup> Baldric of Dol, however, not only reported that Alexios made a large donation to the *pauperes* of the Christian forces,<sup>114</sup> but he elaborated on the *Gesta Francorum*'s implicit criticism that the crusading army had not been properly rewarded. Baldric wrote that the Christian army regretted the long siege and that if the property of their enemies had been made public, the poverty of the *egeni* could have been alleviated.<sup>115</sup> Raymond of Aguilers added a further small detail to this incident, when he reported that Alexios promised that when Nicea was captured he would found there a Latin monastery and hospice for *pauperes Francorum*.<sup>116</sup> The sources for the First Crusade at the siege of Nicea all therefore indicate an awareness of the Christian *pauperes* and also that they were suffering hardship. Only Albert of Aachen at this point described them as an active body of persons, rather than simply those in need of charity. This was a perspective that did not begin to change in the early crusading histories until they came to report the events following the fall of Antioch.

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<sup>109</sup> GF 17.

<sup>110</sup> GF 18: *Iussit maximas elemosinas erogari nostris pauperibus.*

<sup>111</sup> K. Leyser, *Communications and Power*, p. 88.

<sup>112</sup> GN 153. WT 3.12 (211).

<sup>113</sup> RM 758.

<sup>114</sup> BD 30.

<sup>115</sup> BD 30.

<sup>116</sup> RA 22 (240).

The Christian forces arrived at Antioch on 21 October 1097. It was not to fall to them until 3 June 1098. The various accounts of the siege of the city all included a recognition that when winter came, famine struck the besieging forces and it was the poor among them that suffered the most. Albert of Aachen described how death from famine was great among the *humilis populus*.<sup>117</sup> He also reported that the great famine caused an inestimable mortality of the *humilis plebs* and the whole army began to diminish.<sup>118</sup>

In writing about the extreme hardship of January 1098, Fulcher described a situation where ‘both *divites* and *pauperes*, were desolate either from famine or the daily slaughter.’<sup>119</sup> Not that the suffering affected both groups equally, Fulcher also observed that ‘the poorer people (*pauperiores*) ate even the hides of the beasts and seeds of grain found in manure.’<sup>120</sup> Because of the hardship of the siege it was the *pauperes* who were first to leave in search of sustenance from nearby towns they were subsequently followed by the *locupletes*.<sup>121</sup> Raymond of Aguilers also reported that as a result of the famine experienced by the expedition as it besieged Antioch in the early days of 1098, the *pauperes* began to leave and also many *divites* fearing *paupertas*.<sup>122</sup>

In another example arising from the same period of the expedition the *pauperes* were described as fearing to cross the Orontes to find fodder, giving an insight into at least one of their activities.<sup>123</sup> That the ‘poor’ included farmers with oxen was indicated by Raymond of Aguilers in his report that during the winter of 1097 sorties from the city of Antioch against their besiegers killed squires and *rustici* who were pasturing horses and oxen beyond the river.<sup>124</sup>

The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* wrote that because of the famine, around February 1098, the *gens minuta et pauperrima*, fled to Cyprus, Rum and into the mountains.<sup>125</sup> Guibert’s version of the same information was that the *vulgus*, having been eaten up by all kinds

<sup>117</sup> AA iii.50 (216).

<sup>118</sup> AA iii.52 (220).

<sup>119</sup> FC I.xv.15 (223): *Desolati tam fame quam cotidiana occisione, tam divites quam pauperes.*

<sup>120</sup> FC I, xvi.2 (226): *Pauperiores etiam bestiarum coria et annonae grana in stercore reperta comedebant.*

<sup>121</sup> FC I.xvi.6 (228).

<sup>122</sup> RA 46 (245).

<sup>123</sup> RA 50 (246).

<sup>124</sup> RA 36 (243).

<sup>125</sup> GF 35.

of poverty, wandered through various provinces.<sup>126</sup> Both Guibert and Robert the Monk made the similar observation that it was no wonder those of poor or feeble spirits faltered at this time when even the princes wavered.<sup>127</sup> The anonymous mentioned the poor again, this time in attributing a speech to Bohemond shortly before the city fell, in which the Norman prince drew attention to the great poverty that everyone was suffering, *maiores siue minores*.<sup>128</sup> Baldric of Dol in his version of the same speech had Bohemond refer to the suffering both of the *plebei homines* and those who were *illustris sanguinis stemmata*.<sup>129</sup>

By and large the depiction of the suffering of the poorest of the Christian army in the winter of 1097 was a passive one. In the main they were considered to be the undeserved victims of hardship, eliciting the sympathy of the historians. One grouping of the *pauperes* who were not considered in such a light were the women who had come on the expedition. A purge of the camp in the first few days of 1098 saw many women driven off to nearby towns and a reinforced effort at social control, which included a clampdown on adultery. This event is discussed in context in Chapter Nine.<sup>130</sup>

There are hints though that a degree of social tension over the direction of the crusade might have arisen at this time. Robert the Monk's version of these events was that as the *multitudo* was being pressed by so many hardships, there was no lack of murmuring voices.<sup>131</sup> In the vocabulary of a Benedictine monk the verb *murmurare* has strong overtones of rebellion, as 'murmuring' was considered a major infringement of the well known *Rule of St Benedict*.<sup>132</sup>

A similar note of social dissension occurred in the appearance of a distinct band of poor crusaders at this time, the *tafurs*. In a famous passage Guibert of Nogent described a body of the poor as having formed a company who revelled in their poverty. They marched barefoot, had no arms or money, but nevertheless they were ferocious. Their leader had fallen from his status as a man of high birth, to that of a footsoldier. He offered to put himself at the head of this band

<sup>126</sup> GN 185.

<sup>127</sup> RM 781; GN 175.

<sup>128</sup> GF 44.

<sup>129</sup> BD 53–4.

<sup>130</sup> See below pp. 281–2.

<sup>131</sup> RM 777.

<sup>132</sup> *Benedicta Regula*, 34, 6: *Ante omnia, ne murmurationis malum pro qualicumque causa in aliquo qualicumque verbo vel significatione appareat.*



and was declared to be their king.<sup>133</sup> It is hard to tell how much of this information is authentic as it is likely that Guibert would have been exposed to material from two vernacular epics whose comic and shocking portrayal of the behaviour of the *tafurs* was primarily included for the sake of entertainment and thus liable to have been considerably exaggerated. Although the specific historical information given in the *Chanson d'Antioche* is unreliable, and that in the *Chanson de Jérusalem* almost entirely without value, echoes of the genuine experiences of the crusaders can be found in them.<sup>134</sup>

The *tafurs* were portrayed in these epics as resorting to cannibalism and being so ferocious that even the Christian princes did not dare to approach them.<sup>135</sup> This, rather than the reported speeches of King Tafur, is the kind of material that is most likely to reflect some genuine aspect of the behaviour of the *tafurs*: certainly acts of cannibalism are well documented by the sources. At the very least it indicates that a large body of the poor, unattached to any of the princes, organised themselves and become a noteworthy part of the expedition. More reliably, Albert of Aachen described other bands of starving people from the Christian army, some two or three hundred strong, searching for food with an agreement to divide everything they found or captured equally.<sup>136</sup>

While there is a more than a hint of insubordination in this banding together of the poor, in general it is clear that the princes of the expedition did consider it their responsibility to assist those in need in this time of famine and harassment from the garrison of Antioch. Albert of Aachen reported that Duke Godfrey agreed to lead an expedition for the sake of the *ad tenuata plebs*.<sup>137</sup> He also described how Count Hugh of Saint-Pol urged that his son Engelrand should free and avenge his *pauperes* and fellow Christians from the attacks and slaughter of the Turks.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>133</sup> GN 310.

<sup>134</sup> *La Chanson d'Antioche* ed. S. Duparc-Quioc, 2 (Paris, 1977); *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. Nigel R. Thorpe, (Tuscaloosa, 1991). For references to secondary literature concerned with the *tafurs* see above p. 82 n. 171.

<sup>135</sup> L. A. M. Sumberg, 'The *Tafurs* and the First Crusade', *Mediaeval Studies* 21, (1951), pp. 224–246, *passim*. CA 4050–4118.

<sup>136</sup> AA iii.52 (22).

<sup>137</sup> AA iii.58 (228).

<sup>138</sup> AA 265. For Hugh II, count of Saint-Pol A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2000), p. 213. For Engelrand of Saint-Pol see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 192–3.

Shortly before Christmas 1097 the hardship experienced by the Christian forces before Antioch resulted in a decision to send out a detachment in search of supplies. Baldric of Dol's account of this period follows the *Gesta Francorum* very closely. After he reported the announcement of the decision to send out foragers, however, Baldric added the extra observation that, 'naturally, with paternal affection, the *maiores* were giving protection to the *minores*.'<sup>139</sup> Baldric was consistently anxious in his work to emphasise that social harmony existed on the crusade. Perhaps a more reliable indicator of the historical reality was Guibert's description of the building of the castle Malregard, soon after 17 November 1097. Guibert was well aware that he lived in a society in which the rich preyed upon the poor, so although he was no nearer to events than Baldric, his observation that both the *egena manus* and the *maiores* worked equally hard to build the castle looks less like a didactic insertion.<sup>140</sup>

Antioch fell on 3 June 1097. According to the account of Fulcher of Chartres, who was in Edessa at the time, the scramble for booty in the city led to the first open social breach between rich and poor on the First Crusade. While the *plebs* seized everything they could in a disorderly manner, the *milites* continued to seek out and kill Turks.<sup>141</sup> The question of the distribution of captured goods was an acute one. As early as at the siege of Nicaea the right of the princes to dispose of captured property was being challenged; not initially by the poorest of the *pauperes*, who had been given a gift of cash by Emperor Alexios I Comnenus, but those of the middle rank, who felt that they had done all the work but been deprived of their just reward.<sup>142</sup>

In the early twelfth century poetic reworking of the *Gesta Francorum* by Gilo, a Cluniac monk from Toucy in Auxerre who subsequently became cardinal-bishop of Tusculum,<sup>143</sup> there is more than a suggestion that during the course of the siege of Antioch the knights had sought to retain to themselves all the plunder they had obtained. On 5 April 1098, a castle was built opposite the Gate of St George and for the sum of four hundred marks Tancred took charge of it. Of this Gilo

<sup>139</sup> BD 42: *Affectu quippe paterno maiores minoribus patrocinabantur.*

<sup>140</sup> GN 172.

<sup>141</sup> FC Lxvii.7 (234–5).

<sup>142</sup> GN 153, WT 3.12 (211).

<sup>143</sup> GP xviii–iv. For Gilo see GP xix–xxii and R. Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 48: Tübingen, 1977), pp. 142–3.

stated: 'Here also a certain castle was renovated and an old rampart was repaired where the *iuvēnes* could keep their plunder.'<sup>144</sup> At some point during the course of the expedition a law (*iūs*) had become established, such that ownership of booty was retained by the first person to lay hands on it, or leave their mark on it, no matter how lowly their status. The fall of Antioch was the first opportunity for the poor to obtain plunder ahead of knights, such as those at Tancred's castle, and they seem to have taken it without reprisal.

Within three days of Antioch having fallen to the Christian forces, on 6 June 1098, a great army led by Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul, arrived to trap the Christians in the city. A Turkish garrison still held the citadel, putting the crusaders under pressure from within the walls. This was the period of greatest crisis for the expedition, where it seemed to be on the verge of disintegration right up to the moment when the Christian army came out to battle and inflicted a decisive defeat on Kerbogha's forces.

The *vulgi* were the subject of sympathetic commentary by Albert of Aachen in this critical period. He reported that on the day of the Christian breakthrough into Antioch, the Turkish forces in the citadel savaged with arrows very many incautious Christians of the *vulgi*, men and women.<sup>145</sup> The subsequent famine among the Christians in the city was so severe that the inactive and *modicum vulgi* were reduced to attempting to obtain sustenance from the leather of their shoes.<sup>146</sup> Guibert of Nogent similarly wrote that the extraordinary lack of food particularly weakened the courage of everyone of poorer means (*pauperior*).<sup>147</sup> He continued by reporting that while the wealthy ate the meat of animals, the poor ate the skins that had been boiled for a long time.<sup>148</sup>

The real danger for the poor, however, was that knights were lowering themselves by ropes from the walls of Antioch in order to escape the crisis and if this were to continue the Christian forces would melt away to the point that battle against Kerbogha was impossible. Tatikios, the envoy of the Byzantine Emperor, made his excuses and

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<sup>144</sup> GP p. 123: *Hic quoque, quo iuvenes predam cepere, nouatur Quoddam castellum uallumque uetus reparatur.*

<sup>145</sup> AA iv.23 (282).

<sup>146</sup> AA iv.34 (300).

<sup>147</sup> GN 225.

<sup>148</sup> GN 225.

abandoned the siege in February 1098.<sup>149</sup> Just before Antioch had been captured Stephen of Blois had departed, giving rise to a great deal of bitterness at his conduct.<sup>150</sup> Now, while besieged by Kerbogha, many more knights were stealing away from the Christian army. The *Gesta Francorum* recorded that William of Grandmesnil, Aubrey his brother, Guy Trousseau of Monthéry, Lambert the Poor and many others let themselves down from the wall secretly during the night and fled on foot towards the sea.<sup>151</sup> Peter Tudebode added the name of Ivo of Grandmesnil, sheriff of Leicester, to the list and reported that many of the *maiores* wished to flee from the city by night.<sup>152</sup>

Raymond of Aguilers reported that the people believed there were few *principes* who did not, in fact, wish to flee to the port. But for the fact that the Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, the papal legate, and Bohemond had closed the gates to the city 'very few would have remained.'<sup>153</sup> Raymond reported that many people did leave, both clergy and laity.<sup>154</sup> Fulcher similarly reported that many people wished to descend by ropes at night and escape.<sup>155</sup>

According to Albert of Aachen, when the news that even illustrious *proceres* had fled the city, very many people considered making a similar escape.<sup>156</sup> Worse, there were princes so terrified of the plight of the crusade, that, unknown to the *humilis vulgus*, they had formed a conspiracy to leave the city together.<sup>157</sup> Robert the Monk was apologetic for reporting such desertions and explained that he did so only so that it should be learned how great a need existed in the camp that even the *divites* were compelled to flee and to break their oaths (*perjurare*).<sup>158</sup> Guibert, familiar with some of the returned knights, was more scathing and added the information that Guy Trousseau of Monthéry was the ringleader of the party of deserters listed in the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>159</sup> The

<sup>149</sup> GF 34.

<sup>150</sup> GF 63. FC Lxvi.7 (228).

<sup>151</sup> GF 56–7. For these knights see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 226 (William of Grandmesnil); p. 200 (Aubrey); p. 210 (Guy Trousseau of Monthéry) and p. 214 (Lambert the Poor).

<sup>152</sup> PT 97–8. For Ivo of Grandmesnil see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 214.

<sup>153</sup> RA 256 (284):... *admodum pauci remansissent*.

<sup>154</sup> RA 256 (284).

<sup>155</sup> FC Lxx.2 (246).

<sup>156</sup> AA iv.37 (307).

<sup>157</sup> AA iv.39 (309).

<sup>158</sup> RM 782.

<sup>159</sup> GN 217; GF 56.

phenomenon of knights slipping away by rope was sufficiently widespread that it came to the attention of the Byzantine historian Anna Comnena and by the time that Orderic Vitalis wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* (1123–1141) these escapees were being known by the mocking sobriquet ‘rope-dancers.’<sup>160</sup>

Under these circumstances several visionaries came forward, two of whom were very explicitly connected to the *pauperes* of the Christian forces and both with a similar message, that God would aid the Christians if they sought battle with Kerbogha.

Stephen of Valence was a priest,<sup>161</sup> ‘a man most worthy of credit and of good life.’<sup>162</sup> He mounted the hill in Antioch, to where there was a gathering of the princes near the citadel, and reported his vision. Stephen said that he had taken refuge in the Church of St Mary in a fearful state of mind. Christ had appeared to him and, although expressing anger at the lust of the Christians following the fall of Antioch, Christ had relented following the intervention of Our Lady and St Peter. The Lord promised that if they sung *Congregati sunt* (Psalm 47:5) in the daily Office he would return within five days with a mighty help.<sup>163</sup> In an addition to the text of the *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode, present in Antioch at the time, put in an extra line of *oratio recta*, reporting that Christ ordered everyone to accept penance and with bare feet make procession through the churches and give alms to the *pauperes*.<sup>164</sup>

This is useful additional information that the vision of Stephen was giving expression to the needs of the poor. The vision of Stephen was rooted in an orthodox theology and practice of the clergy. He offered to throw himself from a tower to prove the truth of his words, but Adhémar, who instead had the priest swear on the Gospels and a crucifix, rejected this.<sup>165</sup> As a result of this vision the princes assembled and took an oath. According to the *Gesta Francorum* the oath was that they would not flee so long as they lived. Raymond of Aguilers’s version had the qualification, ‘unless by the common counsel of all,’ testifying to the low morale among even the most determined of the princely leaders of the crusade.<sup>166</sup> In either case, as the news of the oath spread

<sup>160</sup> AC xi.6 (348); OV 6, 18.

<sup>161</sup> GF 57; RA 236 (282): *sacerdos*.

<sup>162</sup> RA 236: ...*vir magni testimonii, et bonae vitae*.

<sup>163</sup> GF 57–8.

<sup>164</sup> PT 100.

<sup>165</sup> GF 58.

<sup>166</sup> GF 59, RA 107 (256): ...*nisi de communi consilio omnium*.

it greatly encouraged the broader body of Christians. Guibert of Nogent elaborated on the terse account in the *Gesta Francorum* to make it clear that it was the *minores*, the lower social order, who rejoiced on the news of the oath taking.<sup>167</sup>

A second visionary who came forward at this time was Peter Bartholomew, the discoverer of the much-debated relic, the Holy Lance. Peter Bartholomew was the servant of William Peyre of Cunnhat, from the Provençal region of France.<sup>168</sup> Raymond of Aguilers introduced Peter as, 'a certain *pauper rusticus*.'<sup>169</sup> He reported Peter as being hesitant to approach the princes, recognising his *paupertas*.<sup>170</sup> Similarly Peter claimed to have been, standing in fear from his *paupertas*.<sup>171</sup> Peter emphasised his *paupertas* twice more, the second time indicating that he was among those of the expedition who were starving at the siege of Antioch, telling the princes that having reflected again on the weakness of his *paupertas* he feared that if he came forward they would proclaim him a famished man who invented the visions to obtain food.<sup>172</sup> As discussed in Chapter One, the language of Raymond's history at in this account has echoes of the Vulgate and particularly of Ecclesiasticus, where it is stated that no matter how lowly a person, God can raise them up.<sup>173</sup>

In general, Raymond of Aguilers, had a very different view of the *pauperes* from the other early crusading sources. For him they were not a burden, nor dissolute or foolish, but rather they were particularly suited to the expedition, with its echoes of the journey of the Children of Israel. Peter Bartholomew in particular fitted Raymond's notions that poverty was no barrier to being close to God. According to Raymond, it was precisely this point that was at issue in the credibility of Peter Bartholomew as a visionary. Those who disbelieved Peter drew attention to his low social state. 'Certain people began to say that they would never believe that this man was spoken to by God, and He would desert princes and bishops to be revealing Himself to a *rusticus homo*.'<sup>174</sup>

<sup>167</sup> GN 221.

<sup>168</sup> For Peter Bartholomew see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 216.

<sup>169</sup> RA 88–9 (253):...*pauperem quendam rusticum*.

<sup>170</sup> RA 95 (254).

<sup>171</sup> RA 96 (254).

<sup>172</sup> RA 97 (255).

<sup>173</sup> See above pp. 33–4.

<sup>174</sup> RA 229–30 (280–1): *coeperunt quidam dicere, quod numquam crederent quod huiusmodi homini loqueretur Deus et dimitteret principes et episcopos et ostenderet se rustico homini*.

Peter Bartholomew had a certain level of knowledge of Scripture and church Offices.<sup>175</sup> Although a servant, he was also a combatant, as he was on foot in a skirmish between the arriving forces of Kerbogha and the garrison of Antioch, 10 June 1098, where, trapped between two knights, he was nearly crushed to death in the retreat through the city gates.<sup>176</sup>

The other sources, especially those dependent on the *Gesta Francorum*, were unable to define the social status of the visionary, as for them Peter Bartholomew was described very vaguely as ‘a certain man’ or ‘a certain pilgrim.’<sup>177</sup> The descriptions provided by Raymond of Aguilers are therefore crucial, particularly as the chaplain was given responsibility for Peter after the visionary came forward and they shared a tent together.<sup>178</sup> From Raymond’s account and his report of the views of the enemies of the visionary it is clear that Peter was a youth of very lowly social status.

It is understandable then that Peter Bartholomew should initially approach the senior princes in a very deferential and cautious manner. For someone of his status to confront the princes of the expedition over its direction was a challenge that under other circumstances would have been very dangerous. Peter Bartholomew returned from several wide ranging foraging expeditions to seek a meeting with the papal legate, Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, Count Raymond of Toulouse and Peter Raymond of Hautpoul, one of the Count’s leading vassals.<sup>179</sup> This company was from his home territory and, at least, could understand him. The peasant visionary claimed that St Andrew had appeared to him during the night and that this was the fifth such visitation.

After a lengthy and apologetic recounting of the circumstances that obliged such a lowly person as himself to approach the princes, Peter came to the point. He declared that he had a tangible proof of divine aid, the Lord’s Lance, whose hiding place was revealed to him by St Andrew.<sup>180</sup> St Andrew was the predominant figure in the visions of Peter Bartholomew. J. Riley-Smith suggested that being the patron of Constantinople in its resistance to Petrine ecclesiology, St Andrew would

<sup>175</sup> RA 113–14 (257–8).

<sup>176</sup> RA 89 (253).

<sup>177</sup> GF 59: *Quidam peregrinus*. FC I.xviii.1 (235); *Quodam homine*. BD 67: *Quidam peregrinus*. GN 221: *Cuidam de exercitu*. RM 822: *Quidam peregrinus*.

<sup>178</sup> RA 100 (257).

<sup>179</sup> RA 254 (284). For Peter Raymond of Hautpoul see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 217.

<sup>180</sup> RA 94 (254).

have been seen to be more exotic and appropriate to the fact that the crusaders found themselves in a foreign region.<sup>181</sup> This issue might well have influenced the visions of Peter Bartholomew. Although there was a church dedicated to St Andrew in Antioch at the time of the First Crusade,<sup>182</sup> it would have been extremely undiplomatic to come before a legate of the Gregorian papacy with the news that the lance that had pierced Christ's side had been hidden there, rather than in the church of St Peter. As it was, Adhémar was extremely sceptical of the news brought by Peter Bartholomew, not least because, as Stephen Runciman has shown, the legate would have been aware of Constantinople's much more convincing claims to house the same lance.<sup>183</sup>

One of the themes of the visions of Peter Bartholomew was that God had allocated a special role in the expedition to Count Raymond of Toulouse.<sup>184</sup> This bid for the patronage of the elderly and devout count was entirely successful and Peter Bartholomew was taken into the care of his chaplaincy.<sup>185</sup>

On 13 June 1098 a meteorite fell in the direction of the camp of Kerbogha, giving material for the clergy to give further encouragement to the Christian forces.<sup>186</sup> The following day digging began in the Church of St Peter in order to unearth the Holy Lance. Initially Count Raymond of Saint-Giles himself along with his more powerful vassals, having locked out all others, undertook the work. But by evening they were overcome with tiredness. A note of doubt and inconsistency enters the description of events by Raymond of Aguilers, himself a member of the first party of workers. St Andrew had been described by Peter as having placed the Lance in the ground while the visionary was watching, implying that it was close to the surface; but the initial twelve men must have dug a great deal deeper than they would have been led to expect and indeed 'by evening some had given up hope of unearthing the Lance.'<sup>187</sup> Fresh workers dug furiously until they too became tired. At this point Peter dropped into the deep hole and urged everyone to pray at length. Raymond's account is honest enough to convey a certain

<sup>181</sup> J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 105–6.

<sup>182</sup> AA vi.30 (376).

<sup>183</sup> S. Runciman. 'The Holy Lance Found at Antioch', *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), pp. 197–205.

<sup>184</sup> RA 93 (254).

<sup>185</sup> RA 100 (255).

<sup>186</sup> RA 257 (285); GF 62.

<sup>187</sup> RA 257 (285); *In vespere desperare quidam de inventionem lanceae coeperunt*.



lack of conviction in his description that while everyone else present was above the pit, praying, Peter alone discovered the Lance.<sup>188</sup>

Those who had less of an interest in promoting the leading role of Count Raymond were quick to dispute the legitimacy of the relic. Fulcher of Chartres reported that the allegation made against Peter Bartholomew by many of the clergy and the people was that it 'was not the Lord's Lance, but it was another one deceitfully contrived by that stupid man.'<sup>189</sup> Guibert of Nogent, a defender of the Holy Lance, wrote that later the *vulgus* began to challenge Peter Bartholomew for staging the discovery and exhibiting an ordinary lance.<sup>190</sup> Ralph of Caen, the author of the *Gesta Tancredi*, wrote that Peter Bartholomew was a 'versatile fabricator of lies'.<sup>191</sup> Ralph described the finding of the Lance as a deception involving the planting of an Arabic spear point. Ralph was not present on the First Crusade. He wrote his near panegyric metrical work between 1112 and 1118, but he had served with Bohemond and Tancred. More importantly for Ralph's sources with regard to Peter Bartholomew, Arnulf of Chocques, chaplain to Duke Robert of Normandy on the First Crusade and Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1112, whom he visited before writing his history, taught him and helped shape the work. It was Arnulf who led the challenge that resulted in the death of Peter Bartholomew.<sup>192</sup> Not only did Ralph record the grounds on which the legitimacy of the Lance was challenged: he also saw the whole issue in decidedly political terms. Those in favour of the Lance were Count Raymond and the Provençals; those against were Normans led by Bohemond.<sup>193</sup>

Unsurprisingly, equal scepticism was evident in the version of events that subsequently circulated in the Arab world. Ibn al-Athīr (1160-1233) wrote that: 'there was a monk there, of influence among them, who was a cunning man. He said to them, "the Messiah (blessings be upon Him) had a lance which was buried in the church at Antioch, which

<sup>188</sup> RA 203 (276).

<sup>189</sup> FC I.xviii.3 (237-8):...*contigit multos de clero ac populo haesitare, quod non esset illa dominica Lancea, sed ab homine illo stolido altera erat fallaciter inventa.*

<sup>190</sup> GN 262 (286).

<sup>191</sup> RC 676: *versutus mendaciūque commentor.*

<sup>192</sup> For Arnulf, chaplain to Robert I, duke of Normandy before becoming patriarch of Jerusalem in 1099 and again from 1112 to 1115. See R. Foreville, 'Un chef de la première croisade: Arnulf Malecouronne,' *Bulletin Philologique et Historique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (1953-4), pp. 377-90. See also B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980), pp. 12-13.

<sup>193</sup> RC 678.

was a great building. If you find it, you will prevail, but if you do not find it, then destruction is assured.” He had previously buried a lance in a place there and removed the traces [of his digging].<sup>194</sup>

At the time, however, as several modern historians have noted, all the crusading princes united behind the Lance.<sup>195</sup> This is evident from the view of the *Gesta Francorum*, which, while generally being positively disposed towards Bohemond, whose faction later became the greatest critics of the Lance, wrote of the discovery of the Lance that it was found as had been foretold by Peter Bartholomew with subsequent boundless rejoicing.<sup>196</sup> A letter to Pope Urban II of the united princes, headed by Bohemond, also referred favourably to the Lance, reporting that through its discovery and many other divine revelations they were much strengthened and more willing to do battle.<sup>197</sup>

In his account of the finding of the Holy Lance, Robert the Monk wrote that once it had been unearthed all swore that they would not give up the journey and so all the *plebeia multitudo* rejoiced, that the *maiores* had sworn this oath.<sup>198</sup> This oath taking, as has been noted, was attested to by other sources but was described as arising from the vision of Stephen of Valence rather than the discovery of the Holy Lance. Robert’s version of events does, however, convey his understanding that a tension existed between the upper and lower social orders over the question of flight from Antioch, as well as contain the interesting phrase for the lower class, the *plebeia multitudo*.

In addition to the two major visions, the crisis of the crusade produced several others. Albert of Aachen reports how a Lombard cleric brought great comfort to all by recounting how at the outset of the expedition, an Italian priest had met the fourth century Church Father, Bishop Ambrose of Milan. The saint had promised that after many hardships the Christians would conquer Jerusalem. Those that died on

<sup>194</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī’l-ta’rīkh*, Part 1, trans. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2006), p. 16.

<sup>195</sup> C. Morris, ‘Policy and Visions—The case of the Holy Lance at Antioch’ *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), p. 36; J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 278–9.

<sup>196</sup> GF 65.

<sup>197</sup> Letter of Bohemond and the other princes to Pope Urban II: Hagenmeyer, *Epistolae et Chartae*, p. 163

<sup>198</sup> RM 823.

the way, providing they had been abstinent, would be crowned joyfully in heaven.<sup>199</sup>

The chronicler Fulcher of Chartres, not an eyewitness at this point, being with Baldwin's contingent in Edessa, nevertheless reported a further vision of which he was subsequently informed and which he described as being typical of many. A fleeing Christian descended by ropes from the walls of Antioch only to meet the apparition of his dead brother, who told him not to flee because the Lord would be with the Christians in battle.<sup>200</sup> It is extraordinary how consistent was the issue addressed in the cluster of visions that took place at this time of crisis. In each case they were a response to the threat of the disintegration of the movement. In the case of the visions of Stephen, Peter and that reported by Fulcher, they were also a direct appeal for battle with Kerbogha.

The commoners were revitalised by the oath of the senior princes and the apparent signs of divine favour. They now began to agitate that the princes should go further and initiate battle without delay. Raymond of Aguilers wrote that the *vulgus*, despite having recently been consumed by famine and fear, now criticised the princes, questioning the reason for the delay in the battle.<sup>201</sup> The historian Archbishop William of Tyre, writing some seventy years after these events, but with eyewitness accounts before him, including now lost material, and with access to an oral tradition about the First Crusade, echoed this observation. William wrote that 'the common people, aflame with desire, accused the princes of inactivity and criticised their delays.'<sup>202</sup>

The princes responded by sending an envoy to negotiate with Kerbogha. Their striking choice to conduct the embassy was Peter the Hermit, the main leader of the People's Crusade. This was particularly surprising as it was claimed in the *Gesta Francorum*, that during the difficult winter siege of Antioch, 20 January 1098, Peter the Hermit had attempted to abandon the crusade, in the company of William Carpenter, only to be hauled back by Tancred.<sup>203</sup> Jean Flori has discussed this passage and disputes its veracity, suggesting that the appearance of Peter the Hermit's name in the text was a later addition

<sup>199</sup> AA iv.38 (307–9).

<sup>200</sup> FC I.xx.1 (244–7).

<sup>201</sup> RA 259 (285).

<sup>202</sup> WT 6.15 (326): *populares, eodem succensi desiderio, principum arguebant desidiam et moras increpabant.*

<sup>203</sup> GF 33. See H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie de la Première Croisade 1094–1100*, (Hildesheim, 1973), p. 122. For William Carpenter see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 226.

by someone hostile to the anarchic and subversive people represented by the itinerant preacher.<sup>204</sup>

The idea that Peter the Hermit left the crusade is not present in any of the sources outside the *Gesta Francorum* tradition and particularly important here is Tancred's biographer, Ralph of Caen, who while providing the information that as a punishment and public display of his ignominy, William's tent was made into a latrine, says nothing about Peter the Hermit or Tancred's role in bringing him back to the siege of Antioch. Moreover, Ralph reported that it was Guy II, count of Rochfort, 'the Red', seneschal of the king of France, who was William's companion in trying to flee.<sup>205</sup> Flori points out that since the *Gesta Francorum* was promoted in France around the year 1105, in support of a recruiting drive for Bohemond, the Norman prince would not have wanted to risk the enmity of the royal entourage and the now popular hero, Guy, by drawing attention to the fact that he had tried to flee the siege of Antioch. Therefore, offers Flori, Guy's name was deleted and Peter the Hermit's name inserted at this point.<sup>206</sup> Even if Peter the Hermit had deserted the crusade in January, he must have very quickly regained lost ground to be selected for such an important mission by June.

The negotiations between Peter the Hermit and the Turkish atabeg provided dramatists with a great moment. Those parts of the *Gesta Francorum* that read most like a *chanson* take place here and in the preceding discussion between Kerbogha and his mother. The opportunity for placing a proud defence of Christianity into the speech of Peter and a hubristic reply into that of Kerbogha undoubtedly distorts the report of this mission in the *Gesta Francorum* and those writings dependent on it. It is valuable therefore, that John France has drawn attention to the version of the embassy in a source belonging to a different tradition, the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen.<sup>207</sup>

According to Albert, the city was offered to Kerbogha and the senior princes were willing to serve under him, providing that he become a Christian; failing this, a combat of twenty champions was offered.<sup>208</sup>

<sup>204</sup> J. Flori, *Pierre L'Ermite*, pp. 482–92.

<sup>205</sup> RC 650. For Guy II, count of Rochfort, 'the Red', see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 209.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 490.

<sup>207</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, p. 280.

<sup>208</sup> AA iv.44 (316–8).

This latter part of the embassy, the offer of a trial by combat, is confirmed by the accounts of the incident in Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres.<sup>209</sup> France, however, found the former aspect of Albert's report, the idea that the princes offered to convert and become vassals of the atabeg, difficult to take seriously and conjectures that it might have reflected Albert's sources, who were ordinary crusaders, suspicious at this point of the senior princes.<sup>210</sup> Certainly, if the Christian princes seriously intended to come to an understanding with Kerbogha they picked an unlikely conduit for the negotiations. Peter the Hermit was not one of their class and had a special association with the *pauperes* on the First Crusade, for example, as the main person responsible for the distribution of tithes to the poor after Adhémar's death.<sup>211</sup> It seems possible, in fact, given the agitation of the poor in favour of battle that formed the background to this embassy, that Peter the Hermit was chosen precisely because of the mistrust shown by the *pauperes* towards the princes.

In an interesting amendment to a line in the *Gesta Francorum* Peter Tudebode altered Peter's speech to Kerbogha from reading 'our *maiores*' say that you should quickly withdraw<sup>212</sup> to 'our *maiores sive minores*' say that you should quickly withdraw.<sup>213</sup> Peter Tudebode generally followed the *Gesta Francorum* word for word, so although the alteration is slight, it might well reflect the fact that Peter Tudebode wanted to make clear that Peter the Hermit was speaking not just on behalf of the *maiores* but everyone trapped in the city.

Naturally, given the strength of his position and the opportunity to become ruler of Antioch, something that would not have previously have been a possibility for him, Kerbogha rejected the embassy. He would accept surrender by the Christians and made some kind of offer to give land and castles to the leaders.<sup>214</sup> Peter returned and the Christians prepared for battle by distributing alms to the poor, fasting and conducting religious services.

The battle of 28 June 1098 was the turning point of the entire crusade. As the Christians set out in a series of contingents, approxi-

<sup>209</sup> AA iv.45 (318); RA 127; FC I.xxi.1 (247–8).

<sup>210</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, p. 280.

<sup>211</sup> RA 214–5 (278).

<sup>212</sup> GF 66.

<sup>213</sup> PT 108.

<sup>214</sup> See below pp. 181–2.

mately based on region, their enemies in the citadel of city, high up the mountainside, waved a black flag to alert Kerbogha.<sup>215</sup> The atabeg of Mosul allowed the full body of Christian forces to emerge, much to their relief. In Raymond of Aguilers's history this is explained by Kerbogha's complacency, which was so great that he continued to play chess as they advanced.<sup>216</sup> A more likely explanation for his decision is that the Muslim leader wished to employ their traditional tactic of letting the enemy move forward, while light cavalry encircled them.<sup>217</sup>

The main battlefield would have looked bleak for the crusaders. They were desperately short of horses, Albert of Aachen says there were only 150–200 horses available for the battle. Matters were so bad that some knights rode to the conflict on donkeys.<sup>218</sup> By contrast Kerbogha was at the head of an enormous army, with troops drawn from across the Seljuk world. The very size of the Muslim army, however, was to count against it. For the political fault lines it contained were deep. In particular Duqāq of Damascus probably estimated it was more dangerous to his rule if Kerbogha were victorious and Mosul united with Antioch, than for the Christians to win. Other Muslim rulers, such as Janāh ad-Daulah of Homs, had fears for their future in the event of Kerbogha being victorious.<sup>219</sup>

A direct and swift assault by the Christian forces caught the vast Muslim army in a state of dispersal and opened up the political fault lines. Duqāq took his troops from the field and the rest of the Muslim cavalry soon followed, leaving their infantry to be destroyed and their camp to be overrun, with Kerbogha's own tent a prize of battle. From the Christian perspective it was an astonishing victory with very few casualties. More than astonishing, it was a miracle. The Holy Lance had been carried into the battle by Raymond of Aguilers, who felt that it had protected him.<sup>220</sup> The author of the *Gesta Francorum* recorded the fact that some of his fellow knights had seen celestial warriors, SS George, Demetrius and Mercurius, lead a charge.<sup>221</sup> Above all, the rejoicing Christian poor celebrated those whose visions had promised

<sup>215</sup> AA iv.48 (324).

<sup>216</sup> RA 125; see also FC I.xxii.5 (253); RC 667.

<sup>217</sup> For this battle see J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 269–296.

<sup>218</sup> AA iv.54 (332).

<sup>219</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-tārīkh*, pp. 16–7; Kemal al-Din, *Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep*, RHC Or. 3, 577–690, here 582–3.

<sup>220</sup> RA 263 (286).

<sup>221</sup> GF 69.

victory and whose promises had come true in such a spectacular fashion. The standing of Peter Bartholomew in particular now soared, to bring this lowly servant to a position of great authority.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *PAUPERES* AND THE FIRST CRUSADE: FROM ANTIOCH TO JERUSALEM

The authority of Peter Bartholomew and Stephen of Valence was greatly enhanced by the decisive victory of 28 June 1098. Not only was the result of the battle an indication for contemporary eyes of God's judgement, but also during the course of the battle, Stephen's predicted divine aid was said to have materialised in the form of the three fighting saints leading a detachment of troops.<sup>1</sup> Bruno of Lucca was one of those who claimed to have seen divine intervention during the battle. On 20 July he left Antioch and returned home to describe his experiences, which were put into a letter by the clergy and people of Lucca and widely circulated. He claimed that the crusaders entering battle saw a wonderful white standard and a countless host of knights.<sup>2</sup>

There was a great deal of plunder arising from the victory about which Guibert of Nogent wrote that if a *pauper* took something that he wanted, no wealthier man (*ditior*) tried to take it from him by force, but each permitted the other to take what he wanted without a fight.<sup>3</sup> Whether or not this was one of the insertions by Guibert of actual historical material from returned eyewitnesses, it is interesting testimony that Guibert considered the conditions on the First Crusade at this point unusual because the rich were not taking wealth by force from the poor. By contrast Raymond of Aguilers reported conflict over property then took place among the *princes* and their followers. He wrote that in the period after the victory *discordia* shook not only the *principes*, but thefts and robberies took place among their households.<sup>4</sup>

Social tension between rich and poor did not ease once the battle with Kerbogha took place, but rather it found different expression. The key issue that now made manifest this social tension was that

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<sup>1</sup> GF 69.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of the clergy and people of Lucca to the faithful, Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> GN 243.

<sup>4</sup> RA 136 (262).



of whether the expedition was to continue to Jerusalem or not. The princes, wanting to avoid plague in Antioch and to consolidate their local gains, scattered throughout the region. Firstly though, they did make an offer to the poor. In a very interesting passage, describing an offer by the princes after the victory over Kerbogha, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* wrote: 'the princes had it announced throughout the whole city that if by chance there should be present someone *egens* in that place, and lacking in gold and silver, if he wished to remain, having made a compact with them, he would be retained with pleasure.'<sup>5</sup>

To whom was the offer being made? Clearly it was addressed to persons experiencing poverty, but did the princes, after their stunning victory, want to consolidate a labour force or a military following? Were they appealing to non-combatants, footsoldiers, or knights? Some insight on the matter is offered by the reworking of the incident by one of the later authors. Baldric of Dol interpreted the offer as deriving from a concern by the princes for the welfare of the *pauperes* and while this is possible, it has to be borne in mind that Baldric used every opportunity to portray the First Crusade as displaying social harmony between rich and poor.<sup>6</sup> Baldric did, however, offer a clarification of the offer of the princes. His version of the same passage distinguished between those *egeni* who were vigorous (*corpore vegetus*), whom the princes wished to take away into service, and those too weak to leave the city, who were instructed to be maintained from public stipends until recovered.<sup>7</sup> So, according to Baldric's interpretation of this passage of the *Gesta Francorum*, even though the language used by the anonymous author had overtones of a feudal legal contract of vassalage, particularly with the use of the verb *retinere*, it was addressed, in fact, to the lower social order. The offer does not seem to have been a popular one. Instead, when Raymond Pilet attempted prematurely to lead an expedition against Ma'arra in July 1098, a great number of poor from Antioch and local Christians unused to combat attached themselves to him. In large part it was their presence that resulted in Raymond Pilet's forces

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<sup>5</sup> GF 72-3: *Feceruntque principes preconari per urbem universam, ut si forte aliquis egens illic adesset et auro argentoque careret, conventionem factam cum illis remanere si vellet, ab eis cum gaudio retentus esset.*

<sup>6</sup> BD 80.

<sup>7</sup> BD 80: *Dispersi sunt ergo duces et familiae per finitimas regiones et egeni eos subsequabantur, vivendi causa. Dixerant enim duces: 'Si quis egenus est et corpore vegetus, jungatur nobis, et nos omnibus, datis unicuique stipendiis, subsidiabimur; infirmi publica stipe donec convaluerint, sustententur.'*

being thrown back by Ridwan of Aleppo. According to the author of the *Gesta Francorum* it was the Syrians and the *gens minuta* who fled first.<sup>8</sup>

Expressions of social discontent increased following the death of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, 1 August 1098, the papal legate and the key figure in maintaining harmony between the princes and between the different social forces. The final appearance of the term *pauperes* in the text of the *Gesta Francorum* was in the epitaph to Adhémar: 'Because he [Adhémar] was the helper of the *pauperes*, the counsel of the rich, and he ordered the clergy, preached to and summoned the knights, saying this, "None of you can be saved unless he does honour to the *pauperes* and assists them; you cannot be saved without them, and they cannot live without you."<sup>9</sup> Guibert's version of the same passage returned to the theme of tension over property. He had Adhémar say that unless the *minores* were treated as equals and wealth that was obtained unequally was shared, the magnates would exclude themselves from divine mercy.<sup>10</sup> For Guibert of Nogent the death of Adhémar also marked the point at which the *principes* began to argue among themselves, while the *mediocres* and *vulgus* became insolent, obeying no one single ruler and regarding all things as equal among them. He added that often, while the desire of the *vulgus* prevailed, their conduct was inappropriate for the divine nature of the expedition.<sup>11</sup> This passage is important in showing that Guibert's perspective was markedly different from that of Raymond of Aguilers. While Guibert encouraged acts of charity from magnates to the poor, he did not approve of the lower social orders acting for themselves and displaying *insolentia* towards the princes. Albert's account of the death of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy emphasised the respect that the legate received from all social groupings by reporting that everyone, *nobiles et ignobiles*, mourned with extreme lamentations.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> GF 74.

<sup>9</sup> GF 74: *Quia ille erat sustentamentum pauperum, consilium divitum, ipseque ordinabat clericos, predicabat et summonebat milites, dicens quia: 'Nemo ex vobis saluari potest nisi honorificet pauperes et reficiat, vosque non potestis saluari sine illis, ipsique vivere nequeunt sine vobis.'* For an analysis of this passage see above pp. 14–15.

<sup>10</sup> GN 246.

<sup>11</sup> GN 262: *Cepere inter principes similitates aliquotiens ac insolentiae oboriri, apud mediocres preterea et vulgares licentiae quas non omnino deceret haberi... Dum ergo nemini singulariter parent et universa inter eos estimantur equalia, fiebant sepius, dum vulgi libido prevalet, apud ipsos minus apta iudicia.*

<sup>12</sup> AA v.4 (342).

No sooner was Adhémar dead, than Peter Bartholomew came forward in an immediate bid to step into the role played by the legate and address the social and political issues facing the crusade. He reported a vision two days after the death of the legate, in which the dead bishop appeared accompanied by St Andrew.<sup>13</sup> Firstly Peter reinforced the legitimacy of the Lance—and therefore his own prestige—by describing Adhémar as appearing before him with terrible burns on his head and face, the scars of being in hell for a time, for having doubted the miracle. Secondly, Peter reported that Adhémar asked that his, by no means inconsiderable following, attach themselves to Count Raymond. Thirdly, Adhémar stated that ‘I have never been as useful to [the Christian forces] as I shall be [in future]... For I shall dwell with them... I shall appear and offer better counsel than I have done hitherto.’<sup>14</sup> Although it is unstated, there is no doubt as to whom the dead Bishop would communicate his future, better, counsels.

Peter also had Adhémar emphasise the value of charity extended to the *pauperes*. According to Peter the Bishop said that he was saved from a punishing fire by a robe returned to him by the Lord, because on his ordination as bishop he had presented it to a certain *pauper*.<sup>15</sup> St Andrew then intervened to address the split among the princes over the issue of who should rule Antioch. The saint was non-committal as to which individual prince should command Antioch, but was very clearly hostile to restoring the city to the Byzantine Empire, using the example of Nicea as a city won by God for the Christian forces only to be given away. St Andrew added that to use force to obtain the city was illegal and unrighteous, which was clearly an attempt to head off a coup attempt by Bohemond by threatening him with the united disapproval of the entire Christian body. Already by the time of the vision Bohemond had violently ousted Raymond’s troops from the citadel of Antioch and was tightening his grip over towers and gates. St Andrew’s message in response was that peace was essential as disunity could lead to disaster.

A major theme of the vision concerned the poor crusaders. St Andrew commanded that there should be a public accounting of the wealth of the princes through their bishops followed by a redistribution of wealth

<sup>13</sup> RA 263 (286).

<sup>14</sup> RA 263 (286):...*nunquam eis profui quantum prodero... Etenim cum illis habitabo... ut ego, finierunt; et eis apparebo, et multo melius quam hactenus consiliabor eis.*

<sup>15</sup> RA 138–9 (262–3).

to the *pauperes*.<sup>16</sup> This seems to be a direct alternative to the offer of the princes to take the poor into their service. Many *pauperes* had marched for over two years without experiencing any form of lordship; this proposal by St Andrew for a public accounting of the wealth of the princes followed by increased donations to the poor would have been immensely more palatable to them. This vision of Peter Bartholomew then, was a highly political one, shaped by the immediate circumstances, particularly those arising from the death of the papal legate.

The most striking feature of the vision was the confident tone in which one of the poorest of the crusaders was addressing one of the most senior princes. Count Raymond was reminded of his faults and given orders. Even at this early stage of his career the manner of Peter Bartholomew was becoming bolder. But neither the social weight of his supporters among the *pauperes*, nor his appeal to the patronage of Count Raymond were sufficient to impose the demands of the vision on the crusade leaders. Raymond of Aguilers reported that the words of St Andrew were first believed but due to continuing strife over whether to acknowledge the Byzantine emperor as ruler, and other discords, the property of the *pauperes* was destroyed and nothing came of the advice that the *principes* had obtained from St Andrew.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, through his association with the Lance and under the protection of Count Raymond, Peter Bartholomew remained in a position to reassert himself if the opportunity presented itself.

The longer time passed without the Christian forces reuniting and pressing on to Jerusalem, the greater the hardship on the *pauperes*. Lacking any form of income other than plunder, victory over Kerbogha had brought the *pauperes* only temporary relief from the hardship they were suffering. Not only did famine conditions continue inside the city but in August there was an outbreak of a plague that, reported Albert of Aachen, killed an uncountable multitude, whether *nobiles proceres* or *humilis vulgus*.<sup>18</sup> Albert reflected the discontent of the poor from the perspective of the Lotharingian contingent in his account of the period from September to November 1098. He reported that Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia was urged to undertake warfare by the complaints of the *pauperes Christi*.<sup>19</sup> Godfrey, having learned of the attacks of the

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<sup>16</sup> RA 264 (286).

<sup>17</sup> RA 264 (286).

<sup>18</sup> AA v.4 (342).

<sup>19</sup> AA v.14 (354).

Armenian lord Bagrat, brother of the robber prince Kogh Vasil, from messengers sent by his brother Baldwin, now ruler of Edessa, undertook an expedition north from Antioch to Turbessel (Tell Bashir) and Ravendel. Albert wrote that the Duke set out because of this incident ‘and the complaints of the *pauperes*.’<sup>20</sup>

By October 1098, according to Albert, a great dissension took place among the *populus*. And many of the *populus* of Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders and Bohemond, who had no faith or trust in their replies and their words about going to Jerusalem before long, withdrew themselves.<sup>21</sup> Raymond of Aguilers had a similar account of the same period, from the Provençal perspective. Count Raymond of Toulouse was described as leading a raid, 14–17 September 1098, from Antioch, *pro causa pauperum*.<sup>22</sup> Raiding again in the latter half of the month, the Count assembled his knights that he might lead the *plebs pauperum*, who were suffering hunger and weariness at Antioch, into Palestine.<sup>23</sup> These ‘commoners of poor means’ seem to be a variation on *pauperes* used by the author to avoid direct repetition of very similar phrases. So too with the appearance of *populus pauperum* in a sentence that arose in the historian’s account of a third raid led by Count Raymond, which captured Albara on or about 25 September 1098.<sup>24</sup> Raymond of Aguilers also singled out the *pauperes* as being most affected by the expedition being stalled at Antioch due to the discord of the princes at the end of October 1098.<sup>25</sup>

During this period Peter Bartholomew consolidated his position within the Provençal contingent with further visions. One took place during the foraging expedition of Count Raymond 14–17 September. This time the visionary spoke aloud in the night in the tent that housed the count’s chaplaincy and subsequently attempted to draw the others present into supporting the revelation, but Simon, a chaplain, covered his head. The Bishop of Apt was not sure if he had seen a vision or whether he had been dreaming. He shook awake the chronicler Raymond of Aguilers, who felt that he was in the presence of extra light and great emotion,

<sup>20</sup> AA v.14 (356):...*et pauperum querimoniis*...

<sup>21</sup> AA v.28 (372).

<sup>22</sup> RA 148 (264).

<sup>23</sup> RA 149 (265). For *Hyspaniam* see RA xxix where John France defines it as roughly, ‘Saracen held land to the South.’

<sup>24</sup> RA 156 (266): *Igitur comes cum populo pauperum et paucis militibus in Syriam profectus*.

<sup>25</sup> RA 163 (267).

as if Holy Grace had entered his soul. Peter Bartholomew explained that was indeed the case as the Lord had been present for some time.<sup>26</sup> The message of the Lord and St Andrew was for Count Raymond and it was a strong one. They claimed that although he had received the gift of the Holy Lance he had nonetheless sinned badly. Therefore he was commanded to do penance before Peter Bartholomew.<sup>27</sup> The visionary was playing for high stakes by confronting Count Raymond in this way and he risked reprisals from the wrath of the Count's vassals or the Count himself if he made an error of judgement.

It was an extraordinary encounter, most unusual in any medieval period, that a servile youth would seek to dictate to a prince of great age, dignity and standing. The particular theology of the crusade, adapted to the mood of a politically large body of suspicious and discontented *pauperes*, had allowed Peter Bartholomew to project himself into a prominence that he could never otherwise have achieved. This is not to portray the visionary as necessarily a charlatan. Although there were certainly rogues in France at this time who cynically traded on the credulity of others to obtain an income,<sup>28</sup> equally those monks who created false documents to serve the Church saw themselves as divinely inspired rather than forgers. Peter Bartholomew might well have understood his role in this light, acting out of necessity, to save a divine expedition that might otherwise disintegrate through the rivalry of the princes. He had to strike a careful balance; promoting Count Raymond over the other princes but at the same time giving voice to the criticisms of the count raised by the poor. His room for manoeuvre was narrow, as his visions were making many enemies, particularly among the other princes. By coming forward and taking up a significant position as a leader of the expedition Peter Bartholomew was playing with fire, literally.

Faced with the news of this vision from his own clerical household Count Raymond prevaricated before Peter privately told him his sin, after which he confessed and performed penance.<sup>29</sup> The political content of the vision consisted of a demand for an immediate resumption of

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<sup>26</sup> RA 265 (286).

<sup>27</sup> RA 265 (286).

<sup>28</sup> For example, in Guibert's autobiography the saintly Everard of Breteuil was unpleasantly surprised to encounter an impersonator claiming to be himself. Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, I. 9.

<sup>29</sup> RA 266 (286).

the crusade and an attack on the advisers of the count for their evil counsel. Whatever difficulties Count Raymond had in controlling an unruly and disparate following were by this point clearly compounded by the role of Peter Bartholomew. Just why Raymond accommodated the self-proclaimed visionary in the tent of his chaplaincy in the first place becomes more understandable in the light of Raymond of Aguilers' observation that during the siege of Antioch, it was proclaimed that Count Raymond was nobody because he was believed to be shirking from battle. Having incurred this problem, namely about the substance of his courage, he suffered such great hostility from his men that he was almost estranged from his household.<sup>30</sup> Once he had leapt at the chance of increased authority through supporting the legitimacy of the Holy Lance, which Peter Bartholomew humbly and cleverly cited as being evidence of particular divine favour for Raymond, the count was in no position to doubt the subsequent visions. His choice was either to have the Lance accompanied by a special status for Peter, or to discredit them both. Count Raymond followed the direction of Peter's latest vision.

On 5 November 1098 the senior princes, their immediate followers and the clergy met in the cathedral of St Peter. It soon became clear that a deep division remained between Count Raymond, who reminded Bohemond of the oath they had taken to the Byzantine emperor, and the Norman prince who was determined to hold the city. Raymond of Aguilers reported that as a result frustration grew among the *populus*. The fact that he used a wider term at this point than *pauperes* is indicative that a wide social grouping wished to press on to Jerusalem. The people threatened to choose their own leader to lead them onward and even to tear down the walls of the city if no resolution was come to.<sup>31</sup> A compromise was resolved, that in practice favoured Bohemond. Oaths were taken and the expedition resumed by the princes with agreement that their first goal should be the reduction of Ma'arra. It was Count Raymond and Robert, count of Flanders, who led the first army out of Antioch, 23 November 1098, accompanied, wrote William of Tyre, by a great number of *pauperes*.<sup>32</sup>

Once underway, the apostles returned to give advice to the crusaders through their now powerful intermediary, Peter Bartholomew. On the

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<sup>30</sup> RA 250 (284).

<sup>31</sup> RA 163–4 (267–4).

<sup>32</sup> WT 7.8 (352).

night of 30 November 1098, at the siege of Ma'arra, Peter Bartholomew claimed to a mass assembly the next day, SS Peter and Andrew, initially clad in the ugly and filthy clothing of *pauperes*, visited him. The saints explained that this dress was the garb in which they came to God, a point that no doubt was welcomed by the poor crusaders.<sup>33</sup> Their initial appearance also gave an answer to the critics of Peter Bartholomew who could not believe that God would reveal himself to one so lowly.<sup>34</sup> The saints then outlined their criticisms of the crusade and how they should be addressed:

Among you are murders and plunders and thefts, there is no justice and very many adulteries, although it is pleasing to God if you all take wives. Concerning justice, however, the Lord commands thus: that if anyone does violence to a *pauper*, whatever is in the oppressor's house should entirely be made public. Concerning tithes, however, the Lord says that if you pay them, he himself is willing to give you what is necessary.<sup>35</sup>

Peter Tudebode had a description of the same vision of Peter Bartholomew in his most marked departure from the *Gesta Francorum*. It was drawn from the account of Raymond of Aguilers but is worth noting in full, as it is clear from his other comments concerning the siege of Ma'arra that Peter Tudebode was an eyewitness to events there and that his borrowing from Raymond can be considered corroborative.

St Andrew announced to Peter Bartholomew... that the Lord had instructions: *Love your brothers as yourself* (Lev 19:34). And they should return that part which He individually retained, when He created the world itself and all the creatures that are in it, namely a tenth part of all things that are possessed. He himself will give the city in a short time and fulfil all His will. He ordered the aforementioned tithe to be divided into four parts, one of which was to be given to the bishop, another to the priests, another to the churches and the other to the *pauperes*. This they all conceded after it was recited in a council.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> RA 269 (287).

<sup>34</sup> RA 229–30 (280–1).

<sup>35</sup> RA 269 (287): *Inter vos caedes et rapinae et furti; nulla justitia, et plurima adulteria: quum Deo placitum sit, si uxores vos omnes ducatis. De justitia vero, sic praecepit Dominus: ut quicumque pauperi violentiam intulerit, quicquid in domo oppressoris est, totum publicetur. De decimis autem dicit Dominus, quod si reddatis eas, quicquid necesse fuerit, ipse donare paratus est.*

<sup>36</sup> PT 122: ...*beatus Andreas nuntiavit Petro Bartholomaeo... quod ipsemet praecepit, dicens: 'Diligite fratres vestros tanquam vosmetipsos' atque redderent illam partem quam ipse propriam retinuit quando mundum ipsum, omnesque creaturas que in eo sunt, creavit, scilicet decimam partem omnium rerum quae possidentur; ipse daret illis civitatem brevi tempore atque impleteret omnem suam voluntate; quam praedictam decimam partem jussit dividi in quatuor partibus, una quarum detur*



These reports suggest that the vision contained four significant points. The first was that justice was seen as being required on behalf of the *pauperes*, to defend them from violence from their fellow Christian oppressors. The second, that the solution to the presence of large numbers of unmarried women on crusade was that they be married; a response that contrasted with the policy of the senior clergy who were more inclined to drive women from the crusade altogether.<sup>37</sup> The third point was that once again the Peter Bartholomew raised the idea of a public accounting of the resources available to the crusaders, this time of those suspected of taking goods from the *pauperes*. Lastly the vision raised the idea of taking a tithe for the church and the *pauperes*. This reflects the harsh poverty that existed among the Christian forces at the siege and that would shortly drive some of the poorest crusaders to acts of cannibalism.

At a council of Count Raymond's faction the following day, which was attended by the people as well as the nobles, a partial concession was made to the needs of the poor crusader. A collection was taken to which the faithful offered generous alms.<sup>38</sup> Having been inspired by this vision of Peter Bartholomew, reported Raymond of Aguilers, the army was now aroused and willing to attempt to seize the city, in order that the *plebs pauperum* means should be liberated.<sup>39</sup> The subsequent attack, 11 December 1098, demoralised the population of Ma'arra to the point that they abandoned their defences and the *pauperes* took advantage of the now established tradition of looting to break into the city at night to secure all the plunder and houses, after the *milites* had forced a way into the city during the day. When the *milites* entered the next morning they found little they could take away with them.<sup>40</sup>

The plunder clearly only ameliorated the hardship faced by the *pauperes* for a short interval. Within a month of the fall of Ma'arra the *pauperes* engaged in acts of cannibalism. According to Peter Tudebode the *pauperes peregrini* began to split open the bodies of the pagans, because they came across bezants hidden in the stomachs. Others then fell to the meat of these for scraps of food. As a result the

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*episcopo, alia sacerdotibus, alia ecclesiis, alia pauperibus. Quod postquam fuit in concilio recitatum, concesserunt omnes.*

<sup>37</sup> GN 196. See also J. A. Brundage, *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law*, (Aldershot, 1991) II, 380 and XIX, 59.

<sup>38</sup> RA 269 (287).

<sup>39</sup> RA 173 (269).

<sup>40</sup> RA 270 (287).

*seniores* had the pagans dragged outside the gates of the city, where they made mountains of them and afterwards they were burned.<sup>41</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* formed the basis of Peter Tudebode's phrasing, but typical of the anonymous's limited social vocabulary, he did not distinguish the *pauperes* from the *seniores*.<sup>42</sup> According to the *Chanson d'Antioche* it was the *tafurs* who ate the bodies of the Saracens.<sup>43</sup>

Among the Christian forces at Ma'arra a major political upheaval now took place, one in which the latent alliance of *pauper* and *miles* that had recently made threats towards the *principes* at Antioch became manifest. Count Raymond had hoped to use the town as a base for a principality that he could hold as a vassal of the Byzantine emperor. But in the harsh circumstances of December 1098 this was an ambition that neither the *pauperes* nor the *milites* would support. Around Christmas 1098 at a council of the Provençals the *milites* sided with the *pauperes* in insisting that the Count lead the way to Jerusalem, failing which they demanded that he hand over the Holy Lance and the people would march to Jerusalem with the Lord as their leader.<sup>44</sup>

Count Raymond therefore arranged a conference with the other princes to negotiate the terms on which the expedition would continue. This meeting took place at Chastel-Rouge, probably on 4 January 1099, but came to nothing. According to Robert the Monk, when the other princes departed, many *iuvenes* remained at Chastel-Rouge, 'on fire' to complete the journey to Jerusalem.<sup>45</sup> Count Raymond, however, now allocated a significant number of his knights and footmen to garrison Ma'arra. As a result, reported Raymond of Aguilers, the *pauperes* began to worry that the Christian forces would be diminished by the allocation of a garrison to every captured city between Antioch and Jerusalem.<sup>46</sup> They decided to force Raymond's hand and destroy the walls of the city, making it defenceless and unsuitable as a base for Raymond's local operations.

The bishop of Albara, acting for the Count, used threats and force to prevent the poor, including the sick and infirm, from destroying the city defences. But as soon as his guards passed by, people returned to

<sup>41</sup> PT 124–5.

<sup>42</sup> GF 80.

<sup>43</sup> CA 4050–4118. See also M. Rouché, 'Cannibalisme sacré chez les croisés populaires', Y. M. Hilaire ed. in *la Religion Populaire* (Paris, 1981), pp. 56–69.

<sup>44</sup> RA 270–1 (287).

<sup>45</sup> RM, 837.

<sup>46</sup> RA 271 (287).

their task. Count Raymond on his return to the city was furious but helpless. He bowed to the alliance of poor pilgrim and knight and set off southwards, *pro causa pauperum*, wrote Raymond of Aguilers.<sup>47</sup> On the march through the Buqaia, the plain that connects inner Syria to the sea, in January 1099, those *pauperes*, who because of their weakness lingered a long way behind the army, were killed by Turkish forces.<sup>48</sup> The situation of the *pauperes* and the whole army improved, however, reported Raymond of Aguilers, following the arrival of provisions from the emir of Shaizar in January 1099. Day by day the *pauperes* regained health, the *milites* became stronger, and the army seemed to multiply.<sup>49</sup> Soon after, 28 January 1099, the *pauperes* again grabbed plunder from under the noses of the *milites* at Hosn al-Akrad. While Count Raymond with certain *milites* strained in the battle, the *pauperes*, having obtained booty, began to leave, one after the other. Next the poor footsoldiers took to the road, and after these the common knights.<sup>50</sup>

Count Raymond still harboured ambitions in the region. Raymond of Aguilers reported a very interesting speech by Tancred against diverting the expedition from its goal of Jerusalem, at a time, during January 1099, when Count Raymond was considering the capture of Jabala: ‘God visited the *plebs pauperum* and us, and must we therefore turn aside from the journey?’<sup>51</sup> The Norman faction of the expedition was willing to endorse the idea that God was making his will known through visions, provided that the visionaries endorsed the idea of moving southwards. Bribe with a huge amount of gold and silver from the emir of Tripoli, however, and with a temporary restoration of loyalty from his *milites* who anticipated further tribute, Count Raymond did manage to divert the crusade to ‘Arqa (‘Akkār) and began a three month siege on 14 February, 1099. The support for this action quickly became lacklustre, especially after the emir of Tripoli ceased his payments.<sup>52</sup> Soon, wrote Albert of Aachen, all persons, *parvi et magni*, pressed for a continuation of the journey to Jerusalem according to their vow.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> RA 183 (272).

<sup>48</sup> RA 191 (273).

<sup>49</sup> RA 188 (273).

<sup>50</sup> RA 195-6 (274).

<sup>51</sup> RA 189 (273): *Deus visitavit plebem pauperum et nos, et declinare ab itinere debemus?*

<sup>52</sup> WT 7.20 (366).

<sup>53</sup> AA v.36 (384-6).

At some point in March 1099 the idea of taking a tithe was implemented. According to Raymond of Aguilers, 'it was announced there at that time that the people should give tithes of all things which they had captured, since there were many *pauperes* in the army and many infirm people. And it was ordered that they should deliver a fourth part to their priests whose masses they attended, a fourth to the bishops and the remaining two [fourths] to Peter the Hermit whom they had placed in charge of the *pauperes*, from the clergy and the people.'<sup>54</sup> This is an interesting passage, clearly the source of Peter Tudebode's phrasing for the earlier vision of Peter Bartholomew. The division of *pauper*, *clerus* and *populus* looks a little like the traditional tripartite division of those who work, pray and fight. But this cannot be Raymond's meaning as Peter the Hermit was not in charge of the entire expedition. Rather it seems that he had a special responsibility for non-combatants, as was seen again before the battle of Ascalon, 12 August 1099, where he was left behind in Jerusalem after the fighting forces had left, in order to lead the processions and services.<sup>55</sup>

The complex division of the tithe might well reflect the confused organisation of the expedition at this point. As well as horizontal divisions between rich and poor, there were vertical ones between the different regional contingents, many of which were hostile to Count Raymond of Toulouse. The distribution of the tithe looks like a compromise. All the tithe was intended to go to the clergy, the *pauperes* and the infirm, but apart from a share that was given communally to those most in need by Peter the Hermit, like the stipend mentioned by Baldric available to the sick in Antioch in August 1098, the rest was distributed to the clergy through their particular regional contingents.

On the night of 5 April, during the now deeply unpopular siege, another vision occurred to Peter Bartholomew, which he dictated to Raymond of Aguilers. The peasant visionary had been brooding on why Christ had favoured Stephen of Valence by not only appearing before him on the cross but also addressing him. That night Peter Bartholomew caught up to his rival with a vision of St Peter, St Andrew

<sup>54</sup> RA 214-5 (278): *Praedicatum est eo tempore ut daret populus decimas de omnibus quae cepisset, quoniam multi pauperes erant in exercitu, et multi infirmi: et mandatum est ut quartam partem redderent sacerdotibus suis ad quorum missas veniebant; et quartam episcopis; reliquas vero duas Petro Heremita quem pauperibus de clero et populo praefecerant.*

<sup>55</sup> GF 94.

and Christ, in which Christ addressed the visionary. The Lord had a five-fold assessment of the crusading expedition. The first rank of the crusaders consisted of those who fought and who after dying would be seated on God's right. In the second rank were the auxiliaries, the rear guard for the fighters. In the third rank were crusaders who acted to provide supplies to the fighters. But those of the fourth rank were reprehensible as they stayed away from combat. Even worse, in the fifth rank were the cowards who urged other crusaders not to join the battles or even furnish arms to the fighters. These types of crusader were compared to Judas and Pontius Pilate. Christ then gave orders intended for Count Raymond concerning the cowards. The crusaders were to be called together and the alarm sounded, then the shirkers would be discovered. They should then be executed and their worldly goods given to those of the first rank. The Lord also gave a command to the crusaders regarding justice, which was that they appoint judges according to family and kin. These judges should have the right to take the possessions of a defendant, giving half to the plaintiff and half to the authorities.<sup>56</sup>

This vision was to cost Peter Bartholomew his life. The visionary had kept his influential position by striking a balance between enhancing the authority of Count Raymond and by articulating the needs of the *pauperes*. His enemies included the secular vassals of the count and the nobility of the other factions. As has been noted, although the Normans were sceptical of the Holy Lance, it seems that Tancred was willing to utilise the message of the visionary so long as it advocated continuation of the expedition towards Jerusalem. By siding with the unpopular perspective of the count at 'Arqah, the visionary had made a fatal mistake. The attitude of the Norman contingent hardened against him. Worse, the last message that the now politically active body of poor crusaders wanted to hear was that they must bestir themselves in this siege or risk execution for cowardice. By advocating a continuation of the siege of 'Arqa Peter Bartholomew precipitated a clash with the other princely factions and by alienating himself from his supporters amongst the *pauperes* he allowed his enemies the chance to bring him down.

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<sup>56</sup> RA 280 (288).

The legitimacy of the Lance was immediately challenged at a two-day council of the clergy 6-7 April 1099.<sup>57</sup> The chief author of this controversy, William of Tyre later wrote, was Arnulf of Chocques, the friend and chaplain of the duke of Normandy.<sup>58</sup> Testimony was taken from Arnulf against the Lance. In favour of the authenticity of the relic were not only Peter Bartholomew but also other visionaries of lowly status, including a priest Peter Desiderius, chaplain to Isoard I, count of Die (a senior noble in the company of Raymond of Toulouse), who had come to the attention of the Provençal chaplaincy at Antioch with a vision concerning the relics of St George.<sup>59</sup> Peter Desiderius claimed also to have seen a vision of the singed Adhémar. Ebrard, a priest, said that Mary, Christ's mother, had appeared to him while he was in Tripoli shortly before Antioch's capture and told him of the Lance. Stephen of Valence repeated his story of Christ's appearance, and while not claiming to have had foreknowledge of the Lance, believed that it was part of Christ's promise of aid to the crusaders. The bishop of Apt and Raymond of Aguilers himself both were inclined to support the Lance, but hedged their testimony, the bishop by being uncertain if his vision of the Lance may have been a dream, and the chronicler through his wavering defence of the Lance.<sup>60</sup> Raymond of Aguilers was later confronted by Peter Bartholomew and in tears admitted to the visionary that he had secretly desired to see the miracle of the Lance confirmed by ordeal.<sup>61</sup>

According to Raymond of Aguilers, Arnulf backed down when faced with this testimony, effectively a rallying of a section of the clergy to Peter Bartholomew. He was about to perform penance for his false accusation, when he changed his mind. William of Tyre's later summary of the situation was that for a long time the pilgrims discussed this matter, hesitating between different opinions.<sup>62</sup> Albert of Aachen's report of a *schisma* among the Christian forces suggests the matter was the cause of a serious split.<sup>63</sup> Evidently, despite his loss of prestige from the latest

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<sup>57</sup> H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, p. 224.

<sup>58</sup> WT 7.18 (366).

<sup>59</sup> RA 111-13 (257). For Peter Desiderius see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 216; For Isoard I, count of Die see RA 66 n. 2, see also J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 213.

<sup>60</sup> RA 238-43 (282).

<sup>61</sup> RA 284 (289).

<sup>62</sup> WT 7.18 (366).

<sup>63</sup> AA v.32 (378).

vision, Peter Bartholomew had enough support to make the crisis a close run thing. Tipping the balance were probably those, like Raymond of Aguilers, who sincerely believed in Peter and his visions but wished to see them proven. Finally, Arnulf faced down the visionary, who then offered to undertake an ordeal by fire to prove his testimony.<sup>64</sup>

The body of people who demanded that the visionary Peter Bartholomew test the legitimacy of the Holy Lance were termed *plebeculae* by Guibert. He wrote that the rumour began to circulate that the discovery of the relic had been staged and that it was merely a lance, therefore an enormous *plebeculae* began to mutter (*mussitare*).<sup>65</sup> As has been noted, to 'mutter' was extremely disobedient conduct from the perspective of an abbot of a Benedictine monastery.<sup>66</sup> Guibert was a supporter of the legitimacy of the Holy Lance and therefore his sense of the term *plebeculae* here is thus probably pejorative, 'a mob of commoners.' Guibert also wrote that the pile of timber needed for the trial was heaped up by many of the *populus*, 'eager for novelty,' a classical phrase employed by Guibert for tumultuous and irresponsible crowds.<sup>67</sup>

The ordeal of Peter Bartholomew is one of the most vivid descriptions of trial by fire in the Middle Ages. The sources for the First Crusade are extremely consistent in the description of it, less so on the meaning of the outcome.<sup>68</sup> Two huge pyres were set alight, with a small path between them. Raymond of Aguilers, the chronicler, was master of ceremonies and shouted aloud the issue to the eager crowd: if God and St Andrew had talked to Peter Bartholomew, he would walk through unhurt, if it was a lie, Peter and the Lance that he carried would be consumed by the flames.<sup>69</sup> Clad only in a tunic Peter Bartholomew carried the Lance through the fire and emerged from the flames to hold the Lance aloft and scream 'God help us.' He was mobbed by the crowd and had to be forcibly rescued from them by Raymond Pilet.

In the light of the Gospel depiction of the passion of Christ it is significant that in his account of this event Raymond of Aguilers described the watching crowds at the ordeal initially as *populus*, then

<sup>64</sup> RA 236 (282).

<sup>65</sup> GN 262: *Incipit itaque enormis plebeculae passim mussitare...*

<sup>66</sup> See above p. 115.

<sup>67</sup> GN 262: *rerum novarum cupidis...* For classical examples, Caesar, *Gallie War*, 1.18; Tacitus, *History*, 2.8, 3.4, 3.12 (specifically the *vulgus*); Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.13, 5.3, 5.46.

<sup>68</sup> GN 121–2; AA v.32 (378); RA 100–2 (255–6).

<sup>69</sup> RA 283 (289).

*multitudo populi*, then *turba* as they progressed from praying, to watching, to charging across to Peter and inflicting wounds more lethal than those of the flames.<sup>70</sup> In Guibert's account of the ordeal he wrote that the *vulgus* surrounded the visionary to seize his clothes like relics.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, the outcome of the trial led to a division among the *vulgus*, who unreliable and fickle in their judgment, were now disturbed by an even worse form of confusion.<sup>72</sup> Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres both considered the outcome to have been more decisive. For Albert the ordeal led to a decline in the veneration of the relic. To a great extent it was now thought that the relic had only come into being through the ambitions of Count Raymond.<sup>73</sup> Fulcher described the followers of the Lance as becoming sad and disillusioned, although he noted that it continued to be venerated by the count.<sup>74</sup>

Twelve days after his ordeal Peter Bartholomew was dead. Not only had he to contend with burns but the wounds inflicted upon him by his enemies among the mob that engulfed him had been deep; furthermore his back was probably broken.<sup>75</sup> With the death of the visionary came the final disintegration of the hegemony of Count Raymond's entourage over the crusade, particularly because those Southern French followers of the Bishop of Le Puy who had joined the *familia* of the Count after the death of their lord no longer co-operated with their Provençal comrades.

Around 18 April 1099, during the siege of 'Arqa, at a point where the emir of Tripoli was refusing to pay further tribute, emissaries from Emperor Alexios I Comnenus caught up with the main body of crusaders, to complain about Bohemond's possession of Antioch. Their arrival reawakened Count Raymond's aspiration of using the presence of crusaders, who might otherwise leave following the capture of Jerusalem, to win a principality that could be held as a fief from the Emperor. He advocated stepping up the siege and waiting for aid from Alexios before journeying on to Jerusalem.<sup>76</sup> Raymond of Aguilers noted that the majority of people rejected these arguments, but the

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<sup>70</sup> RA 252–254 (284).

<sup>71</sup> GN 263.

<sup>72</sup> GN 263.

<sup>73</sup> AA v.32 (378).

<sup>74</sup> FC I.xviii.4–5 (240–1).

<sup>75</sup> RA 252 (284).

<sup>76</sup> RA 106 (256).



crusade remained at an impasse due to the large entourage of Count Raymond.<sup>77</sup> Prayers, fasting and alms for the people were proclaimed in the hope of resolving the situation, and another vision promptly occurred. Into the vacuum created by the death of Peter Bartholomew stepped the priest and visionary Stephen of Valence.

Stephen now reported that Christ, Bishop Adhémar and Mary had appeared to him. The papal legate had shown Stephen his burns, supporting therefore the legitimacy of the Lance, but the legate primarily urged veneration for the relic of the cross that had been brought with him on crusade.<sup>78</sup> The vision of the Bishop also turned Stephen's ring into a relic by asking him to present it to Count Raymond as an object through which he should invoke the aid of Mary. The legate had further instructions as to how the Lance should be treated, namely that it should not be shown unless carried by a priest clad in sacred vestments and that it be preceded by Adhémar's cross.<sup>79</sup>

The effect of the vision was to eclipse the discredited Lance and substitute the new relics in its place, in particular the cross of the legate, which had been left in Latakia. William Hugh of Monteil, brother of Adhémar, was sent to retrieve the relic. The vision, as reported by Raymond of Aguilers, did not contain a resolution to the issue of the siege of 'Arqa. It is significant, however, that with the return of William and the cross a new mutiny broke out against Count Raymond and the other princes. This time the *familia* of the Count led the way and the drawback to having absorbed so many followers from the following of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy became apparent. A great commotion took place in which Count Raymond's followers set fire to their own tents and departed from the siege.<sup>80</sup> The count broke into tears and attempted to halt the movement, but, once a part of the Provençal contingent was underway the other crusaders quickly followed. They needed little encouragement from Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia who now urged a resumption of the journey to Jerusalem.<sup>81</sup>

At Tripoli, from 13 to 16 May 1099, Count Raymond made one last attempt to channel the crusade into the direction he desired. He

<sup>77</sup> RA 266 (286).

<sup>78</sup> RA 287 (289).

<sup>79</sup> RA 287 (289).

<sup>80</sup> RA 289 (290).

<sup>81</sup> RA 281–2 (289).

offered gifts to the *nobiles*, that they should besiege Tripoli.<sup>82</sup> This elicited the stinging rebuke that took the form of another vision. According to Raymond of Aguilers, St Andrew appeared to Peter Desiderius and said to him: 'go and speak to the count as follows: do not be a plague to yourself or to others because unless Jerusalem is captured you will have no help. Let the incomplete siege of 'Arqa not trouble you, it is not to concern you that this city or others which are on the route are not at present captured.'<sup>83</sup> This vision encouraged a further mutiny, with Raymond of Aguilers reporting that the Lord sent so great a love of going to Jerusalem that no one could restrain themselves and they set out in the evening against the decrees of the princes and against the custom of the army.<sup>84</sup> The resumed march was enthusiastic but hard on those who could not keep up. On or around 18 May 1099 the army was near Jbeil, where those of the *debile vulgus* who had been overcome by the hardship of the journey were buried.<sup>85</sup> A few days later at a river bank near Sidon they found enough shade for the 'innumerable' *debile* and *pauper vulgus* to rest.<sup>86</sup>

After the investment of Jerusalem, 7 June 1099, the vision of an unnamed hermit gave hope that the city could be stormed, despite the lack of siege machinery. So on the night 12 June a great assault was attempted but beaten back. Thereafter the crusaders settled down to fill the town ditch and build substantial siege engines. Raymond of Aguilers reported that the Christian army at this point had no more than twelve thousand fighters, as well as many who were infirm and *pauperes*.<sup>87</sup> The work was hard and a great deal of suffering was caused by the lack of drinkable water nearby. In a very interesting comment on the differing extent of hardship on the different social classes, Albert of Aachen wrote that during the siege of Jerusalem 'a quantity of grapes and a rich supply of wine always abounded for the *primores* and for those who had the money. For the *egeni*, however, and those

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<sup>82</sup> RA 282 (289).

<sup>83</sup> RA 289 (290): '*Vade et loquere comiti, dicens: Noli esse molestus tibi met, neque aliis: quia nisi prius capta fuerit Iherusalem, nullum succursum habebitis. Non te molestat inexplata obsidio Archados; non te gravet quod haec civitas vel aliae quae in itinere sunt ad praesens non capiuntur.*'

<sup>84</sup> RA 291 (290).

<sup>85</sup> AA v.38 (390).

<sup>86</sup> AA v.40 (392).

<sup>87</sup> RA 338 (298): '*Et qui de nostris ad arma valebant, in quantum nos existimabamus, numerum duodecim millia non transcendebant, sed habebamus multos debiles atque pauperes.*

whose means had been exhausted, as you have heard, there was even an extreme lack of water.<sup>88</sup> The *iners vulgus* risked drinking bad water and many died of the swelling that resulted from leeches becoming attached to their throats.<sup>89</sup>

Guibert was disturbed by accounts of the shortages of food and water among the Christians at the siege of Jerusalem and he gave vent to his sympathy for the *virī nobiles* having to undergo the experience of eating rough bread and drinking bitter liquids. Unconsciously, Guibert was highlighting the same point made more directly by Albert of Aachen, that although the nobility suffered hardship, unlike the *pauperes* they did not face death from poverty, but rather, upset stomachs.<sup>90</sup>

During this time the castellan Achard of Montmerle left the siege of Jerusalem to contact six Christian vessels that had arrived in Jaffa on 17 June 1099; he was intercepted by some Arab soldiers and killed. Guibert's account of this reported not only the death of Achard, but also some of the most respected leaders (*honoratiores*) among the *pauperes* and the *pedites*.<sup>91</sup> This seems to be a clarification of the *Gesta Francorum*, in which the same incident is reported as involving the death of 'Achard of Montmerle and the *pauperes homines pedites*.'<sup>92</sup> The latter is a slightly ambiguous term that should probably be understood as meaning poor footsoldiers, although Guibert's separation of *pauperes* and *pedites* is a plausible amendment. If Guibert was correct he was providing valuable evidence for the continuing organisation of leadership among bands of *pauperes*.

The manufacture of great siege towers was an important feature of the siege of Jerusalem. The *Gesta Francorum* simply reported that Duke Godfrey and Count Raymond had two siege towers made. Non-Christian slaves did some of the work. The senior princes of the expedition had no qualms about selling pagan prisoners as slaves<sup>93</sup> and were not averse to making use of them, as Raymond of Aguilers indicated in his description of the construction of the siege towers.

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<sup>88</sup> AA vi.7 (412): *Vuarum copia et vini affluentia primoribus semper habundabat, et precium habentibus, egenis vero et rebus exhaustis, etiam aque ut audistis nimia erat defectio.*

<sup>89</sup> AA vi.6 (412).

<sup>90</sup> GN 274.

<sup>91</sup> GN 273. For Achard of Montmerle see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 197. See also RA 318 n. A.

<sup>92</sup> GF 89: ... *Achardum de Mommellou, et pauperes homines pedites.*

<sup>93</sup> RA 156–7 (266). RM 868, 869.

The men of Count Raymond had taken many fortresses and villages of the Saracens and the Saracens, as if his *servi*, were inflicted with the work, fifty or sixty of whom carried on their neck great logs that could not be brought by four pairs of oxen, to make siege machines for Jerusalem.<sup>94</sup> Baldric, however, made it clear that the skilled work was done by Christian *lignarii* and *artifices*.<sup>95</sup> Fulcher also wrote that on 15 June 1099 *artifices* were ordered to build machines of war for the siege of Jerusalem.<sup>96</sup>

From the account of the building of the same siege towers by Raymond of Aguilers it can be determined that these craftsmen were independent paid labourers rather than serfs. He wrote that the *artifices* were given wages from the collections that were made among the people, or, in Count Raymond's case, the *operarii* were paid out from his own wealth.<sup>97</sup> The urgency to have this equipment made, led the council of leaders to order those present to offer their mules and boys to the *artifices* and *lignarii* so that they could carry off tree-trunks, poles, stakes and branches for the making of wicker screens.<sup>98</sup> The term *operarii* seems to have been used by Raymond as synonymous with *artifices*. Not only is this evident in the first example above, but also in the report that Duke Godfrey and the counts of Normandy and Flanders placed Gaston, viscount of Béarn, over the *operarii* who were constructing machines, and they prepared wickerworks and material for ramparts for the purpose of attacking the walls. Gaston was described as dividing up the *operarii* wisely.<sup>99</sup> Count Raymond was left to his own devices, and put William Ricau in charge of his *operarii* on Mount Zion.<sup>100</sup> Nothing more is known of William Ricau, but John France has observed that the name suggests that he was Genoese.<sup>101</sup>

Sailors from Genoa, who had abandoned their ships at Jaffa, had recently reinforced the Christian army, thanks to their Provençal escort. Raymond of Aguilers states that they aided Count Raymond in the construction of siege equipment with the ropes, iron mallets, nails, axes,

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<sup>94</sup> RA 333 (297). For enslavement after the fall of Ceaserea to Baldwin I (17 May 1101) see FC II.9.6, (403).

<sup>95</sup> BD 100.

<sup>96</sup> FC I.xxvii.3 (294).

<sup>97</sup> RA 333 (297).

<sup>98</sup> RA 334 (298).

<sup>99</sup> RA 331–2 (297).

<sup>100</sup> RA 332 (297).

<sup>101</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, p. 346.

pick-axes and hatchets they had salvaged.<sup>102</sup> These skilled workers were paid, unlike the captured Saracens described above, who were put to work under the direction of the bishop of Albara.<sup>103</sup>

A spate of people came forward during this time, claiming to have messages from God as to how Jerusalem could be taken, but, wrote Raymond of Aguilers, 'because they were our brothers, they were not believed.'<sup>104</sup> The crusade remained deeply divided at this point and the disbelief was probably that of the Lotharingians and the Normans to towards those who continued to cling to the Holy Lance and the reputation of Peter Bartholomew.

In the end it was Peter Desiderius who had the authority to determine the final direction of the crusade. Peter Desiderius claimed to have received instructions from Adhémar who urged a fast and that the whole army walk on bare feet around the besieged city. Following this an all-out assault was to take place. It is noteworthy that Peter Desiderius took news of this vision to his lord, Count Isoard of Die and to Adhémar's brother, William Hugh of Monteil rather than Count Raymond.<sup>105</sup>

It seems likely that the split in the southern French contingent that took place when William Hugh returned with the Adhémar's cross had continued down to Jerusalem and that the visionary had permanently aligned himself with those who led the ending of the siege of 'Arqa. Those grouped around Desiderius called a council on 6 July, at which all decided to adopt the legate's commands. Interestingly, though, the Provençal clergy decided not to announce that a vision of Adhémar was the source of the instruction to walk bare-footed around the city, through fear that it would be disbelieved.<sup>106</sup> Again this was probably due to scepticism by the non-Provençal crusaders.

Although the noisy procession must have seemed bizarre, and was an opportunity for those within the city to mock the Christians, it did serve a practical purpose. It united the rival factions and raised the morale of the army for the effort ahead of it.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> RA 337 (298).

<sup>103</sup> RA 332-3 (297).

<sup>104</sup> RA 296 (291): *sed quia fratres erant, non credebant eis.*

<sup>105</sup> RA 296 (291).

<sup>106</sup> RA 296 (291).

<sup>107</sup> RA 322 (295).

The *vulgus* made an appearance in Albert of Aachen's description of the fall of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099. They were described as being let into the city once the gates had been breached, where they perpetrated slaughter with extreme cruelty.<sup>108</sup> The *vulgus* here were probably a crowd of lowly non-combatants, rushing in to the fray now that their enemies were fleeing, rather than the common footsoldiers for whom Albert preferred the phrase *pedestre vulgus*.

Once inside the city there was a scramble for the goods of the former citizens. Fulcher, not present, but a resident of the city from 9 November 1100, wrote that after such great bloodshed they entered the homes seizing whatever they found in them. Whoever had entered the home first, whether he was a poor man (*pauper*) or a rich man (*dives*), was in no way to be subject to injury by any other. Whether a house or a palace, he was to possess it and whatever he found in it was his own. They had established this law (*ius*) to be held mutually. And thus many poor (*inopes*) were made wealthy (*locupletes*).<sup>109</sup> William of Tyre's description of the fall of the city included the report that whoever broke into a house, he claimed it together with all its contents as a perpetual right (*ius*), for it had been agreed among them before the city was captured that once the city had been violently attacked, whatever anyone acquired, he should possess it in perpetuity and without molestation by right of ownership (*ius proprietatis*). Therefore very diligently searching through the city and most energetically taking part in the massacre of the citizens, they broke into the recesses and more hidden places of the city, fixing swords or any other kinds of weapons on the entrance of the house so they should be a sign to those who set foot there that they should avoid these places as already seized.<sup>110</sup>

This is important testimony from a careful historian who was born in Jerusalem a generation later (c. 1130). The same sentiment reappears in Guibert's description of the sacking of the city. He reported an equality in the method of the Lord's army, so that even the poorest (*pauperrimi*) should have whatever good things came to them thereafter without doubt or challenge, whatever the station of the man into whose hand it should have fallen first.<sup>111</sup> In Baldric's version of the sacking of the city the scene appears to be more harmonious than in other sources. The

<sup>108</sup> AA vi.25 (436).

<sup>109</sup> FC I.xxix.1 (304).

<sup>110</sup> WT 8.20 (412–13).

<sup>111</sup> GN 281.

houses were discovered to have been filled with all good things. They held on to these hoarded necessities and with an abundance having been discovered they were shared with the *pauperiores*.<sup>112</sup>

Ralph of Caen indirectly reported on the importance of the law of property, when he composed speeches for Tancred and Arnulf of Chocques, regarding the valuables that Tancred had stripped from the Temple following the sack of the city. Tancred's defence was that before the attack he had asked Arnulf who would be the owner of the houses and palaces of Jerusalem. Tancred quoted Arnulf's reply to that question: 'it was decreed and universally ordained, that with the town having been entered, he who first seized [the property] will be bequeathed it, no matter who he is.'<sup>113</sup>

Orderic Vitalis wrote an account of the First Crusade in his *Ecclesiastical History* informed by previous chronicles and returning crusaders. Orderic generally was content to follow Baldric of Dol word for word, but significantly added to the description of the fall of Jerusalem the following lines: 'everyone freely and peacefully obtained possession of whatever house, great or small, that he first broke into and emptied of pagans, together with all the possessions inside it, and up to the present day he has retained it by hereditary right (*hereditarium ius*).'<sup>114</sup>

This very distinct right, evidenced by a wealth of testimony, by the time of the later historians (Orderic and William) was considered a legal tradition accepted without question. It seems to have evolved out of the practice already noted, that during the expedition it became accepted practice that whoever first obtained plunder, even if they were poor non-combatants, could not have it forcibly removed from them.<sup>115</sup>

For the *pauperes* who had come on the expedition as emigrants the question of property was a vital one to their future status. It is no wonder that they insisted upon a 'right of ownership'. But as a result of this rule, in addition to religious motivations for a massacre of the inhabitants of the city, such as those expressed by Raymond of Aguilers,<sup>116</sup>

<sup>112</sup> BD 103.

<sup>113</sup> RC 701: *Decretum est...atque universaliter sancitum, id suo juri cuique, quodcumque sit, relinquendum fore, cujus post ingressum urbis primus fieret occupator.*

<sup>114</sup> OV 5, 172: *Unusquisque domum qualemcumque magnam seu parvam quam primitus inuasit, ac ethnicis euacuauit; quietam sibi cum omnibus gazis quae intus erant libere possedit, et usque hodie hereditario iure custodit.*

<sup>115</sup> See above pp. 117–8.

<sup>116</sup> RA 346–8 (300).

the *pauperes* had a powerful material incentive: the previous inhabitants had to be eliminated, for these were to be their new homes.

After the massacre in Jerusalem the Christian leaders were faced with an immense number of bodies that needed to be carried out. Baldric's *Hierosolymitanae Historiae* had a detail concerning this, not reported elsewhere until it was incorporated into the history of William of Tyre, but which has a note of authenticity about it. Baldric wrote that the surviving pagans were ordered to take the bodies out and, because their numbers were not sufficient, the poor Christians (*pauperes Christiani*), after being given pay (*dato pretio*), engaged in the same work.<sup>117</sup> The report in the *Gesta Francorum* agrees that the surviving Saracens dragged out the dead bodies, but has no mention of this being insufficient and the Christian poor being paid for the same work.<sup>118</sup> Even if this payment was an invention by Baldric, his report indicates that he considered the *pauperes* on the expedition at this point to be free from compulsory labour. It is noteworthy in this regard that labour at the siege of Jerusalem could not be commanded, except from non-Christian captives: rather, it was voluntary or else had to be paid for.<sup>119</sup>

Nor does it seem to be the case that after the fall of Jerusalem the Christian poor became serfs; those who stayed as settlers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem were free, rent-paying, farmers. This is the conclusion that Joshua Prawer drew from the charters of the kingdom. For example, those concerning the colonisation of Beit-Jibrin, built in 1136, and whose charters were renewed in 1158 and 1177. These charters show that the settlers had the right to leave the land. Tenures there were hereditary and could be sold, the obligation on the producers being the payment on rent. The rent was not a fixed one based on the amount of land cultivated but, more favourably to the farmers, was *terraticum*, a portion of the crops.<sup>120</sup> Similarly with Castle Imbert (Akhzib), colonised by royal initiative 1146–1153. There the inhabitants received houses as hereditary possessions without rent or duty. Each farmer obtained a plot of land for tillage and a further allocation in order to cultivate vines or a garden. Rent to the king was a quarter of the crop, and although these conditions were extremely favourable, the king also obtained

<sup>117</sup> BD 103, WT 8.24 (417).

<sup>118</sup> GF 92.

<sup>119</sup> GF 91, RA 333.

<sup>120</sup> J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), p. 124.



revenues from his control of baking and bathing.<sup>121</sup> As Joshua Prawer concluded in his study of charter evidence, ‘with rare exceptions there was no *terra dominicata*, no lordly demesne in the Crusader Kingdom. There is no reason to accuse our documentation. Dozens of villages are minutely described, but the demesne is conspicuous by its absence.’<sup>122</sup>

Confirmation of the free status of the Christian peasantry of the Kingdom of Jerusalem is indicated by the vocabulary of William, Chancellor of the kingdom (1174) and archbishop of Tyre (1175). William, when describing a settlement near Daron, made a very interesting observation. He explained that, ‘certain cultivators of the fields from the neighbouring places had gathered together and certain of them giving help through mediation they had built there a church and a suburb near the fortress of Daron, where the men of less substance could prosper more easily than in the city.’<sup>123</sup> The social terms here are *agrorum cultores* for those who initially gathered together, and *tenuiores homines* for the class of people who prospered more easily. Both are unusual terms. Why did William not use the more conventional terms of *rusticus* say, or *agricola*? Almost certainly because the situation he was describing was itself unconventional. The colonists are described as gathering and erecting a church and dwellings on their own initiative. So whilst they were clearly of the lower, labouring, social orders, they seem to have been free from lordship and indeed prospering as a result. The point here is that the evidence from later generations in the crusader kingdom suggests that there was no serfdom and relatively light levels of taxation on Christian farmers. If an aspect of the motivation of the serfs who left for the Promised Land was a wish to improve their social condition, then it seems likely their aim was achieved. The small minority of them, that is, who survived the hardship of the journey.

The payment of the *pauperes* for their work in the siege and in particular the manner in which property was distributed on the fall of Jerusalem is testimony to the political strength of the *pauperes* in the later stages of the crusade. Robert the Monk articulated his admiration for the position of the *pauperes* who had travelled so far and undergone so much hardship with reference to the Old Testament. ‘Then [Jerusalem] enriched

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140–1.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>123</sup> WT 20.19 (937): *Convenerant autem aliqui ex locis finitimis agrorum cultores et negotiationibus quidam operam dantes, edificaverant ibi suburbium et ecclesiam non longe a presidio, facti illius loci habitatores: erat enim locus commodus et ubi tenuiores homines facilius proficerent quam in urbibus.*

her sons, *coming from afar* [Isa 60:4], so that no one in her remained a *pauper*.<sup>124</sup> This passage is more theological and literary than historical, although the information it conveys is consistent with other sources, which indicate that the *pauperes* gained considerable property on the fall of Jerusalem. But its main message, by association with Chapter 60 of Isaiah, was that the journey of the *pauperes* had culminated in a glorious conclusion and that they had obtained their just reward.

The early crusading sources were not generally sympathetic to the lower social orders. But their evidence is sufficient to show that the *pauperes* on the First Crusade were not simply a passive body awaiting alms and military success from the *milites*. The crisis at Antioch as the 'rope-dancers' fled the city impelled them to find their voice. Given the inappropriateness of a member of the *pauperes* attempting to command senior princes directly, the political demands of the *pauperes* were cloaked in the respectable and orthodox language of visions. Often those writing about the First Crusade have removed from its political context the fervour with which the visions at Antioch were greeted, making the visionaries and their supporters appear irrational. But the outcry in support of the finding of the Holy Lance was an opportunity for the crowds to bring pressure to bear on the knights to come to battle while there was still hope of victory.

Thereafter the presence of the *pauperes* as an active, creative, force in the direction of the expedition was constant, surging up in alliance with the Norman contingent and the large numbers of knights who were not tightly bound into the following of a senior prince to force the movement onwards, firstly from Antioch itself, then Ma'arra, Jabala, 'Arqa, and Tripoli. No account of the First Crusade that ignores this pressure from below can be considered a full one. Even at the culmination of the expedition, the fall of Jerusalem, the political momentum of the poor was visible in the fact that their property rights were respected, albeit at the cost of the lives of the local inhabitants.

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<sup>124</sup> RM 868: *Tunc quippe filios suos, de longe ad se venientes, ita ditavit quia nullus in ea pauper remansit.*



## CHAPTER FIVE

### *MILITES*: KNIGHTS OR SIMPLY MOUNTED WARRIORS?

There is a considerable literature on the question of 'kighthood' in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, particularly with regard to various debates on the nature and evolution of the knightly class and whether, indeed, it is correct to see knights as forming a class.<sup>1</sup> The incontestable spread of the use of the term *milites* from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, so that it came to be applied to emperors, kings and princes as well as less distinguished soldiers, has created a debate of a very important and wide ranging nature. A typical topic of this debate would be the issue of whether the change in the usage of *milites* was a reflection of the growth of a rising social class of knights from lowly soldiers into an aristocracy, or whether the sources are indicating not so much change in material social conditions but an ideological change in the concept of kighthood and the evolution of the term *milites*.<sup>2</sup> In other words, was the change in the usage of *milites* sociological or

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<sup>1</sup> See especially the selection from key articles in A. Borst ed. *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1976). G. Duby's important articles are reprinted in full in *Hommes et Structures du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1973) translated as *The Chivalrous Society* (Berkeley, 1977). See also P. Noble, 'Attitudes to Social Class as Revealed by Some of the Older Chansons de Geste,' *Romania* 94 (1973), 359–85; P. Van Luyn, 'Les Milites du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle,' *Le Moyen Âge*, 77, 1 and 2 (1977), pp. 5–51 and 193–238; C. Morris, 'Equestris Ordo: Chivalry as a Vocation in the Twelfth Century,' *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978), pp. 87–96; T. Reuter ed., *The Medieval Nobility: Studies in the Ruling Classes of France and Germany from the Sixth to the Twelfth Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1979); J. Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. T. H. and E. Jackson (New York, 1982); T. N. Bisson, 'Nobility and Family in Medieval France: A Review Essay,' *French Historical Studies* 16:3 (1990), 597–613; D. Fleming, 'Landholding by *milites* in Domesday Book: A Revision,' *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1990), 83–98; Jean-Pierre Poly and E. Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation, 900–1200* (London, 1991); J. Scammell, 'The Formation of the English Social Structure: Freedom, Knights and Gentry, 1066–1300,' *Speculum* 68:3 (1993), 591–618; J. Gillingham, 'Thegns and Knights in Eleventh Century England: Who then was the Gentleman?' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6:5 (1995), 129–153; J. Flori, 'Knightly Society,' *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV c. 1024–1198*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith, 2 (Cambridge, 2004), I, 148–184; D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility* (Harlow, 2005). March Bloch's *Feudal Society* (Chicago, 1961), remains valuable, especially pp. 312–27.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood*, p. 77.

philological? Or, if there was an interaction between the two, what was its nature?

Such questions are wide-ranging and complex. They are not the subject matter of this book, deserving book-length investigation in their own right. This study of the social vocabulary of the early crusading sources can, however, at least shed some light on the usage of the term *milites* for this particular group of historians. Two closely related themes arise from an examination of the use of the term *milites* by the early crusading authors; did these historians understand the *miles* to be a member of a certain social rank? Was that rank one of nobility? Or did they employ the term simply to indicate a person performing a particular function, a soldier? Secondly, the sources reflect a major concern among the *milites* of the First Crusade for their horses. All the historians comment on the loss of horses during periods of hardship during the First Crusade and many state that because of this there were *milites* who became *pedites*. This warrants close examination. Were they reporting a loss of social status or a change in military function?

Before examining these issues a preliminary investigation is necessary concerning the terms *equites* and *equestres*. Were they synonymous with the term *milites* for the early crusading sources? The term *equestres* was used above all by the most consciously classicist author, Guibert of Nogent. At issue is whether Guibert was using the term to indicate *milites* or a broader body of mounted soldiers. Among the passages in which Guibert used the term was the report that many *equestres viri* died during the harsh passage of the First Crusade through the desert terrain of Anatolia in July 1097.<sup>3</sup> Here Guibert was making a minor alteration to a passage in his *ſons formalis*, the *Gesta Francorum*, which referred to *milites*.<sup>4</sup> This was the important passage discussed below in which the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* described *milites* becoming *pedites* through the loss of their horses.<sup>5</sup> Guibert used this information about knights becoming footsoldiers for his description of a later part of the difficult journey through Anatolia, after the expedition had passed through Coxon, October 1097. In Guibert's account hardship converted *equestres* into *pedites*.<sup>6</sup> These two examples suggest that Guibert saw the term *equestres* as interchangeable with *milites*.

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<sup>3</sup> GN 161.

<sup>4</sup> GF 23.

<sup>5</sup> See below pp. 180–1.

<sup>6</sup> GN 168.

In his dispute with the chaplain and historian Fulcher of Chartres over the numbers that participated on the First Crusade, Guibert wrote that the entire Christian force could not have been 6,000,000 as he believed there to be scarcely 100,000 fully equipped *equestres* at the first assault on Nicea, April 1097.<sup>7</sup> Here the term was evidently being used by Guibert to cover a body of knights who were not simply riders, as they were attempting to storm a city. Fulcher of Chartres also used the term *equestres*, but only once, in 1118, for those knights in the company of Baldwin I at the Nile near al-Faramā', where they were described as skilfully using their lances to spear fish.<sup>8</sup> The context makes it clear that these *equestres* were not simply riders, as Fulcher considered the term appropriate to them even while they were described as on foot and fishing. The evidence for seeing *equestres* and *milites* as synonymous in the work of both Guibert and Fulcher is therefore strong.

A similar question arises over the term *equites*, which appears in all the early crusading sources other than the *Gesta Francorum* and its close variant the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of Peter Tudebode. There are several clear examples of the interchange of the terms *milites* and *equites* within the individual works as well as examples of the substitution of *equites* for *milites* by later writers in their version of passages in the *Gesta Francorum*. Fulcher of Chartres generally used the phrase *equites* and *pedites* to refer to the entirety of an army.<sup>9</sup>

In describing an expedition of King Baldwin II in 1125, Fulcher initially referred to the *equites* of the king and soon after the same body of knights was termed *milites*.<sup>10</sup> Guibert of Nogent shared with Fulcher the phrasing *equites* and *pedites* to indicate a typical body of fighting men.<sup>11</sup> Three examples in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* show that Guibert considered *equites* and *milites* to be interchangeable. In mid-June, 1098, the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Comnenus, turned back from his march towards Antioch having been brought the news, by Stephen of Blois amongst others, that the rest of the expedition was doomed. Guibert described how the *milites* accepted the order to turn back, he then added that the

<sup>7</sup> GN 344.

<sup>8</sup> FC II.lxiv.1 (610).

<sup>9</sup> FC I.iii.4 (134); I.viii.6 (172–3); I.xi.5 (193); I.xxi.3 (249); I.xxxi.7 (315); I.xxxiii.8 (328); II.ii.6 (364); II.xv.1 (425); II.xvi.3 (431); II.xxxi.1 (490); II.xxxi.11 (493); II.xxxii.11 (500); III.ii.1 (618); III.xi.2 (647–8); III.xxxi.1 (722); III.xxxi.4 (725); III.l.12 (791); III.l.15 (793).

<sup>10</sup> FC III.xlvi.2 and 3 (773).

<sup>11</sup> GN 135; 137; 164; 171; 185; 231–2; 239; 293–4; 336; 345.

*pedites* could not keep up with these swift *equites* on the retreat.<sup>12</sup> The second example of the interchange of *milites* and *equites* appears in a passage concerning the expedition to Jaffa of Raymond Pilet during the siege of Jerusalem in mid-June 1099. Raymond Pilet, together with two other *proceres*, was described as taking 100 *equites* from the army of his lord, Count Raymond of Toulouse; soon after 30 of these *equites* left the main body and were referred to by Guibert as *milites*.<sup>13</sup> Thirdly, Gervase of Bazoches was referred to as both an *eques* and a *miles*.<sup>14</sup>

A comparison with the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* also shows Guibert using the term *equites* for the Anonymous's *milites*. The *Gesta Francorum* has a passage in which the Turkish atabeg of Mosul, Kerbogha, offered to make *milites* from the *pedites* of the Christian forces facing him in Antioch.<sup>15</sup> In Guibert's version Kerbogha offered to make *equites*.<sup>16</sup> The work of Robert the Monk reveals the same type of substitutions in his reworking of the *Gesta Francorum*. In his account of the journey through the desert after the battle of Dorylaeum, 1 July 1097, Robert wrote that 'there died the greater part of our horses, and many who previously had been *equites* became *pedites*.'<sup>17</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* has a near identical account, but used the term *milites*.<sup>18</sup> Robert also wrote that when Bohemond and Robert of Flanders decided to lead a foraging expedition from the siege of Antioch, around Christmas 1097, they picked out thirty thousand *equites et pedites*.<sup>19</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* referred to twenty thousand *milites et pedites* for the same expedition.<sup>20</sup>

Baldric of Dol used the term *equites* rather than *milites* in connection with the battle between the Christian forces and Kerbogha, 28 June 1098, and subsequently only on one other occasion.<sup>21</sup> The account of the battle with Kerbogha was embellished by Baldric with many poetic details. A consciously literary context is probably the reason why Baldric preferred the classical term for an order of horsemen, *equites*, to that

<sup>12</sup> GN 231–2.

<sup>13</sup> GN 272–3.

<sup>14</sup> GN 349 (*miles*); 350 (*eques*).

<sup>15</sup> GF 67.

<sup>16</sup> GN 236.

<sup>17</sup> RM 766: *Ibi mortua fuit major pars equorum, et multi qui prius equites* [*milites* in three ms. variations] *exstiterant pedites effecti sunt*.

<sup>18</sup> GF 23: *Illic fuit mortua maxima pars nostrorum equorum, eo quod multi ex nostris militibus remanserunt pedites*.

<sup>19</sup> RM 778.

<sup>20</sup> GF 30.

<sup>21</sup> BD 75, 76, 78, 86.

used for the same scenes in the *Gesta Francorum*, *milites*. Raymond of Aguilers' preferred term for knights was *milites*, but on five occasions he used the alternative, *equites*. Two of these instances were simply a result of stylistic considerations, the chronicler preferring not to repeat himself when he wished to use a noun for knight twice in the same sentence. Thus Raymond reported a speech of Tancred in which the Norman prince pointed out that that while there had once been a hundred thousand *equites* in the Christian forces now hardly a thousand *milites* remained.<sup>22</sup> Later the historian wrote of there being an increase in the garrison of Albara from seven *milites* to sixty *equites*.<sup>23</sup> For Raymond of Aguilers it is unlikely that the use of the term *equites* was shaped by classical authors, of whom he showed little awareness. His influences in choosing to use the term were likely to be biblical.<sup>24</sup>

In the Vulgate the term *equites* is used approximately twice as often as *milites* and it might well be that Raymond of Aguilers found it the more appropriate of the terms when he reported a certain vision of divine aid. This miracle took the form of two *equites* who were said to have appeared before the Christian forces at the battle of Dorylaeum, 1 July 1097.<sup>25</sup>

As there are no examples where the terms *equestres*, *equites* and *milites* are juxtaposed to suggest they carry different meanings, but several where they are used synonymously, it seems reasonable to conclude that for these authors the terms were being applied to the same category of person. This was also the conclusion of Pierre van Luyn in his study of eleventh century narrative sources, which included the early French crusading sources.<sup>26</sup>

Did the early crusading sources use the term *miles* to refer to riders, soldiers, or nobles? Were they consistent in their use of the term or did it have a broad enough range of meaning for it to be applied in several different senses? Joachim Bumke's summary of his chronologically and geographically wide ranging study of the terms *miles*, *chevalier* and *Ritter* was that 'at times it was the military, the social, the religious, the ideological or the hierarchical meaning of the word which was most prominent. For the most part they ran parallel to one another

<sup>22</sup> RA 190 (240).

<sup>23</sup> RA 193 (274).

<sup>24</sup> See above pp. 27–39.

<sup>25</sup> RA 25–6 (240).

<sup>26</sup> P. van Luyn, 'Les *milites* dans la France du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', pp. 20–1.



and it is fair to assume that there was mutual influence and that they overlapped.<sup>27</sup> This, 'multiple-meaning', view was followed by Verona Epp in her study of Fulcher of Chartres and, consciously following Epp, by Carol Sweetenham in her translation of Robert the Monk.<sup>28</sup> Undisputable as Bumke's conclusion is for a period of several centuries and across a great extent of Western Europe, the work of an individual author, or those closely linked by subject matter and chronology, might yield a more restricted and consistent meaning. A study of the use of the term *milites* and its equivalents in the early crusading sources reveals, in fact, that they gravitated towards an understanding of the term that included a social sense to it. In other words, in the main, they were writing about 'knights' rather than 'soldiers' or 'cavalry'.

Verona Epp is the only historian to have conducted a very close analysis of the social vocabulary of one of the early crusading historians, namely that of Fulcher of Chartres. In her study of Fulcher's use of the term *milites* she concluded that the term was used almost equally in a functional sense, for soldiers, as well as in a social sense, for noble knights.<sup>29</sup> For her a key passage was one in which Fulcher lamented for the loss of many '*nobiles* and *probi milites*,' at the second battle of Ramleh, 17 May 1102.<sup>30</sup> Epp observes of this passage that it implies there were other losses of non-noble *milites*.<sup>31</sup> This is a possibility, but it might also simply have been that Fulcher was trying to emphasise the loss of several senior princes. In other words his intended distinction might not have been between noble and non-noble *milites* but between *milites* and very distinguished princes, all of whom were noble. That this was Fulcher's intended meaning is suggested by the fact that immediately after his general lament he recorded the deaths of Count Stephen of Blois, a *vir prudens et nobilis* and Count Stephen of Burgundy.<sup>32</sup> Epp also made a similar point in regard to a second instance in which Fulcher referred to *milites nobiles*.<sup>33</sup> The passage in question is Fulcher's account of the march of Baldwin of Edessa and Bohemond of Antioch to Jerusalem in the autumn of 1099. Fulcher,

<sup>27</sup> J. Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood*, p. 155.

<sup>28</sup> V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres*, p. 251.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> FC II.xix.4 (443).

<sup>31</sup> V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres*, p. 257.

<sup>32</sup> FC II.xix.4 (443). For Stephen I, count of Burgundy see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 222.

<sup>33</sup> V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres*, p. 256.

who was present, wrote that ‘you would see *milites nobiles*, having lost their horses in some way, become *pedites*.’<sup>34</sup> Epp’s understanding of this passage is that by reporting the loss of status of the noble knights, Fulcher therefore implied the existence of non-noble knights. Again this is a possible interpretation, but equally the Latin does not preclude the interpretation that through his application of the adjective *nobiles* to the *milites*, Fulcher was emphasising how painful the loss of status was for certain particularly distinguished *milites*. Fulcher’s first, 1105, redaction shows that he was writing in this spirit as he referred to *milites progenie inclyti*, ‘knights, illustrious by their ancestry’ becoming *pedites*.<sup>35</sup>

If Fulcher’s intended meaning in these two passages is uncertain, there is one clear example where Fulcher does distinguish between the different status of those within a body of cavalry, and here it is clear that he was not using the schema suggested by Epp, of noble and non-noble *milites*. When the army of Jerusalem marched out to meet an invasion by al-Afdal, vizier of Cairo, 27 August 1105, Fulcher, an eyewitness, wrote that ‘there were 500 of our *milites*, excepting those, who although riding, were not counted with the name of a soldier.’<sup>36</sup> Heinrich Hagenmeyer discussed the unusual phrase *qui militari nomine non censebantur*, making the likely suggestion that Fulcher was drawing a distinction between those of noble birth, who were counted as *milites* and the others, who were perhaps squires.<sup>37</sup> Even if Hagenmeyer’s view is not accepted, this passage does show that Fulcher did not extend his use of the term *milites* down a social or military scale beyond a certain point. They were a group apart, in some sense other than riding horses. It remains to be shown that this was a social division and not simply a division according to the quality of their military equipment.

It is clear that Fulcher at times considered some bodies of *milites* to be members of a distinct social order, that is, a knightly class. Those passages in which Fulcher referred to *milites nobiles* discussed above are important in this regard, whether Epp’s understanding of them is accepted or not. Two other passages deserve consideration here. In Fulcher’s account of Pope Urban II’s speech at Clermont he described the pope as asking his audience to urge ‘everyone of whatever *ordo*,

<sup>34</sup> FC I.xxxiii.13 (331): *Videretis milites nobiles, equis quoquomodo amissis, pedites effici.*

<sup>35</sup> FC I.xxxiii.13 (331d).

<sup>36</sup> FC II.xxxii.3 (496): *Milites erant D, exceptis illis, qui militari nomine non censebantur, tamen equitantes.*

<sup>37</sup> FC 496 n. 9.

whether *equites* or *pedites*, *divites* or *pauperes*' to join the expedition.<sup>38</sup> Here Fulcher made it clear that he understood the division between knight and footsoldier to mirror that of rich and poor, suggesting that *ordo* was not a matter of function, 'cavalry' and the footsoldiers, but of social rank, 'knights' and footsoldiers. Fulcher wrote an even clearer passage for indicating that he considered the position of a *miles* to be a social rank. Soon after the death of Nūr-ad-Daulah Belek, emir of Aleppo, 5 May 1124, in battle with Joscelin of Courtenay, count of Edessa, a messenger came to the army of Pons, count of Tripoli,<sup>39</sup> with the head of Belek to proclaim the news. Fulcher reported that this messenger was the *armiger* of Joscelin 'and since he had brought this most greatly desired news to our army standing before Tyre, having received the arms of a *miles*, he was advanced (*provectus est*) from *armiger* to *miles*. Indeed it was the Count of Tripoli who raised him (*sublimavit*) to this rank (*gradus*).<sup>40</sup> Here there is no doubt that for Fulcher to become a *miles* was not only to receive the appropriate arms but also a promotion in status.

Does the description, discussed above, of *milites* becoming *pedites* due to the loss of their horses contradict the view that Fulcher saw the *milites* as being of a certain social status? Fulcher made it clear that the change was a temporary one in his description of the very many *milites* who were in Joppa in May 1102 awaiting to cross to France. These *milites* had no horses because they had lost everything in Anatolia, on their way to Jerusalem (a reference to the crusade of 1101).<sup>41</sup> For this large body of *milites* in Joppa, no longer part of a campaigning army, their lack of horses did not mean they were termed *pedites*. Fulcher went on to report that many of them, including the very senior nobles Geoffrey I Jordan, count of Vendôme, Stephen, count of Burgundy and Hugh VI of Lusignan, borrowed horses in order to fight in the second battle of Ramleh, 17 May 1102.<sup>42</sup> The fact that this body of soldiers were termed *milites* whilst awaiting return on foot to France

<sup>38</sup> FC I.iii.4 (134): *Cunctis cuiuslibet ordinis tam equitibus quam peditibus, tam divitibus quam pauperibus...*

<sup>39</sup> Pons of Tripoli (c. 1098–1137), son of Bertrand of Tripoli and count of Tripoli from 1112 to 1137.

<sup>40</sup> FC III.xxxi.7 (726): *Et quia nuntium attulit desiderantissimum in exercitu nostro ante Tyrum astante, acceptis armis ab armigero in militem provectus est. Comes nempe Tripolitanus ad hunc gradum eum sublimavit.*

<sup>41</sup> FC II.xv.6 (427–8).

<sup>42</sup> FC II.xviii.4 (437–8). See J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 207 (Geoffrey) and p. 213 (Hugh).

and the inclusion of senior princes in the category does make their social status evident here.

Many other appearances of the term *milites* in Fulcher's work are statements that describe the military activities of Christian knights but contain no social information.<sup>43</sup> Verena Epp's analysis of Fulcher's use of the term *milites* found that approximately half the terms were associated with a social dimension and of the other uses of the term *milites*, she found it to be equally often used for a soldier in general and for a mounted soldier.<sup>44</sup> As Epp herself observed, however, for Fulcher the functional and social sense of the term *milites* frequently overlaps and it would perhaps be imposing an artificial distinction to assume that in such examples he intended to convey the meaning 'soldiers' rather than 'knights.'<sup>45</sup> Overall it does seem to be the case that Fulcher used the term *milites* for 'knights' and understood that it had a distinct social aspect to it, *milites* were not simply soldiers or mounted soldiers but were of a distinct *ordo* or *gradus*.

The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* had a great deal to say about the relationship between a *miles* and his horse, but he was not given to generalisations of a social nature. One passage worth noting with regard to whether *milites* were noble in the *Gesta Francorum* occurs during the course of a discussion of the fighting qualities of the Turkish *milites*: 'They say of themselves that they are of Frankish extraction and because of that no men ought by nature to be *milites*, except the Franks and themselves.'<sup>46</sup> Contained in this comment is the view that to be a *miles* is a condition that is related to birth. The content of the passage does not, however, stretch to the implication that all *milites* are of high birth as clearly not all Franks are nobles. Nevertheless the connection between *generatio* and *miles* was in the author's mind and this is of interest as a tentative step in the direction of seeing the status of a *miles* as one that is inherited. For a greater understanding of the nature of the *milites* on the First Crusade, the work of the northern French

<sup>43</sup> FC I.vii.5 (233); I.xxiv.10 (263); I.xxvii.6 (296); I.xxxi.5 (314); II.ii.3 (359); II.ii.5 (361); II.iii.2 (363); II.vi.9 (389); II.ix.2 (402); II.xi.2 (408); II.xi.14 (414); Iixviii.7 (440); II.xxxii.2 (495); II.xxxii.3 (496); II.xxxvii.3 (517); II.xliii.4 (540); II.xlv.8 (556); II.xlvi.3 (560); I.xlix.5 (569); III.xxviii.4 (698); III.xxxi.4 (725); III.xliv.4 (769); III.l.8 (789).

<sup>44</sup> V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres*, p. 251.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> GF 21: *Verumtamen dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione, et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Franci et illi.*

historians who, some ten years later, rewrote the *Gesta Francorum*, has to be examined.

In Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* the phrase *milites et pedites* quite clearly referred to knights and footsoldiers. Robert used it a number of times. Duke Godfrey was described as taking the road through Hungary with a great band of *milites et pedites*.<sup>47</sup> When he learned of the crusade, Bohemond was described as addressing everyone, whether *milites* or *pedites*. In preparation for the storming of Antioch, 3 June 1098, the leaders of the fighters assembled huge battalions of *milites* and even more troops of *pedites*.<sup>48</sup> In November 1098 the crusading forces that had scattered from Antioch while plague raged there returned and from many parts of the world many distinguished *milites et pedites* followed the example of those who had left earlier.<sup>49</sup> When Raymond Pilet led a newly recruited force out of Antioch in July 1098, he bound to himself a multitude of *milites et pedites*.<sup>50</sup> Godfrey, as ruler of Jerusalem, sent to the people of Nablus, his brother Eustace, Tancred and a great band of *milites et pedites*.<sup>51</sup> At the battle of Ascalon, 12 August 1099, the *pedites* were lined up in front of the *milites*.<sup>52</sup>

There are two significant passages in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* concerning *milites* and riding in which the passage loses its sense unless the term *milites* is understood to be referring specifically to knights. As considered under *pedites*, Robert reported that while crossing the Anti-Taurus range of mountains 'on this uneven path the *milites* and *armigeri* carried their arms from their necks as did the *pedites* because none of them were riding'.<sup>53</sup> For the battle against Kerbogha, 'Bohemond formed a sixth [squadron] with those *pedites* who were lightly armed for war, and *milites*, who had been compelled by necessity to sell their horses'.<sup>54</sup> The relegation of *milites* to a contingent of *pedites* is discussed in full below.<sup>55</sup> Here Robert was clear that even though the *miles* was having to fight from foot, he was still a knight, a point which is similarly

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<sup>47</sup> RM 732.

<sup>48</sup> RM 799.

<sup>49</sup> RM 843.

<sup>50</sup> RM 838.

<sup>51</sup> RM 871.

<sup>52</sup> RM 874.

<sup>53</sup> RM 770 *hac inaequali semita milites et armigeri collo suo arma dependentia gestabant, omnes aequaliter pedites, quia nulli eorum equitabant.*

<sup>54</sup> RM 828: *Boamundi fuit sexta, cum quo expeditores ad bellum pedites fuerunt, et milites qui equos suos, necessitate compulsi, vendiderant.*

<sup>55</sup> See below pp. 179–86.

evident in the description of those *milites* and *armigeri* required to walk like *pedites* due to the difficulty of the mountain terrain.

There are a further group of references to *milites* by Robert that should probably be understood to refer to the activity of knights rather than soldiers in general. After victory over Kerbogha, Robert reported a speech of the papal legate, Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, to the victorious Christian forces, which claimed that never had such *milites* existed, since none had fought so many successful battles in so short a time.<sup>56</sup> Robert described Duke Godfrey as a 'Duke of Dukes, a *miles* of *milites*.'<sup>57</sup> He was also described as so gentle to the meek that he seemed more a monk than a *miles*.<sup>58</sup> In a further passage concerning Duke Godfrey, Robert wrote that 'God guarded his *miles*.'<sup>59</sup> During the battle with Kerbogha, Robert, closely following the *Gesta Francorum* claimed that a countless army of *milites* clothed in white was seen to come down the mountain, whose standard bearers and leaders were said to be SS George, Mauricius, Mercurius and Demetrius.<sup>60</sup> On another occasion Robert referred to Saint George as *invictus miles*.<sup>61</sup>

There were several individuals given the epithet *miles* by Robert the Monk. Walter Sanzavohir, a leader of one of the contingents of the People's Crusade was a *miles egregius*;<sup>62</sup> Duke Robert of Normandy a *miles animosus* and *miles interritus*;<sup>63</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, first on to the walls of Antioch, a *miles*;<sup>64</sup> Guy of Hauteville, half-brother of Bohemond a *miles*;<sup>65</sup> Bohemond himself, *miles* and *animosus miles*;<sup>66</sup> Raymond Pilet a *miles*;<sup>67</sup> Gouffier of Lastours, *miles honestus*,<sup>68</sup> and Letold of Tournai, a *miles*.<sup>69</sup> Robert did not name a certain Armenian lord, who was appointed

<sup>56</sup> RM 834.

<sup>57</sup> RM 855: ...*dux ducum et miles militum*.

<sup>58</sup> RM 731.

<sup>59</sup> RM 787: *Deus militem suum custodivit*.

<sup>60</sup> RM 832.

<sup>61</sup> RM 834.

<sup>62</sup> RM 735.

<sup>63</sup> RM 760, 875.

<sup>64</sup> RM 799. Fulcher of Chartres the *miles* is not to be confused with the chronicler of the same name. See C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, p. 145 n. 24.

<sup>65</sup> RM 816.

<sup>66</sup> RM 817, 741.

<sup>67</sup> RM 838, 844.

<sup>68</sup> RM 847. For Gouffier of Lastours see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 209.

<sup>69</sup> RM 867.

ruler of a castle between Mamistra and Caesarea, although the *Gesta* referred to him as Symeon. While the author of the *Gesta* simply called Symeon 'a man', Robert described him as a *miles fortis et strenuus*.<sup>70</sup> Peter of Aups was described as a *miles* by both the *Gesta* and Robert.<sup>71</sup> The Byzantine envoy Tatikios together with William Carpenter was called a *miles* and *dives*.<sup>72</sup> With the one exception of Raymond Pilet, Carol Sweetenham has preferred to translate all these terms as 'soldier.' This seems to be overly cautious, as all of those described as *miles*, with the possible exceptions of the Armenian Symeon and Byzantine Tatikios, clearly held a distinct social position, a very senior one in the case of Robert of Normandy and Bohemond. To portray Robert the Monk as intending the meaning 'soldier' rather than 'knight' in these cases risks losing information concerning the term *milites*.

There are, however, passages in the *Historia* in which Robert used the term *miles* in a general sense, for a soldier rather than a knight. In this regard, Carol Sweetenham's introduction to her English translation of the *Historia Iherosolimitana* is correct in stating that 'Robert's use of the term *miles* is fluid; in this he mirrors his contemporaries such as Fulcher. *Miles* can mean variously a soldier, a vassal, a Christian soldier or a knight.'<sup>73</sup> But as noted in Chapter Two, those passages where the term was not confined to the meaning of 'knights' tended to occur where Robert was making a theological point.

A very interesting passage in this regard occurs in Robert's report of a speech of Bohemond at Constantinople, a speech that is not in the *Gesta Francorum*. Bohemond is described as being tearful with delight that so many *consules*, *duces* and *optimates* are at the city to meet him. He opened his address to these senior nobles by calling them '*bellatores Dei*.'<sup>74</sup> Later he declaimed, 'O *ordo* of *milites*, now three and four times blessed! You who up to these times were polluted by the blood of murder, are now through the sweat of the saints equal to the martyrs.'<sup>75</sup> In a metaphorical language, Robert was making the point that the expedition to Jerusalem gave a soldier the opportunity to earn a heavenly

<sup>70</sup> RM 768, GF 25.

<sup>71</sup> RM 769, GF 25. For Peter of Aups see C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 117 n. 52.

<sup>72</sup> RM 782.

<sup>73</sup> C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 71.

<sup>74</sup> RM 747.

<sup>75</sup> RM 748: *O ordo militum, nunc terque quaterque beatus! Qui huc usque fuisti homicidii sanguine deturpatus, nunc sanctorum sudoribus compar martyrum.*

reward through the same activity that formerly condemned him. The occurrence of *bellatores* and *ordo* in the same passage makes it clear that at this point Robert was writing within the functional framework of the 'three orders'.<sup>76</sup> His theological message was aimed at the broad category of 'those who fight' from emperor to poor footsoldier. Because of this context it would probably be inaccurate to narrow down those *milites* being addressed to the category of knights. The sense of *ordo* here is not one of hierarchy; Sweetenham in her translation also preferred 'soldiers' to 'knights' at this point.<sup>77</sup>

A similar observation can be made for Baldric of Dol's reworking of the *Gesta Francorum*. Baldric used the term *miles* in a passage with a curious division of the Christian forces present at the siege of Antioch. When the knights departed from the Christian camp to fight the 'Lake Battle', 9 February 1098, Baldric wrote that everyone became anxious. 'No one was confident in themselves, neither the *sacerdos*, nor the woman, nor the *populus*, nor the *miles*.'<sup>78</sup> There is an echo here of the famous three orders based on function, with *miles* here almost certainly standing for a soldier in general rather than a knight in particular. So for Robert the Monk and Baldric of Dol, Benedictine monks of northern France, *milites* were not necessarily a distinct social grouping of 'knights', particularly when they used the term in the context of a schema of society that ordered people by their function.

For Guibert of Nogent, however, although sharing a similar background to Robert and Baldric, the use of the term *milites* is very different. Not least because Guibert's rich social vocabulary and acute awareness of social division led him to echo a classical hierarchical ordering of society rather than the simple functional division of orders. Guibert used the terms *milites*, *equites*, and *equestres* for 'knights' of a distinct social class and not simply mounted soldiers. This is particularly evident from the three appearances of the phrase *ordo equestris* in the *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, although Joachim Bumke has pointed out that such a phrase is not necessarily a 'star witness' for the case that *equestres* or *milites* formed a knightly class.<sup>79</sup> Bumke argued that as the phrase *ordo equestris* or *ordo militaris* often appears in the works of writers consciously emulating

<sup>76</sup> On the 'three orders' see Georges Duby, *The Three Orders, Feudal Society Imagined*, (Chicago, 1978).

<sup>77</sup> C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 98.

<sup>78</sup> BD 46; *Neuter de se confidebat, nec sacerdos, nec mulier, nec populus, nec miles*.

<sup>79</sup> J. Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood*, p. 110.



Cicero, it might better reflect the transmission of classical language than the actual sociological formation of a class of knights. Certainly Guibert's work contained a certain amount of Ciceronian imagery.<sup>80</sup> His three uses of the phrase *ordo equestris* can be seen as echoes of Ciceronian history, but they are not simply rhetorical flourishes. Guibert's description of how before the expedition the *ordo equestris* were engaged in mutual slaughter with the *vulgus* had a real content.<sup>81</sup> Social discontent and the Truce of God were major themes of Urban II at the Council of Clermont.<sup>82</sup> Guibert was very conscious of the depredations against the poor made by certain knights known to him.<sup>83</sup> Guibert was using his classical vocabulary to comment on a genuine sociological issue of his day, the conflict between knights and commoners. The other two examples of the phrase were introductions by Guibert to specific figures: Raymond Pilet was described as a *vir equestris ordinis* among the *primores* of Count Raymond<sup>84</sup> and an unnamed 'knight' who appeared in a colourful anecdote as joining the expedition to rid himself of the devil, was again a *vir equestris ordinis*.<sup>85</sup> The imagery is evocative of the ancient Roman order of knights,<sup>86</sup> but if the sentences meant anything at all to Guibert and his contemporaries, it was surely that that Raymond Pilet and the anonymous figure belonged to a current social *ordo* of knights. Nor was Guibert referring to the so-called 'open'<sup>87</sup> *ordo* of *bellatores* from the functional tripartite schema of those who pray, those who work and those who fight. By analogy with Roman social order, Guibert here was referring to an *ordo* with a distinct position in the social hierarchy.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>80</sup> GN 100, 121, 206, 298, 308, 319.

<sup>81</sup> GN 87.

<sup>82</sup> R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II, 1, Decreta Claromontensia* (Amsterdam, 1972).

<sup>83</sup> GN 179.

<sup>84</sup> GN 244.

<sup>85</sup> GN 324. This person was later described as a *miles*, he was the owner of a horse, his brother died in combat and he was approached by the devil in the guise of an *eques* with a falcon on his hand.

<sup>86</sup> About which in Cicero's time see R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 13–14.

<sup>87</sup> On 'open' orders, that is those without a barrier created by the need for distinguished birth, see J. Fleckenstein, 'Zum Problem der Abschliessung des Ritterstandes,' in *Historische Forschungen für Walter Schlesinger*, H. Beumann ed. (Köln, 1974), pp. 264–5.

<sup>88</sup> Roman hierarchy, for classes in particular see Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, ed. B. O. Foster (Cambridge, Mass., 1976) 1.42–3. See also R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, (Oxford, 1939), *passim*.

Of all the early crusading authors Guibert had the most refined sense of social hierarchy, reflected in particular in his use of the term *mediocres*. Indeed Guibert indicated that stratification existed among the class of *equestres* with his use of the highly original phrase, *mediocritates equestrium virorum*, the ‘middle ranks of knights’. The context of this improvisation by Guibert was his observation that after Pope Urban II had preached the *iter Dei* at the Council of Clermont, ‘the will of counts palatine was aroused and the middle ranks of *equestres* besides had come to the brink [of departure].’<sup>89</sup> The distinction made here indicates that Guibert considered that senior nobles were part of the order of *equestres*, but so too were *equestres* of more modest means.

To emphasise how the whole of that order, great and lesser, desired to join the expedition he coined a unique phrase. Further evidence that Guibert’s social schema for the First Crusade was a pyramid-like hierarchy arises from his observation that a multitude of the *mediocres principes* joined the expedition. These ‘middling princes’ were defined by Guibert as the owners of one, two, three or four towns and were present in sufficient numbers to draw comparisons with the siege of Troy.<sup>90</sup> Guibert might well have coined the highly unusual phrase *mediocres principes* to assist his description of the Christian forces. At the top were the handful of senior princes, below them a large number of others encompassed by the term *princeps*, but of more modest means, being the lords of between one and four towns. Below these were the *milites*. All these groupings were encompassed within the category *equestris ordo*.

In describing the forces that accompanied Bohemond from Apulia, Guibert wrote that in his following were many *equestres* of the highest probity (*virorum probitas*).<sup>91</sup> Again the term *equestres* here clearly has a social content. Similarly in Guibert’s report of the departure of the Crusade of 1101 he noted the presence of ‘so many battalions of *equestres* of considerable reputation (*non contemnendi nominis*).’<sup>92</sup> Two individuals termed ‘knight’ by Guibert were specifically praised as noble as a result of birth. It has been noted that Guibert described Gervase of Bazoches as an *eques* and a *miles*. Guibert described Gervase as an *eques*

<sup>89</sup> GN 118: *Iam Palatinorum comitum pruriebat intentio, et mediocritas equestrium virorum parturire iam coeperat.*

<sup>90</sup> GN 133.

<sup>91</sup> GN 138.

<sup>92</sup> GN 312.

‘of famous descent’ (*nobiliter oriundus*). Gervase was related to the lords of Milly in the Beauvaisis, was a senior member of the entourage of Baldwin I and was made lord of Tiberias in 1106.

A more significant example is that of Guibert’s friend Matthew, who was described as being an *equester* of noble birth (*genere nobilis*);<sup>93</sup> Matthew was not a particularly senior *eques* as Guibert informs us that Matthew’s parents owed homage to Guibert’s.<sup>94</sup> Between them these examples indicate that Guibert considered nobility was associated with family and that it extended down the social scale as far as otherwise undistinguished *milites* and *equites*. The fact that Guibert saw the whole body of *milites* on the First Crusade as noble is strengthened by consideration of his description of the moment the entire Christian fighting force gathered at Nicea, June 1097. Guibert wrote that those present wearing the arms of *equestres* were the ‘flower of the nobility’ (*flos nobilitatis*) of the Franks.<sup>95</sup>

It is worth noting the story in the *Gesta Dei Per Francos* of the devil who appeared to the unnamed knight mentioned above. Guibert’s description of the devil reads: ‘Indeed he appeared as an *eques*, holding a sparrow-hawk in his hand.’<sup>96</sup> The hunting bird as an accoutrement of the *eques* is important here. As Albert of Aachen noted, such birds were beloved ‘of the highest *nobiles*.’<sup>97</sup> Although Guibert’s story here is a miraculous and edifying anecdote it does provide evidence linking the term *eques* to a noble class with a distinct culture and not simply a soldier on a horse.

The work of Guibert of Nogent therefore provides the strongest evidence that the *milites* of the First Crusade were a social as well as a military grouping.

Importantly, a similar conclusion arises from consideration of Albert of Aachen’s history. As Albert was writing in Lotharingia his experience considerably broadens the geographical scope of investigation into the terms. Over the course of his long work Albert identified very many individuals as *milites*, usually with a praiseworthy epithet: Walter Sanzavohir, one of the leaders of the People’s Crusade was a *miles egregius*;<sup>98</sup>

<sup>93</sup> GN 198.

<sup>94</sup> GN 198.

<sup>95</sup> GN 147.

<sup>96</sup> GN 324: *Videbatur etiam et ipse eques, accipitrem manu gestans.*

<sup>97</sup> AA iii.2 (140): *procerum nobilium.*

<sup>98</sup> AA i.6 (8).

Henry of castle Esch was variously *miles*,<sup>99</sup> *miles fortissimus*,<sup>100</sup> *miles nobilis*,<sup>101</sup> and *miles nobilis genere*;<sup>102</sup> Along with Henry, his brother Godfrey and Cono of Montaigu were '*milites* always most dangerous to the enemy', Godfrey had earlier been described as a *miles fortissimus*,<sup>103</sup> Warner, count of Grez, was 'a *miles* irreproachable in the art of war';<sup>104</sup> Thomas de Marle of the castle of La Fère a *miles acerrimus*;<sup>105</sup> Engelrand, son of Hugh of Saint-Pol a *miles egregius*;<sup>106</sup> Milo Louez a *miles famosissimus*;<sup>107</sup> Oliver of the castle Jussey a *miles audax et pugnax*;<sup>108</sup> Welf of Burgundy a *miles egregius*;<sup>109</sup> Richard of the Principate, count of Salerno, brother-in-law of Tancred, and Robert of Anzi, together *milites acerrimi*;<sup>110</sup> Roger Barneville;<sup>111</sup> Udelrard of Wissant, a *miles inreprehensibilis*, in the household of Duke Godfrey 'who always shared his secrets before all others' and also a 'splendid and most noble' knight;<sup>112</sup> Everard III, lord of Le Puiset;<sup>113</sup> Walbricus, Ivo, Rodolphus of Fontanais, Raimbald Croton, Peter son of Gisla, together *milites Christiani*;<sup>114</sup> Tancred, *miles acerrimus*, *miles gloriosus*;<sup>115</sup> Reinhard of Hemmersbach, 'a *miles* most

<sup>99</sup> AA iv.35 (303); iii.39 (200). For Henry of Esch see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 209.

<sup>100</sup> AA ii.1 (60–62).

<sup>101</sup> AA iv.54 (332).

<sup>102</sup> AA v.4 (342).

<sup>103</sup> AA iii.39 (200); AA ii.1 (60–62): *milites semper hostibus infestissimi*. For Godfrey of Esch see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 205. For Cono, count of Montaigu see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 189.

<sup>104</sup> AA ii.22 (96): *Warnerus de Greis castro, miles inreprehensibilis in arte bellica*. For Warner, count of Grez see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 234–5.

<sup>105</sup> AA ii.22 (96). For Thomas de Marle, lord of Coucy, count of Amiens see D. Barthélemy, *Les Deux Ages de la seigneurie banale: Pouvoir et société dans terre des sires de Coucy (milieu XI<sup>e</sup>—milieu XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, (Paris, 1984) Chapters 1–2. See also J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 223.

<sup>106</sup> AA ii.22 (96).

<sup>107</sup> AA ii.23 (98). Milo Louez is otherwise unknown.

<sup>108</sup> AA ii.23 (100). For Oliver of Jussey see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 215.

<sup>109</sup> AA iii.11 (154). For Welf of Burgundy see AA 154 n. 29.

<sup>110</sup> AA iii.16 (162–4). See J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 220 (Richard), p. 221 (Robert).

<sup>111</sup> AA iii.33 (190). For Roger Barneville, see AA 108 n. 96.

<sup>112</sup> AA iii.27 (182): *Udelarus de Wizan... miles inreprehensibilis... de domo ducis Godefridi semper secretorum illius ante omnes conscius*; AA v.22 (364): *preclari militis et nobilissimi*. For Udelrard of Wissant see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 231.

<sup>113</sup> AA iii.33 (190); iv.32 (294).

<sup>114</sup> AA iv.32 (294). For Raimbold Croton see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 218. For these other knights see AA 294 n. 45, 46, 47 and 49.

<sup>115</sup> AA iii.7 (148); vi.29 (440).

famous in deeds and birth';<sup>116</sup> Folbert, 'a *miles egregius* by birth from the castle Bouillon';<sup>117</sup> Heribrand of Bouillon, *miles nobilis*;<sup>118</sup> Walter of castle Verra, 'a man and *miles* of noble parents', also a *miles egregius*;<sup>119</sup> Gerard, born of the castle Avesnes, a *miles*, *miles egregius*, *miles acerrimus* and a beloved *miles* of Duke Godfrey;<sup>120</sup> Franco I of Maasmechelen on the river Meuse, *miles imperterritus*;<sup>121</sup> Rothold a *miles acerrimus*;<sup>122</sup> Ralph of Mousson, Geldemar Carpenel, Wicher the Swabian and Ralph of Montpinçon, together *milites probi*;<sup>123</sup> Geldemar Carpenel was elsewhere termed a *miles egregius* and a *miles ferocissimus*;<sup>124</sup> while Wicher the Swabian was also a *miles magnificus*;<sup>125</sup> Peter, a *miles preclarus* from Lombardy;<sup>126</sup> Robert a *miles probus* from Apulia;<sup>127</sup> Wirich the butler of Duke Godfrey, a *miles egregius* and *miles probus*;<sup>128</sup> Milo of Claremont; King Baldwin I, 'always a *miles imperterritus*';<sup>130</sup> Walter and Baldwin of Tahun;<sup>131</sup> Berwold, a *miles nobilissimus*;<sup>132</sup> Guido of Biandrate, a *miles*

<sup>116</sup> AA v.4 (344): *Reinardus de Hamerbach, miles clarissimus opere et genere*. For Reinhard of Hemmersbach see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 224.

<sup>117</sup> AA v.5 (344): *Folbertus, miles egregius de castello Bullon ortus*. For Folbert of Bouillon see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 195–6.

<sup>118</sup> AA v.12 (352). For Heribrand of Bouillon see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 209–10.

<sup>119</sup> AA v.40 (392): *miles nobili editus parentela*; AA v.41 (394). For Walter of Verra see J. Riley—Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 224.

<sup>120</sup> AA vi.53 (474); vii.2 (486); vii.3 (488); vii.15 (506). For Gerard of Avesnes see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 199.

<sup>121</sup> AA vii.3 (490). For Franco I of Maasmechelen see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 196–7.

<sup>122</sup> AA vii.4 (490). Rothold is otherwise unknown.

<sup>123</sup> AA vii.36 (538). For these knights see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 223–4 (Ralph of Mousson); p. 198 (Geldemar Carpenel); p. 235–6 (Wicher the Swabian); p. 223 (Ralph of Montpinçon).

<sup>124</sup> AA vii.22 (516); vii.65 (576).

<sup>125</sup> AA vii.71 (584). For Wicher the Swabian see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 236–6.

<sup>126</sup> AA vii.4 (490). Peter the Lombard is otherwise unknown.

<sup>127</sup> AA vii.11 (500). For Robert of Apulia see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 225.

<sup>128</sup> AA vii.24 (518); 559. For Wirich the butler see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 238.

<sup>129</sup> AA vii.24 (518). For Milo of Clermont see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 218.

<sup>130</sup> AA vii.34 (536): *Baldwinus semper miles imperterritus*.

<sup>131</sup> AA vii.34 (536). Walter and Baldwin of Tahun are otherwise unknown.

<sup>132</sup> AA vii.65 (576). For Berwold see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 189.

*egregius*;<sup>133</sup> Baldwin of Grandpré a *miles pulcherrimus*;<sup>134</sup> Stephen, count of Burgundy, a *miles clarissimus* and *miles egregius*;<sup>135</sup> Conrad, constable of King Henry IV Germany, a *miles imperterritus*, *egregius*, *famosus et mirabilis*;<sup>136</sup> Dodo of Clermont a *miles egregius*;<sup>137</sup> Wibert of Mount Laon, a *miles ferocissimus*;<sup>138</sup> Engelbert;<sup>139</sup> Arpin, a *miles egregius*;<sup>140</sup> Count Stephen of Blois, a *miles egregius*;<sup>141</sup> Reinold, a *miles* of King Baldwin I;<sup>142</sup> Otto Altaspata;<sup>143</sup> Baldwin of Bourcq a *miles egregius* and also a *miles imperterritus*;<sup>144</sup> Joscelin of Courtenay a *miles egregius* and a *miles fidelissimus*;<sup>145</sup> Reinard of Verdun, a *miles egregius*;<sup>146</sup> Arnulf of Oudenaarde, a *miles illustris*;<sup>147</sup> Roger of Rozoy;<sup>148</sup> Gerard the Chamberlain;<sup>149</sup> Hugh of Cassel and Albert surnamed Apostle, *milites egregii*;<sup>150</sup> Gervase of Bazoches, a *miles egregius*;<sup>151</sup> Robert of Vieux-Ponts, a *miles indefessus*;<sup>152</sup> William of Wanges, a *miles gloriosus et nobilis*;<sup>153</sup> Eustace I Granarius, lord of

<sup>133</sup> AA viii.1 (586). For Guido of Biandrate see AA 587 n. 3.

<sup>134</sup> AA viii.7 (594). For Baldwin of Grandpré see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 200.

<sup>135</sup> AA viii.15 (604); ix.5 (644).

<sup>136</sup> AA viii.16 (606); ix.5 (644); ix.6 (644). For Conrad the constable see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 203.

<sup>137</sup> AA viii.23 (616). For Dodo of Clermont see AA 595 n. 26.

<sup>138</sup> AA viii.17 (609). For Wibert of Mount Laon see AA 608 n. 39.

<sup>139</sup> AA viii.48 (636). For Engelbert see AA 637 n. 79.

<sup>140</sup> AA ix.5 (644). For Arpin of Bourges see AA 567 n. 71.

<sup>141</sup> AA ix.5 (644).

<sup>142</sup> AA 673. For Reinold see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 224.

<sup>143</sup> AA ix.30 (674). For Otto Altaspata see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 218.

<sup>144</sup> AA ix.40 (692); 860. For Baldwin of Bourcq see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 185–6.

<sup>145</sup> AA ix.40 (692); x.37 (752). For Joscelin of Courtenay see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 214.

<sup>146</sup> AA ix.50 (710). For Reinhard of Verdun see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 224.

<sup>147</sup> AA ix.52 (714). For Arnulf of Oudenaarde A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 184.

<sup>148</sup> AA x.14 (730). For Roger of Rozoy see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 227.

<sup>149</sup> AA x.14 (730). For Gerard the Chamberlain see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 227.

<sup>150</sup> AA x.34 (750). For Hugh of Cassel see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 210–11. Albert the Apostle is otherwise unknown.

<sup>151</sup> AA x.55 (770).

<sup>152</sup> AA xi.40 (816). For Robert of Vieux-Pont see AA 816 n. 77.

<sup>153</sup> AA xii.5 (830). William of Wanges is otherwise unknown.

Caesarea, a *miles preclarus*<sup>154</sup> Rainer of Brus, a *miles imperterritus*;<sup>155</sup> and lastly Hugh a *miles illustris*.<sup>156</sup>

This list has some interesting features. As a rule the term *milites* is not used for the most senior princes. During the course of the first six books, none of the leaders of the First Crusade are singled out by the term. Only in writing his later, chronicle style, history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem did Albert begin to apply the term to notable figures such as Joscelin of Courtenay and Baldwin of Bourcq. The fact that at one point Albert wrote that Baldwin I was ‘always a *miles imperterritus*’ was as much a comment on the king’s unvarying tactic of charging at the enemy regardless of the odds than an as epithet concerning his status.

In the cases of Henry of Esch, Warner, count of Grez, Thomas de Marle, Oliver of Jussey, Folbert of Bouillon and Walter of Verra, Albert introduced the knights as being from a particular castle. There is a considerable debate on the origin of the castle, but private ownership of castles, flourishing from around the year 1000 onwards, has generally been considered an important feature of post-Carolingian society.<sup>157</sup> Albert’s brief epithets fit with a perspective that considers the castle to be of growing importance, for they provide evidence that by 1100 some *miles* at least were defined by their ownership of a certain castle.

As with the other early crusading historians Albert considered there to be a connection between nobility and family. Henry of Esch was called a *miles nobilis* by birth (*genere*).<sup>158</sup> Similarly Walter of castle Verra was described as ‘a man and *miles* from noble elevated parents’<sup>159</sup> Reinhard of Hemmersbach, while not obtaining the epithet *nobilis* was

<sup>154</sup> AA xii.6 (832). For Eustace I Granarius see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 193–195.

<sup>155</sup> AA xii.11 (840). For Rainer Brus see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 221–222.

<sup>156</sup> AA xii.11 (840). Hugh is otherwise unknown.

<sup>157</sup> For a summary of the discussion see D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 204–7. For castles in the era of the crusades, see J. France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1100–1300* (London, 1999), pp. 77–106. See also J. Flori, ‘Knightly Society’, *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV c. 1024–1198*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith, 2 (Cambridge, 2004), I, 169.

<sup>158</sup> AA v.4 (342): *Miles nobilis genere*.

<sup>159</sup> AA v.40 (392): *Vir et miles nobili editus parentela*.

‘a *miles* most famous in deeds and birth’;<sup>160</sup> as was Folbert, ‘a *miles egregius* by birth from the castle Bouillon’.<sup>161</sup>

In Albert’s writing then, it seems that there is a considerable overlap between *milites* and *nobiles*. As noted in Chapter Two, however, there is one passage in the work of Albert of Aachen that suggests that for him there could be a distinction between *milites* and *nobiles*. This was the account of plague in Italy in 1083 that killed *milites* and *nobiles*. This might well be a reference to *ministeriales*, at this time often performing exactly the same function as knights, but with a servile social status. Albert, more than the French historians, would have been familiar with the fact that the German kings used this particular category of warriors.

Although not absolute, fixed, categories, a survey of the usage of the terms *milites*, *equites* and *equestres* in the early crusading histories shows their usage to cluster far more around a notion that includes that of social status than that of their being simply *bellatores*. David Crouch’s discussion of this issue made the point that ‘kighthood and noble status came together at some time before 1190.’<sup>162</sup> It seems, in fact, that around 1110, especially in the history of Guibert of Nogent, the two concepts, kighthood and nobility, were already closely linked. This is not to argue that the sociological phenomenon came into being at around this date, conceptual language has always lagged behind social evolution. The testimony of the crusading sources is not that there was a new knightly nobility on the First Crusade, but only that the terms *milites*, *equites* and *equestres* were becoming fastened to the activities of a social layer who might well have seen themselves as both knights and noble for some time, perhaps for as long as a hundred years in parts France.<sup>163</sup> This conclusion is strengthened by the considerable commentary of these sources on the relationship between knights and horses.

Since there were very many illustrious and *nobilissimi equites*, whose number lies hidden, their horses having died and having been eaten because of the hunger of famine, they were reckoned in the number of *pedites*. And they, who from their boyhood had always been accustomed to horses and had been in the habit of riding horses into battle, were schooled to do battle as *pedites*. Indeed among these illustrious men he who could acquire

<sup>160</sup> AA v.4 (342); *Reinardus de Hamerbach*, *miles clarissimus opere et genere*.

<sup>161</sup> AA v.5 (344); *Folbertus, miles egregius de castello Bullon ortus*.

<sup>162</sup> D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, p. 246.

<sup>163</sup> G. Duby, *La Société aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953).



a mule or ass or worthless beast of burden or palfrey, would use it as a horse. Among them were *principes*, most powerful and rich in their own lands, who entered the conflict sitting on an ass.<sup>164</sup>

Albert of Aachen wrote this key passage concerning *equites* and *pedites* at the time of the battle outside Antioch between the Christian forces and Kerbogha. The statement that illustrious and noble *equites* were numbered among the *pedites* seems to be carefully chosen by Albert, especially in the light of his following remark. The loss of status indicated was temporary and could be alleviated by the *eques* obtaining any kind of mount on which to ride. The *eques* did not become a *pedes*, but was counted among them, his years of training from boyhood still represented a differentiation from those with whom he now fought. Nevertheless, the desperation of the *eques* to hold on to their visible status was shown by those who could obtain mules preferring the humiliation of riding an ass into battle to that of being assigned to the *pedites*.

The struggle by *milites* not to fall into the ranks of the *pedites* is one of the themes of the *Gesta Francorum*, noted by those who used the history for their *fons formalis*. In describing the hardship of the march, early in August 1097, en route to Iconium, the anonymous author wrote that 'a great number of our horses died, so that many of our *milites* remained *pedites*, and for lack of horses oxen served us in place of nags.'<sup>165</sup> Fulcher of Chartres used the *Gesta Francorum* for this period of his own history, although he was an eyewitness to the difficulties of the march of the united Christian army. His repetition that the loss of horses led to the use of oxen as mounts by some knights is therefore corroborative.<sup>166</sup> Baldric of Dol's version of this passage was very similar, reporting that many renowned *milites* were compelled to march as *pedites*.<sup>167</sup>

The anonymous author wrote that due to poverty at the siege of Antioch early in 1098 there were less than a thousand *milites* who had kept their horses in the best condition.<sup>168</sup> Baldric's version of the same

<sup>164</sup> AA iv:54 (332): *Plurimi sequidem egregii equites et nobilissimi quorum latet numerus, equis mortuis et pre famis inopia consumptis, in numero peditum computati, pedites prelia discebant, qui a puerili evo semper equis assueti et inveci certamen inire solebant. Ex huius vero egregiis viris qui mulum aut asellum vel vile iumentum vel palefridum nunc adquirere poterat pro equo utebatur. Inter quos fortissimi et ditissimi sua in terra principes asino insidentes certamen inierunt.*

<sup>165</sup> GF 23: *Illic fuit mortua maxima pars nostrorum equorum, eo quod multi ex nostris militibus remanserunt pedites; et pro penuria equorum, erant nobis boves loco caballorum.*

<sup>166</sup> FC I.xiii.3 (202). GF 23.

<sup>167</sup> BD 37.

<sup>168</sup> GF 34.

report was that 'at that time, indeed, there was so great a decline in the number of horses of the Christians, that scarcely a thousand *milites* could be found in the whole of that great army who still enjoyed the use of a mount.'<sup>169</sup> Both versions suggest there were very many *milites* without mounts, but at the same time, in calculating the forces available to the Christian army the message seems clear. Only those with a mount counted. This tension, between the practical assignation of *milites* without mounts to the ranks of *pedites* but their theoretical retention of their former status was an important source of internal stress within the expedition.

The section of the *Gesta Francorum* dealing with the embassy of Peter the Hermit to Kerbogha has the form of a *chanson* with invented speeches by the two parties.<sup>170</sup> One feature of the account that is important here is Kerbogha's purported offer to the Christian forces that if they renounced their religion he would give them land, cities and castles, so that none should remain a *pedes*, but all would be *milites*.<sup>171</sup> Whether apocryphal or not the matter was *milites* becoming *pedites* was a continual grievance of some significance to the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, since he placed it at the heart of Kerbogha's offer to the Christians.

It is notable that the author's definition of a *miles* here was to be the owner of land, cities or castles. Baldric of Dol, Guibert of Nogent and Robert the Monk all repeated the offer in similar terms, although all three substituted *equites* for *milites* at this point.<sup>172</sup> Carol Sweetenham was so anxious to avoid the difficulties of the term 'knight' that in her translation of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolomitana* she had Kerbogha offer land so as to make the Franks 'mounted soldiers.'<sup>173</sup> But 'knights' makes much more sense here, as the offer of land is an offer to raise their status: there is no mention of mounts. In his version of the negotiations between Peter the Hermit and Kerbogha, Fulcher, dependent on the *Gesta Francorum* for information as he was in Edessa at the time, wrote that 'indeed [Kerbogha's forces] knew our *milites* had become *pedites*, weak and poor.'<sup>174</sup> Similarly in his account of the

<sup>169</sup> BD 44: *Tunc etiam in tantum Christianorum defecerunt equi, ut vix in toto et tanto exercitu mille milites invenirentur qui caballis uterentur.*

<sup>170</sup> See above p. 17 n. 35.

<sup>171</sup> GF 67.

<sup>172</sup> BD 75, GN 236, RM 826.

<sup>173</sup> C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 166.

<sup>174</sup> FC I.xxi.3 (249): *Nostros vero milites sciebant effici pedites, debiles, inopes.*

march of Baldwin of Edessa and Bohemond of Antioch to Jerusalem in the autumn of 1099, Fulcher, who was now an eyewitness, wrote that ‘you would see noble *milites*, having lost their horses in some way, become *pedites*.’<sup>175</sup> All of the early crusading historians had no difficulty in envisaging that a body of *milites* could fall to the ranks of *pedites* through hardship.

Robert the Monk provided several more examples of the same theme. When the herald of al-Afdal, vizier of Cairo, came to the camp of the crusaders at the siege of Antioch, early in the spring of 1098, Robert elaborated on the *Gesta Francorum* by reporting the details of the offer that the envoy is supposed to have made. The proposal was to allow the Christians to travel and worship at Jerusalem, ‘if you wish to go with the satchel and staff, they will cause you to travel there with the greatest honour and you will be endowed with rich property: from *pedites* will be made *equites*.’<sup>176</sup> It seems that Robert imported the same ideas present in the offer of Kerbogha into this section also. Robert also described an imagined rout of the forces of Duqaq, ruler of Damascus, in which the Christian forces were all able to join the pursuit ‘since those who had come as *pedites* were turned into riders (*ascensores equorum efficiebantur*).’<sup>177</sup> It is unusual to have a report of *pedites* mounting horses and perhaps noteworthy that Robert did not write that they thereby became *equites*. It could be that while Robert was willing to write of *pedites* becoming *equites* through the grant of rich property, he was more reluctant to use the same idea for those *pedites* who mounted captured horses.

For the battle against Kerbogha ‘Bohemond formed a sixth [squadron] with those *pedites* who were lightly armed for war, and *milites*, who had been compelled by necessity to sell their horses.’<sup>178</sup> Here Robert was clear that even though the *miles* was having to fight on foot, he was still a knight, a point which is similarly evident in the description of those *milites* and *armigeri* required to walk like *pedites* due to the difficulty of the mountain terrain when the expedition descended the Anti-Taurus range of mountains early in October 1097.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>175</sup> FC I.xxxiii.13 (331): *Videretis milites nobiles, equis quoquomodo amissis, pedites effici.*

<sup>176</sup> RM 791: *Quod si de cetero in pera et baculo vultis ire, cum honore maximo rerumque opulentia vos illuc facient pertransire: de peditibus equites facient.*

<sup>177</sup> RM 779: *... quoniam qui pedites venerant, ascensores equorum efficiebantur.*

<sup>178</sup> RM 828: *Boamundi fuit sexta, cum quo expeditiores ad bellum pedites fuerunt, et milites qui equos suos, necessitate compulsi, vendiderant.*

<sup>179</sup> RM 770: *Milites et armigeri collo suo arma dependentia gestabant, omnes aequaliter pedites, quia nulli eorum equitabant.*

A very interesting related passage is Guibert's description of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, father of Bohemond, whom Guibert introduced as someone who was 'from feeble enough station of birth.'<sup>180</sup> Guibert wrote that Robert Guiscard was sent away 'a *pedes*' from Normandy, perhaps banished, 'to Apulia, where by whatever method, he earned horses and arms to become an *eques*.'<sup>181</sup> This is an extraordinary statement. Factually it is dubious, in that no other source mentions banishment and while Tancred, Robert's father, was a poor lord with twelve sons, of whom Robert was the sixth, it seems unlikely he would have been so impoverished as to journey to Italy as a footsoldier.<sup>182</sup> Guibert's report does, however, testify to contemporary experience of the fluidity of social classes.

In his comments on Robert Guiscard's early career Guibert seems to be echoing the idea that is present in Kerbogha's offer to the Christian forces in Antioch, that a knight impoverished to the point of being a *pedes* could restore his status as an *eques* by regaining a mount and arms. Guibert continued his account of the career of Robert Guiscard by reporting that the Norman *eques* took over certain castles, laid siege to wealthy cities and in short 'this new man (*novus homo*) extended his territory of domination.'<sup>183</sup> This idea of the creation of a 'new man' was sustained in Guibert's comment that 'anyone who wishes today may see the power of [Robert's] son Bohemond who, having obliterated the worthlessness of his forbears, married the daughter of Philip, King of France.'<sup>184</sup> The phrase *novus homo* is the key to understanding Guibert's intent here. He was echoing the classical descriptions of those families who through their military and political successes were able to thrust themselves into the ranks of the Roman elite.<sup>185</sup> Just as, very rarely, new families were reported as entering the political arena of the late Roman Republic, so Guibert considered it possible for someone of relatively low birth and the equipment of a *pedes* to rise to the status of an *eques* through the acquisition of a horse, castles and cities. Humble parentage,

<sup>180</sup> GN 137: ...*et tenui satis loco natus*.

<sup>181</sup> GN 137: *Pedes in Apuliam abiit; ibi equos et arma, quibus eques fieret, qua potuit arte, commeruit*.

<sup>182</sup> G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000), p. 2.

<sup>183</sup> GN 137: ...*novus homo suae loca dominationis extendit*.

<sup>184</sup> GN 138: *Videat qui vult hodie filii eius Boemundi potentiam, qui veterum oblitterata vilitate parentum Philippi regis Francorum filiam duxit in coniugium*.

<sup>185</sup> For the classical '*novus homo*' see R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, p. 11.

while not completely forgotten, could be obliterated through a successful military career. This whole passage unequivocally concerns status, not function, and throughout Guibert used the term *eques*. Here, at least, there can be no other meaning to the term than 'knight.'

Although Raymond of Aguilers occasionally drew on parts of the *Gesta Francorum*, his work, the *Historia Francorum*, represents a very different tradition. Nevertheless, through several independently recorded examples, he also provided evidence for the importance that *milites* attached to horses. Outside the walls of Antioch on the evening of 29 December 1097, Raymond observed the eagerness of certain *milites* to chase a horse in mid-battle, even to the point of incurring a defeat for the Christian forces.<sup>186</sup> This pursuit by the *milites* resulted in the footsoldiers thinking that a flight had begun and in the confusion the besieging army sustained many casualties. It is highly significant that one horse should be the source of undisciplined pursuit by *milites*. The incident is best understood within the context of the considerable loss of horses that had seen many *milites* numbered among the *pedites* due to the loss of their mount. Under such circumstances a healthy Arab horse was of immense value.<sup>187</sup> The same context makes clear the importance of a council of the Provençals in January 1098, at which Count Raymond granted 500 marks of silver, 'so that if any of the *milites* should lose his horse, he should be restored from the 500 marks and the rest that had been given up to the fraternity.'<sup>188</sup> This agreement addressed the problem that the *milites* were reluctant to defend foraging expeditions due to their horses being in no fit state.<sup>189</sup>

At the fall of Antioch, the chronicler noted with pleasure that fleeing Turkish riders were intercepted and in their panic were thrown down to their deaths, 'but we were grieved that more than three hundred horses came to naught in that place.'<sup>190</sup> While trapped in Antioch by the arrival of Kerbogha, famine was so severe that 'the majority of *milites* lived through the blood of their horses, but anticipating the mercy of

<sup>186</sup> RA 39.

<sup>187</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 281–2.

<sup>188</sup> RA 49 (245): ...ut, si quis militum suorum equum deperderet, de illis quingentis marchis illi restauraretur, ac de aliis quae fraternitati concessa sunt. See also J. Richard, 'La confrérie de la première croisade', *Études de Civilisation Médiévale: Mélanges Offerts à E. R. Labande*, ed. B. Jeannau (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 617–22.

<sup>189</sup> RA 50 (246). See also J. France, *Victory in the East*, p. 242.

<sup>190</sup> RA 80 (252): Sed de equis plusquam tercentis inibi decollatis doluimus.

God, they were unwilling to kill them.<sup>191</sup> No sooner did the *milites* and wealthier *plebs* obtain booty than they rushed to Caesarea and Homs to buy Arab horses.<sup>192</sup>

A full discussion of the military importance of the mounted knight in the First Crusade can be found in John France's *Victory in the East*.<sup>193</sup> Here the evidence has been gathered with a view to the connection between being mounted and social status. One clear conclusion is that owning a mount was a necessary, although not sufficient, condition for being numbered among the *milites*. The descriptions of oxen and asses being ridden are strong testimony to the determination of *milites* not to fall to the ranks of *pedites*. All the sources indicate a surprising willingness to envisage both the fall of a *miles* to the state of a *pedes* and the possibility that through the acquisition of wealth *pedites* could become *milites*. One interpretation of this could be that the terms were purely functional for the author and thus the status of the *miles* or the *pedes* simply reflected whether they were mounted or not. Thus the relative rapid transformation of their fortunes is easily explained. This view, however, jars with the previous conclusion that the sources generally did mean to include an aspect of status in their use of the terms *milites*, *equites* and *equestres*.

Moreover, when the particular passages in which the issue of change in status arises are looked at closely, the information given is more complex than the 'functional' explanation can encompass. It is not the offer of horses, but land and cities, which all the sources see as essential in making *pedites* into *equites*. There are several examples where the historian saw *milites* as being 'numbered among' or 'fighting with' the *pedites*, suggesting that they retained some aspect of a former status despite the loss of their mount. A second explanation is therefore preferred here, that the early crusading histories reveal a willingness to accept rapid changes of social status, particularly with the downward movement of *milites* to *pedites*. The problem with *milites* becoming *pedites* is a great one if those terms have a social content and society at large has a strict understanding of that content. But if the lower level of knighthood was still relatively undefined, then such social fluidity seems less remarkable.

<sup>191</sup> RA 116 (258): *Plerique milites sanguine suorum equorum vivebant; expectantes Dei misericordiam, nolebant eos occidere adhuc.*

<sup>192</sup> RA 188 (273).

<sup>193</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 122–142.

Having abandoned their lands, the less distinguished knights were no longer anchored in a lordly social position; furthermore they could easily lose their distinguishing accoutrements during the periods of great hardship experienced by the Christian forces of the First Crusade: the horse and their arms. Then all that would distinguish them from the footsoldiers was their previous training and their desire to regain their lost status. The force of Kerbogha's offer should be understood as being particularly directed at these former knights, rather than *pedites* in general. A *pedes* who gained a horse or temporary wealth did not become a knight (although Guibert was willing to write about the exceptional case of Robert Guiscard in that manner); a *miles* who fell to becoming a *pedes*, however, ran the risk that this loss of status could become permanent.

*Milites*, *equites* and *equestres* in the early crusading histories were, by and large, members of the social class of knights; membership of this class, however, was not firmly fixed, particularly in the context of a three-year expedition. For the poorer knight their status was at times a precarious one.

## CHAPTER SIX

### *IUVENES:* THE GLORY-SEEKING KNIGHTS OF THE CRUSADE

The epitome of the medieval warrior, the hero of the *chanson*, the glorious competitor in the sports of the tournament, was the *iuvēnis*. The 'youth' was a knight whose career was still unsettled. In what remains the most important study of the subject, Georges Duby offered the definition that 'youth' can be defined 'as the period in a man's life between his being dubbed a knight and his becoming a father.'<sup>1</sup> In other words, the condition of a *iuvēnis* was not necessarily that they were young, what mattered was that although knighted, they had yet to establish themselves as the head of a family of their own.

Such knights in search of reputation, family and career often grouped together in bands and commenting on this Duby drew an interesting conclusion with regard to the crusades. 'It is obvious that it was the bands of "youths", excluded by so many social prohibitions from the main body of settled men, fathers of families and heads of houses, with their prolonged spells of turbulent behaviour making them an unstable fringe of society, who created and sustained the crusades.'<sup>2</sup>

It is certainly overstating the case with regard to the First Crusade to say that *iuvēnes* created the expedition and sustained it. Duby's observation does, however, raise an important question. The Latin term *iuvēnis*, or collective substantive *iuventus*, is typically used to mean a young person, or body of young persons, not a subcategory of knights. It is therefore natural enough that as historians have encountered this term in the sources for the First Crusade they have assumed its common meaning. But is it always correct to make this assumption? Or were the sources drawing attention to knights on the First Crusade who were 'youths' in the sense of such turbulent glory-seeking warriors?

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<sup>1</sup> Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan, University of California Press (Berkeley, 1977), p. 113. Originally published as 'Les "jeunes" dans la société aristocratique dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle,' *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 19 (5), 1964, pp. 835–846.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.



The historian of the First Crusade who had the most definite sense of the *iuvenes* being a body of militant knights in search of fame was Robert the Monk. As noted above in Chapter Two Robert, apart from his testimony that he was present at the famous Council of Clermont, 18–28 November 1095, which launched the crusade, was not an eye-witness to the events he described.<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of investigating the appearance of *iuvenes* in Robert's work, it is important issue to try and assess the extent to which Robert was simply employing the term because it seemed an appropriate literary flourish for anyone at the forefront of battle, or whether he had a particular sociological idea of what a *iuvenis* was, and which of the crusaders properly deserved the title.

A key passage in this regard is Robert's description of an Egyptian embassy sent by al-Afdal, the vizier of the boy Caliph, al-Mustali, which arrived at the crusader camp at the siege of Antioch early in March 1098. Robert wrote that the Christian army made a great effort to impress the legation. 'The tents were beautified with various kinds of ornaments; shields were attached to stakes in the ground on which the knight's game of quintain was to be played out the next day. There were not absent games of dice, chess and the rapid charges of horses, turning in a circle with taut reins, there were warlike charges and there were the shakings of spears by both sides, by which acts they demonstrated that those who performed such deeds did not fear. Indeed it was the *iuventus* who so participated but those who were elder and experienced sat together as one and discussed the matter with good sense and prudence.'<sup>4</sup>

The reference to quintain is significant. This was a sport of knights, in which the rider tilted at a target that could swing around on a counter-weighted arm. It was an activity that would be consistently associated with *iuvenes* throughout the medieval period. Even a hundred and fifty years later, the chronicler Matthew Paris assumed that quintain was

<sup>3</sup> RM 725.

<sup>4</sup> RM 791: *Tentoria variis ornamentorum generibus venustantur; terrae infixis sudibus scuta apponuntur, quibus in crastinum Quintanae ludus, scilicet equestris, exerceretur. Aleae, scaci, veloces cursus equorum flexis in gyrum frenis non defuerunt, et militares impetus; hastarumque vibrationes in alterutrum ibi celebratae sunt. In quibus actibus monstrabatur quia nullo pavore treidabant qui talia operabantur. Talia quippe iuventus excolebat; sed aetate sensuque seniores in unum consederant, causaque consilii et prudentiae conferebant.*

the sport of *iuvēnes*, as in his annal he wrote that in 1253 the London *iuvēnes* tested their bravery and the pace of horses at the exercise called quintain, a peacock having been established for a prize.<sup>5</sup> The description by Robert of the less prudent knights showing their prowess before the Egyptian delegation seems to be the earliest medieval writing to mention the exercise explicitly.<sup>6</sup> Thus the scene was not simply a literary topos, it probably reflects Robert's knowledge of the activities of *iuvēnes* in France rather than his literary background.

Even supposing the details of the incident to be entirely fanciful on Robert's part, in other words, that he was using his imagination to create a vivid scene, there still remains a clear sense that those described as *iuventus* here are not simply young. What defines them is very characteristic of the term in its social sense: they are fearless knights, skilled at riding and jousting. The passage also establishes that Robert saw these knights as a distinct group whose behaviour contrasted with the more experienced crusader. Whilst the report does not prove the presence of *iuvēnes* on the First Crusade, much less their importance to sustaining the expedition, it does demonstrate that Robert and his readers expected there to be such vainglorious knights in the Christian camp.

Shortly before this incident, on 6 March 1098, the Christian army had won an important victory against a sortie from the Turkish garrison of Antioch. The following day, wrote Robert, the Turks left the city at dawn and buried those bodies they could find. On hearing this, the *iuvēnes* of Christ's army hastened to the cemetery. At the cemetery they dug up the bodies and cut the heads off.<sup>7</sup> There is little information here to clarify who were meant by the term *iuvēnes*, other than a certain sense of disapproval at their behaviour, indicated either by Robert or a later scribe, whose title for the section referred to the grave of the Turks being disgracefully (*turpiter*) destroyed by the Christians.

Antioch eventually fell due to the betrayal of Firuz, a commander of three towers along a stretch of the city wall. Disillusioned with

<sup>5</sup> Mathew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, V, *Rerum Britannicarum mediæ ævi Scriptores* (London, 1880), 1253.

<sup>6</sup> C. F. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, VI, (Paris, 1938), p. 614. See also, L. Clare, *La quintaine, la Course de Bague et le Jeu des Têtes* (Paris, 1983), pp. 37–41, 170–1; G. Duby, *William Marshall* (London, 1986) p. 70; J. Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100–1400*, (Woodbridge, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> RM 788.

Yaghi-Siyan, the Turkish ruler of the city, Firuz had entered into secret negotiations with Bohemond, whom he saw as the most famous of the crusading princes. According to a relatively late Muslim source, Firuz was bitter, having been punished for hoarding.<sup>8</sup> Ralph of Caen, much closer to events, corroborates the spirit of this idea from the Christian perspective. He wrote that Firuz had kept back a certain amount of grain to feed his large family, but that on learning of this Yaghi-Siyan had it confiscated and redistributed, leaving Firuz feeling as though injury had been added to loss.<sup>9</sup>

After reaching agreement with Bohemond, Firuz allowed sixty men (*homines*) to climb the city wall on the morning of 3 June 1098, so reported the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>10</sup> Robert's version of the storming of Antioch was more detailed than that of his source; he reported that it was Fulcher of Chartres and sixty armed *iuvēnes*, who first climbed the walls of the city.<sup>11</sup> The appearance of the name Fulcher was a divergence from the *Gesta Francorum* by Robert, but it is accurate in that the eyewitness Raymond of Aguilers also mentions Fulcher as being first on to the walls of Antioch.<sup>12</sup>

At some point, possibly before the storming of the city, Fulcher had joined with other knights who had a reputation for bravery. By August 1098, when a plague broke out in Antioch, causing many knights to leave the city, Fulcher was in the company of Drogo of Nesle, Rainald of Toul and Gaston of Béarn.<sup>13</sup> These four knights were described as departing Antioch together, to seek service with the Lotharingian prince, Baldwin of Boulogne, who by this time had managed to establish himself as lord of the city of Edessa. Drogo and Rainald, along with Clarembald of Vendeuil and Ivo of Grandmesnil, had earlier been singled out as the unanimous choice of the captains of the army when riders were required to investigate reports that Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul, was arriving with a great army.<sup>14</sup>

Drogo seems to have been at the centre of a distinct group of celebrated warriors, certainly that is the impression given by another

<sup>8</sup> Kemal ad-Din, *Chronique d'Alep*, *RHC Oc.* 3, 577–690, here 581–2.

<sup>9</sup> RC 651–2.

<sup>10</sup> GF 46.

<sup>11</sup> RM 800. Fulcher of Chartres in this incident is not to be confused with the chronicler of the same name. See C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 145 n. 24.

<sup>12</sup> RA 80 (252).

<sup>13</sup> AA v.16 (356).

<sup>14</sup> AA iv.13 (268). For Rainald of Toul see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 218.

significant description of *iuvēnes* in the work of Robert the Monk: his account of the critical battle against Kerbogha, 28 June 1098. In his version of the conflict, Robert praised the famous feats of the illustrious *iuventus*<sup>15</sup> before going on to identify by name a particular grouping of *iuvēnes* in the contingent led by Hugh the Great, count of Vermandois: 'because they saw that they were closing on [the enemy force], Everard [III] of Le Puiset, Payen of Beauvais, Drogo [of Nesle], Thomas [of Marle] and Clarendbald [of Vendeuil], and the rest of the *iuventus* of Hugh the Great, did not hesitate to dash in amongst them.'<sup>16</sup>

Those here identified as *iuvēnes* were significant nobles with something of a career behind them already, thus indicating Robert was not using the term *iuvēnes* to make a statement about their age. As noted above, Drogo was subsequently associated with Fulcher of Charters and again with Clarendbald. But he was also strongly connected to Thomas of Marle. Thomas, Drogo and Clarendbald had once been part of the contingent of Count Emicho of Flonheim, one of the few magnates associated with the People's Crusade of 1096. This army was notorious for its attacks on the Jewish communities of Speyer, Worms, Mainz and Cologne. Albert of Aachen, described them as an 'intolerable company.'<sup>17</sup>

Emicho's army had been dispersed as it entered Hungary, following its failure to take Wiesselburg, September 1096, but some of the knights continued with the expedition, and Robert was not the only historian to indicate that Thomas, Drogo and Clarendbald subsequently attached themselves to Hugh the Great. They seem to have met as captives of the Greek Emperor, Alexios I Comnenus, who, reported Albert of Aachen, kept Drogo, Clarendbald and Hugh in prison.<sup>18</sup>

Returning to an examination of the portrayal of crusading *iuvēnes* in Robert the Monk, the next mention of the *iuventus* was when the

<sup>15</sup> RM 831–2.

<sup>16</sup> RM 833: *Quod ut viderent qui eum vicinius subsequebantur, Edwardus scilicet de Puteolo, Paganus Belvacensis, Drogo et Thomas, et Clarendbaldus, ceteraque iuventus Hugonis Magni, nil haesitantes in illos irruunt.* For these knights see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 203 (Clarendbald), p. 205 (Everard), p. 205 (Payen). For Drogo of Nesle see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2000), p. 191. For Thomas of Marle, lord of Coucy, count of Amiens see D. Barthélemy, *Les Deux Ages de la seigneurie banale: Pouvoir et société dans terre des sires de Coucy (milieu XI<sup>e</sup>—milieu XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, (Paris, 1984) Chapters 1–2. See also J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 223.

<sup>17</sup> AA, i.28 (52): *intolerabilis societas.* For Emicho of Flonheim see AA p. 51 n. 66.

<sup>18</sup> AA ii.7 (72).

expedition attacked the city of Ma'arra, a well-defended city that had been gathering Turkish forces for some time. With great risk a breakthrough was gained for the crusading forces when, 11 December 1098, Gouffier, lord of Las Tours, was the first to climb a ladder onto the walls of the town. Robert described how when the famous *iuventus* saw Gouffier with a few men fighting on the top of the city walls they climbed up forthwith and overwhelmed part of the wall with their weight of numbers.<sup>19</sup>

The last reference to the *iuvēnes* by Robert occurred in his description of what was a critical moment in the direction of the crusade. Around Christmas 1098 a bitter conflict broke out between two of the most important crusading princes over the ownership of Antioch. By this stage in the crusade, Bohemond had proven to be an effective military and political leader, above all in the capture of Antioch. Count Raymond IV of Toulouse was the elderly leader of the very large Provençal contingent. Both held a different perspective on the future of Antioch now it was back in Christian hands: Bohemond wanting to rule the city as an independent principality, Raymond as a fief of the Byzantine Empire. As a result of their conflict, the crusade had stalled entirely.

A meeting of knights and princes at Chastel-Rouge, probably on 4 January 1099, was unable to resolve the differences between the rival princes, the news of this failure triggering a mutiny of the lower social orders at Ma'arra. The 'poor' Christians dismantled the walls of the recently captured city, making it defenceless and obliging Count Raymond to continue the expedition.<sup>20</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* and Robert the Monk skip the events at Ma'arra, and follow the perspective not of the *pauperes*, but of those who remained at Chastel-Rouge. Robert wrote that many *iuvēnes* were present who were on fire to complete the journey.<sup>21</sup> In Robert's eyes the *iuvēnes* were a social grouping that were among the most fervent in wishing to press on to Jerusalem.

In Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* then, it is clear that the historian had a strong sense that a *iuvēnis* was a brave knight of illustrious background, although not an established prince; the *iuvēnis* was inclined to be intemperate, but equally, he was brave to the point of

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<sup>19</sup> RM 847.

<sup>20</sup> RA 180 (271).

<sup>21</sup> RM 837.

recklessness; nor was there any doubting his skill in the military arts. Robert's application of this idea to his history of the First Crusade led him to portray certain knights as *iuvēnes* and certain incidents as being the work of that grouping. Through his employment of the idea it is possible to discern the beginnings of a pattern, one that suggests that a band of knights fulfilling Robert's criteria for being *iuvēnes* coalesced as a grouping on the First Crusade. This pattern becomes clearer by consideration of the other early crusading histories.

The *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* of Gilo of Paris is a poetic reworking of the *Gesta Francorum* that has a close connection with the narrative history of Robert the Monk. The exact relationship between the two has not been decisively established, but the generally accepted view is that they share a now missing common source.<sup>22</sup> Gilo was a Cluniac monk from Toucy in Auxerre who subsequently became cardinal-bishop of Tusculum.<sup>23</sup> His metrical history was written at some point before 1120, the suggestion of his most recent editors being that it was written in the first decade of the century.<sup>24</sup>

The *iuventus* first appear in Gilo's account of the winter of 1097–1098, at a point where the participants in the First Crusade were besieging Antioch. Gilo wrote that he ought to enumerate the deeds of the famous *iuventus* of *Gallia*, but no one could narrate so many bitter battles, narrow escapes, fasting, cold and anxieties.<sup>25</sup> On the 5 April 1098, during the siege, a fort was built opposite the Gate of St George. A young southern Italian Norman prince, Tancred, the nephew of Bohemond and important military commander in his own right, took charge of this fortification in return for a payment of four hundred marks. Of this event Gilo stated that a certain fortress was renovated and an old rampart was repaired where the *iuvēnes* could keep their plunder.<sup>26</sup> The implication of this statement is that there was a distinct body of *iuvēnes* willing to serve under Tancred at the fort and that they had sufficient plunder from raids and forays to require it as a holding place.

<sup>22</sup> C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry eds., *The Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* of Gilo of Paris and a second anonymous author, Clarendon Press (Oxford, 1997) [hereafter GP], p. lx. Sweetman, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> GP xviii. For further discussion of Gilo's career see GP xix–xxii and R. Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms* (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 142–3.

<sup>24</sup> GP xxiv.

<sup>25</sup> GP 102.

<sup>26</sup> GP 123.

Like Robert, Gilo attributed to the *iuvēnes* a major role in the capture of Antioch. The poet composed the following address by Bohemond to those assembled for the assault on the walls, betrayed to him by Firuz: ‘And you, swift *iuvēnes*, climb the walls at once.’<sup>27</sup> In Gilo’s account Bohemond waited anxiously, while the *iuvēnes* rushed into action, led by Fulcher of Chartres.<sup>28</sup> Fulcher here again was identified as the foremost of the *iuvēnes* who responded to the appeal.

Gilo continued his description of the fall of Antioch to the crusaders by describing how once the gates of the city had been opened, the rest of the army was spurred to action, the horses were bridled and the *iuventus* clamoured for arms.<sup>29</sup> The very next day, some advance forces from Kerbogha’s army arrived before Antioch. A rash sortie by Roger of Barneville, a knight who was famous both among Christians and Muslims,<sup>30</sup> eventually saw him chased back to the gates of the city where he was killed and beheaded in full sight of those on the walls. This was a particularly difficult moment for the *iuvēnes* who were watching, wrote Gilo, the *iuventus* on the walls were assailed by confusion and shame.<sup>31</sup> Subsequently trapped by Kerbogha’s army inside Antioch, the crusading army suffered from starvation, and the poet illustrated this by reporting that even a dying horse was devoured by the *iuventus*.<sup>32</sup>

In a manner very similar to Robert’s account of the battle with Kerbogha, Gilo wrote of the vigorous role played in this conflict by the *iuvēnes* in the contingent of Hugh the Great: ‘Everard of Le Puiset and the impetuous *iuventus*, looked for a battle in the battle itself, and raised their swords... Then [Hugh the Great] said: “What you desire, *iuvēnes*, is here! The iron field bristles with spears, let us turn to them and lay on with huge strength.”’<sup>33</sup> In his description of the same battle Gilo added that after the death of Odo of Beaugency, standard-bearer to Hugh the Great the *iuvēnis* William of Benium immediately took his

<sup>27</sup> GP 162: *Vosque, citi iuvenes, muros superate repente.*

<sup>28</sup> GP 164–6.

<sup>29</sup> GP 168.

<sup>30</sup> AA iii.61 (234).

<sup>31</sup> GP 178.

<sup>32</sup> GP 180.

<sup>33</sup> GP 188: *Eurardus de Puteolo fervensque iuventus, In bello querunt bellum, gladiosque leuabant... Tunc ita fatur: ‘Quod iuvenes optatis adest! Huc ferreus hastis Horret ager, uertamur ad hos, incumbite uastis Viribus!’*

place, and raised the standard.<sup>34</sup> As will be seen, the association between *iuvēnes* and the action of defending a standard was a recurrent one.

Gilo's next reference to the *iuventus* occurred in his description of a substantial raiding expedition led by a senior Provencal knight, Raymond Pilet. After some initial successes Raymond Pilet's forces were defeated in an attempt to storm Ma'arra, 27 July 1098, leading Gilo to sympathise with the plight of retreating *iuvēnes*.<sup>35</sup> The united expedition was more successful on its approach to the city and Gilo wrote of the renewed siege of Ma'arra that the honourable *iuvēnes* were awoken by the loud noise of the trumpets and ran to the walls.<sup>36</sup> When the city fell, 11 December 1098, Gilo attributed the success of the assault to the destruction of a wall by the *iuvēnes*, in doing so he again agreed with Robert the Monk.<sup>37</sup> The final appearance of the *iuvēnes* in Gilo of Paris was a reference to the expedition as it made its way towards Jerusalem, May 1099, where he reported that from al-Batrūn, the *iuventus*, afflicted by the heat, followed the shore.<sup>38</sup>

Clearly the poet shared with Robert an understanding of the main characteristics of the *iuvēnes*. They were knights who sought battle and could be shamed by appeals to their desire for glory. When rewriting the *Gesta Francorum*, Gilo, like Robert, thought it appropriate to term those first onto the walls of Antioch as *iuvēnes*, for those who fought in the contingent of Hugh the Great against Kerbogha and for the knights who broke through at Ma'arra. In addition to echoing Robert's version those scenes, Gilo indicated that among the knights associated with the Norman prince Tancred were a body of warriors whom he felt it was appropriate to regard as *iuvēnes*.

Another early crusading historian to refer to *iuvēnes* on the First Crusade was Guibert, abbot of Nogent. As discussed in Chapter Two, Guibert had a sophisticated social vocabulary. His rich depictions of the

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<sup>34</sup> GP 190. For Odo of Beaugency see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 205. Benium is given as Bény-su-Mer by the editors of Gilo (GP 190), Robert describes the same person as William of Belesme (RM 831), J. Riley-Smith lists him as William of Bohemia, *The First Crusaders* p. 225.

<sup>35</sup> GP 198: *Tinnitum reddunt clipei galee que sonore,  
Obtenebrant oculos lapsi de uertice comi,  
Loricis odiunt iuvēnes ad uerbera proni.*

<sup>36</sup> GP 204.

<sup>37</sup> GP 210.

<sup>38</sup> GP 232.



events of the First Crusade were not those of an eye-witness, except in regard to the preaching of the crusade and the movement of crusading contingents through his region. It was in writing about the departure of the expedition that Guibert first wrote of the *iuventus*, in verses composed to illustrate the perspective of the many non-combatants who joined the expedition. 'Everyone sang of warfare, but did not say that they would fight. They promised martyrdom, being about to give their necks to the sword, "You *iuvenes*," they said, "will draw swords with your hands, but we are permitted to deserve Christ by supporting this."' <sup>39</sup> *Iuvenes* were here used to encapsulate the perspective of crusading combatants as opposed to that of the non-combatants of the expedition; it is good evidence that for a contemporary the image of a *iuuenis* was one considered to be appropriate for someone at the heart of the fighting body of the First Crusade.

Guibert described a three-fold hierarchy in the Lotharingian army of Duke Godfrey as it departed on the crusade: the senior princes, knights and a notable throng of very brave *iuvenes*. <sup>40</sup> This distinction is a much less literary one than that in which the poor crusaders spoke to the combatants and it probably reflected Guibert's own perception of the layers present among the warriors of the nobility, a class that he was very familiar with through his relatives and his experiences before becoming a monk. <sup>41</sup>

When Guibert turned to writing about Tancred, he stated that the Norman prince had earned and deserved the title of most sagacious *iuuenis*. <sup>42</sup> Tancred was a major figure in the events of the First Crusade: he took command of Bohemond's contingent in the absence of their lord in Greece; he led a sizeable Norman force into Cilicia, around 10 September 1097, and he led a group of Norman knights in the later stages of the crusade. It might seem inconsistent with the other examples given that so prominent a leader was termed a *iuuenis*, not just

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<sup>39</sup> GN 120: *Bella canunt omnes; nec se pugnare fatentur,  
Martirium spondent, gladiis vel colla daturos:  
'Vos iuvenes', aiunt, 'manibus tractabitis enses  
At nos hic liceat Christum tolerando mereri.'*

<sup>40</sup> GN 129.

<sup>41</sup> Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, 2002), pp. 17–18.

<sup>42</sup> GN 194.

by Guibert but also, as noted below, by Albert of Aachen and Ralph of Caen. But until his establishment of a principality in Galilee, late 1099, Tancred was an unmarried knight still in search of his fortune and position, acting largely under the direction of Bohemond.<sup>43</sup> It is perhaps in this regard that Guibert considered Tancred the epitome of a *iuvēnis* during the expedition.

Guibert entitled Tancred a *iuvēnis* in connection with his leading of the garrison of the castle that was built during the siege of Antioch opposite the Gate of St George. Here there is a connection with Gilo's report of the same initiative, with both authors indicating that the hazardous task of forming the garrison of this castle was one associated with the *iuvēnes*. A third author, Tancred's biographer Ralph of Caen also found the term *iuvēnes* appropriate for some of those who joined with the Norman prince, for he wrote that anticipating future successes, *iuvēnes* from Bohemond's army had earlier transferred their allegiance to Tancred.<sup>44</sup>

The next use of *iuvēnis* by Guibert was for a person who also does not seem to fit well with the definition provided by Duby. During the siege of Antioch, c. May 1098, Guibert reported the death of an excellent *iuvēnis*, who had been constable for the King of France: Walo II of Chaumont-en-Vexin.<sup>45</sup> Walo was married to Humberge, the sister of Everard of Le Puiset. As noted above, Everard was identified by Robert and Gilo as a prominent *iuvēnis* among the band that included Thomas of Marle and Drogo of Nesle. Unlike the case of Tancred, Walo was married and already had a notable role at the French court. But he and Humberge, who accompanied him on the expedition, were without children. This, together with his leaving of a settled position at the court of the Phillip I of France, and Walo's association with other turbulent and glory-seeking knights through his brother-in-law, seems to have led Guibert to describe Walo as a *iuvēnis*.

Thereafter the term *iuvēnis* does not appear in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* until Guibert's account of the storming of Jerusalem, 15 July 1099.

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<sup>43</sup> R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred: a study of his Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (Chicago, 1940), pp. 3–15.

<sup>44</sup> RC 610.

<sup>45</sup> GN 332. For Walo II of Chaumont-en-Vexin see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 224.

‘Several of the Frankish *iuvēnes*, whom pious audacity had already made more pre-eminent, threw themselves forward...and together they climbed to the top of the wall. I would identify them by name on this page, if I had not know that after their return they incurred the infamy of wickedness and crime.’<sup>46</sup>

A clue to the identity of the unnameable persons is to be found in Guibert of Nogent’s autobiography. Here, Thomas of Marle looms large as a rebellious and sadistic lord in the 1110s, termed by Guibert the most wicked man of his generation,<sup>47</sup> making it likely that he and his troublesome associates were among those indicated by Guibert’s use of the term *iuvēnes* at this point.

Guibert may also have been familiar with the case of Raimbold Croton, who Ralph of Caen described as a *iuvēnis*, and who was one of those to lead the breakthrough in to Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup> On his return to Chartres, Raimbold Croton became embroiled in a dispute with Bonneval abbey in the course of which he castrated a monk. As a result Raimbold was given fourteen years’ penance by Bishop Ivo of Chartres.<sup>49</sup> Raimbold and Thomas were connected on the crusade by their association with Everard of Le Puisset. After 3 June 1098 the Christians were inside city of Antioch but still had to defend a rampart against attacks from the citadel, which was still in Turkish hands. Those knights who were prominent in doing so were named by Albert of Aachen and the list included Ivo, Everard and Raimbold Croton.<sup>50</sup>

Even more interestingly, but less reliably, the *Chanson d’Antioche*, an epic poem with considerable historical detail embedded in its dramatic account of the fall of Antioch, lists Raimbold Croton, Thomas of Marle, Everard of Le Puisset and Engelrand of Saint-Pol among those joining Fulcher of Chartres in the first group of knights to climb the walls of

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<sup>46</sup> GN 278: *Quique iuvenum Francicorum, quos pia jam dudum reddiderat illustriores audacia, sese proripiunt...murorum pariter suprema conscendunt. Quos etiam nominatim huic insererem paginae, nisi scirem post reditum tantorum eos flagitiorum ac scelerum infamiam incurrisse.*

<sup>47</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. E.-R. Labande (Paris, 1981), 3.VII. See also 3.XI, 3.XIV.

<sup>48</sup> RC 689.

<sup>49</sup> Ivo of Chartres, Letter 135 to Paschal II, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina* 162 col. 144D.

<sup>50</sup> AA iv.30 (294). For Raimbold Croton see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 218.

the city.<sup>51</sup> Regardless of the authenticity of that particular information, it is significant that the composer of the *chanson* considered these knights as being associates.

Jonathan Riley-Smith has briefly examined the later turbulent careers of these two members of the First Crusade, but it is worth noting that both these knights participated in the expedition in such a way as to earn the epithet *iuvenis*, suggesting a connection between the more rebellious of returnees and those whom the early historians considered *iuvenes*.<sup>52</sup> The knight who departed on the expedition motivated primarily by spiritual considerations is likely to have found favour from the Church on his return. Those, however, who primarily set out with a desire to prove themselves in battle, seem to have returned with a contempt for secular and ecclesiastical authority, as, for example, was shown by the actions of Raimbold Crotton, but is even more evident in the career of the notorious Thomas of Marle.

Thomas returned from the First Crusade to live a life of abandon and insubordination. At least such was the view of the clerical authors who wrote about him. All around the vicinity of Laon, Reims and Amiens he laid waste to the whole country 'with the frenzy of a wolf', wrote Abbot Suger of St Dennis.<sup>53</sup> From his devil's pit, a den of robbers, Thomas was a 'common enemy of pilgrims and all humble folk,' wrote the Anglo-Norman monk, Orderic Vitalis, in a passage relating the words of King Louis VI.<sup>54</sup> Henry of Huntington seems to have been well informed about Thomas' career and described how his reputation was known throughout all Gaul. 'Human slaughter was his passion and glory.'<sup>55</sup> Thomas died 9 November 1130 as a result of injuries sustained when he was captured by Raoul, count of Vermandois, acting on behalf of the king of France.

There has long been a revision of the enlightenment inspired image of the knights of the First Crusade being violent and troublesome characters, in favour of a view that emphasises the piety and spiritual

<sup>51</sup> CA 6130–6135.

<sup>52</sup> J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 156.

<sup>53</sup> Abbot Suger of St Denis, *Vita Ludovici Regis VI, Qui Grossus Dictus*, PL 186, [Col.1304B]: *furere lupino devoraverat*.

<sup>54</sup> OV, 6, 258: *inimicum peregrinorum et omnium simplicium*.

<sup>55</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), p. 602: *cedes humana uoluptas eius et gloria*.

motives of the crusaders.<sup>56</sup> In the case of Thomas, and perhaps those associates of his also termed *iuvenes*, the eighteenth century depiction seems to be not so wide of the mark. While the enlightenment historians and their followers attributed the source of crusader aggression to their desire for plunder, here it is presented as a characteristic arising from the *esprit de corps* of a particular layer of knights keen to demonstrate their military prowess.

There are a handful of other references to *iuvenes* in the history of Guibert of Nogent. In his description of the battle of Ascalon, 12 August 1099, Guibert imagined the reaction of al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt, on seeing the weary crusader forces: 'And he looked upon the...*iuventia* weakened by long hunger, swords turned rusty, lances darkened, the slender military equipment of *militēs*, their strength worn out; all those who seemed to be more distinguished than the rest rendered inactive by the bitterness of want.'<sup>57</sup> Here again, as with his account of the departing expedition, Guibert drew a tripartite picture of the crusader fighting forces: 'youths' (Guibert used the collective term *iuventia*), knights (*militēs*) and princes. Finally, Guibert gave the choicest of the *iuvenes* a role in the vanguard of the army in the storming of Caesarea by Baldwin I, 17 May 1101.<sup>58</sup>

The examples of Walo and Tancred being termed *iuvenes* in the *Dei gesta per Francos* suggest that Guibert did not use it in strict sense, like a legal definition. Rather he understood a *iuvenis* to be a knight with a certain quality, not necessarily 'youth' so much as valour. Despite a certain looseness in his employment of the term *iuvenes*, Guibert never went so far as to apply it to the very senior princes of the crusade: it was not simply a fanciful adjective for any champion. Overall Guibert's use of the term was not dissimilar to that of Robert and Gilo. He too employed the term for magnates who led the way in battle and in storming cities.

Thus far the discussion has focused on the works of those who sought to embellish the eyewitness text the *Gesta Francorum*. Their writings demonstrate how French historians projected their own notions of

<sup>56</sup> J. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love' in *The Crusades*, edited by T. F. Madden, (Oxford, 2002), pp. 32–50.

<sup>57</sup> GN 299: *At intuebatur...profligatam diutina fame iuventam, rubiginosis ensibus, lanceis nigrantibus, exilem destitutis militum viribus armaturam, cunctis qui pre ceteris videbantur insignes acri egestate torpentibus.*

<sup>58</sup> GN 347.

what it was to be a *iuuenis* on to the knights of the First Crusade. To turn to other sources independent of the *Gesta Francorum* tradition, to find that they also had a similar use of the term and that they applied it to the same individuals, considerably strengthens the possibility there were indeed a body of knights on the First Crusade whose behaviour matched a widely understood notion of what it was to be a *iuuenis*.

The *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen is a crucial text for this discussion. As Albert was a cleric at Aachen in Lotharingia he had a great deal of information and interest in the German contingents and therefore considerably supplements the overall picture of the crusade as portrayed by the French sources.

Two terms occurred in Albert's work that were nearly always used to indicate someone from the same social grouping as a *iuuenis*, namely *adolescens* and *tyro*. There were two crusaders described by Albert as *adolescens*, both fully-formed knights. The first was Gerard of Avesnes, a knight of Hainault who was given as a hostage to the rulers of Arsuf by Duke Godfrey as part of an agreement that was subsequently broken. When Duke Godfrey besieged Arsuf, early in December 1099, Gerard was held spread-eagled on ropes outside of the battlements of the town. Undeterred, Duke Godfrey pressed the siege and Gerard was eventually pulled back up riddled with the arrows of his own companions. Surprisingly, Gerard reappeared on 25 March 1100, released as a peace offering from the townspeople. Albert wrote that, 'when the duke, saw and received the beloved *miles* and excellent *adolescens* Gerard unharmed, he rejoiced exceedingly.'<sup>59</sup> The fact that Gerard was then given a castle and great fiefs suggests both that he was not an *adolescens* in the sense of being immature and that his trials had earned him a change in status to becoming a lord, exactly the social progress striven for by the *iuventus*.

The other *adolescens* in Albert's work was the less fortunate Arnulf II of Oudenaarde, killed while searching for his horse on the return of a raiding expedition to Jerusalem in 1106. Arnulf was described at various times as a very noble *iuuenis*, a prince, an illustrious knight and *adolescens*.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> AA vii. 15 (506): *Dux itaque, viso et incolumi recepto Gerardo dilecto milite, et egregio adolescente, gavisus est vehementer.*

<sup>60</sup> AA ix.52 (714–17).

Another apparent synonym for *iuvēnes* in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* was *tirones*. The classical meaning of the term was for a recruit, a soldier newly enlisted, without sufficient training. The *tirones* of the classical era were mostly 17 to 20 years of age.<sup>61</sup> By the medieval period the fact that there was a similarity of meaning of *iuvēnis* and *tiro* is suggested by the noun *tirocinium*, which came to mean a joust or tournament, and the verb *tirocinare*, to be in training as a knight.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, Albert was not given to classical allusion and it is clear that those he applied the term were fully trained knights. Those who were named and described as a *tiro* were: Tancred, his brother William, Guy of Possesse, Rainald of Beauvais, Engelrand, son of count Hugh of Saint-Pol, Franco I and Sigemar of Maasmechelen on the river Meuse, blood relations, and Otto surnamed Altaspata, son of the sister of Albert of Biandrate.<sup>63</sup> A Venetian was termed *tiro* by Albert at the siege of Haifa, 25 July 1100, when he was the only one of his companions not to abandon a siege machine.<sup>64</sup> Of these William and Engelrand were also termed *iuvēnes* by Albert.<sup>65</sup> In fact the description of William makes the close connection between *iuvēnes* and *tirones* clear. ‘William, most audacious *iuvēnis*, and most beautiful *tiro*, brother of Tancred.’<sup>66</sup>

With regard to Albert’s description of Rainald of Beauvais as a *tiro* there is a valuable agreement between the sources discussed so far. Albert invariably referred to Rainald in association with Walo II of Chaumont, whom, as noted above, was termed a *iuvēnis* by Guibert of Nogent and who was brother-in-law to the prominent *iuvēnis* Everard of Le Puiset.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, at the battle of Dorylaeum, 1 July 1097, Rainald of Beauvais was mentioned as being in the company of both Walo and Thomas of Marle as well as two other knights described elsewhere as *iuvēnes* by Albert of Aachen: Baldwin of Bourcq and

<sup>61</sup> A. Berger, ‘Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Roman Law’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43:2 (1953), 333–809, here 737.

<sup>62</sup> J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 2 (Leiden, 2002) II, 1342.

<sup>63</sup> Tancred, AA ii.22 (94); William, AA ii.39 (130); Guy, AA ii.22 (96); Rainald, AA iii.35 (194); Engelrand, AA iii.48 (212); Franco and Sigemar, AA iv.35 (302); Otto, AA ix. 30 (674). For other references to these knights see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 210 (Guy); p. 225 (William); p. 218 (Rainald). For Sigemar see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 228.

<sup>64</sup> AA vii.24 (518).

<sup>65</sup> William, AA ii.39 (130); Engelrand, AA v.30 (376).

<sup>66</sup> AA ii.39 (130): *Willelmus iuvēnis audacissimus et tyro pulcherrimus, frater Tancredi*.

<sup>67</sup> AA ii. 23 (98); AA ii.42 (134); AA iii.35 (194), AA iv.47 (322).

Rothard, son of Godfrey.<sup>68</sup> Rainald was listed by Gilo of Paris as being among the group of knights who were attached to the contingent of Hugh the Great for the battle against Kerbogha, the same group (that which included Thomas of Marle and Drogo of Nesle) whom Robert the Monk included under the label *iuventus*.<sup>69</sup> Albert, who had twice as many divisions of crusaders marching from Antioch for the battle as Robert, listed Rainald in an ad-hoc division that also included Thomas of Marle, Drogo of Nesle, Rothard and Baldwin of Bourcq.<sup>70</sup>

In order to reach Antioch, the crusade had to cross the 'Iron Bridge',<sup>71</sup> which they arrived at on 19 October 1097, to find it firmly defended. Robert of Normandy was the leader of the vanguard of the army at this point and with him was Roger Barneville and Everard of Le Puiset, who, as noted above, was several times termed a *iuvēnis* by the French sources. In this instance Everard was described as being a *miles* praiseworthy in military affairs, and with the other leaders, he directed the movement of the cavalry with banners.<sup>72</sup> Resistance from the Turkish garrison at the bridge was severe but once the Turks began to withdraw some knights, 'out of a desire to begin battle' recklessly swam their horses across the river.<sup>73</sup> Albert named two knights here: Walo of Chaumont and Rainald of Beauvais, 'a most savage *tiro*'.<sup>74</sup>

Another important example of a grouping together of individuals elsewhere described as *iuevenes* is Albert's list of those were located beside each other in the siege of Nicea: Guy of Possesse, Thomas, Drogo, Baldwin of Bourcq and Engelrand of Saint-Pol.<sup>75</sup>

The interconnections and associations between the knights mentioned in all these incidents is quite striking. A coalescing of a certain type of crusading warrior seems to have taken place during the crusade. Having come to the attention of those who wrote about the crusade, both Albert and the French historians independently found that the term *iuevenes* was a suitable one for these knights. Was there something characteristic of the behaviour or social position of Thomas, Drogo and

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<sup>68</sup> AA ii.42 (134). Rothard is otherwise unknown, as is his father Godfrey, not to be confused with Godfrey, Duke of Lotharingia.

<sup>69</sup> GP 190–2.

<sup>70</sup> AA iv.47 (322).

<sup>71</sup> A misnomer by the Latins, see WT 4, 8 (243).

<sup>72</sup> AA iii.33 (191).

<sup>73</sup> AA iii.35 (195): *ex desiderio bellum committendi*.

<sup>74</sup> AA iii.35 (195): *tiro asperrimus*.

<sup>75</sup> AA ii.22 (96).



Everard et al. that led early crusading historians in Northern Europe to see them in this light?

What this quality was cannot have been one that was strictly in keeping with the definition of Georges Duby: Walo was married, as was Thomas. But in both cases their domestic position was unsettled, with Thomas in conflict with his father, Enguerrand of Coucy, who had divorced Thomas's mother and, doubting the legitimacy of Thomas, strove to disinherit him.<sup>76</sup> One feature that does seem to have been important in the early crusading historians use of the term *iuvenes* was that it was applied to those who were not lowly knights; these were knights who were potentially lords of castles or towns.

During the crusade itself, however, these nobles were not prominent enough figures to command a leadership role; rather they acted independently or else attached themselves to the senior princes. To judge by the fluidity of their associations these attachments seem not to have been tight ones, such as that created by vassalage. Clarembald, for example, seems to have set out on crusade under his own resources, been held in captivity with Hugh the Great, whom he fought under at Antioch, then travelled to Edessa to serve Baldwin of Boulogne.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, when Ralph of Caen reported that certain *iuvenes* left the following of Bohemond for that of Tancred, in the expectation of future success, the impression given is of a less formal relationship than that between vassal and lord.

With regard to the common qualities of behaviour that these knights might have displayed, Albert seems to have shared with the northern French writers a sense that the *iuvenis* was associated with indiscipline. Albert commented that while Bohemond prudently portrayed himself as loyal to the Byzantine Emperor, Alexios I Comnenus, Tancred's attempt to avoid having to take an oath to the Emperor by crossing the Bosphorous in secret was an act of audacity.<sup>78</sup> There is also a suggestion of rashness in the action of the abovementioned Arnulf of Oudenaarde for leaving the army in order to search unknown territory for his horse.<sup>79</sup> On a raid of Baldwin I's near Hebron, November 1100, forty *iuvenes*

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<sup>76</sup> J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 156–7. See also J. F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France* (New York, 1970), p. 184.

<sup>77</sup> AA i.28 (52); AA ii.7 (72); RM 833; AA v.16 (356).

<sup>78</sup> AA ii.19 (90).

<sup>79</sup> AA ix.52 (714).

were described as secretly forming a plan to hasten ahead in order to obtain money and booty.<sup>80</sup>

As with Robert, Gilo and Guibert, this negative aspect of the *iuvēnes* is only one part of the picture, for Albert frequently praised them as a body and individually for their warlike prowess. *Iuvenis* was clearly not a negative term in the description of Rothold son of Godfrey, 'a most famous *iuvenis*.'<sup>81</sup> A similar positive description was given for Baldwin of Le Bourcq, 'a splendid *iuvenis*,'<sup>82</sup> as well as for William and Engelrand above. When Engelrand died in Ma'arra, 10 December 1098, he was described as 'an uncommonly daring *iuvenis*.'<sup>83</sup> Among the many favourable epithets for Tancred was the phrase, 'illustrious *tyro*.'<sup>84</sup> At the first battle of Ramleh, 6 September 1101, where he was charge of the third division, Hugh of Saint-Omer was called 'a warlike *iuvenis*.'<sup>85</sup> Roger of Salerno, before he became prince of Antioch, December 1112, was described as an, 'illustrious *iuvenis* and knight.'<sup>86</sup> To be a *iuvenis* was not to detract from a knight's valour.

Although many of the knights named individually in his history were termed *iuvenis*, as a collective body influencing events the *iuventus* appears less in Albert's work than the other histories under discussion. There are examples from descriptions of forces of the People's Crusade, but, given the large numbers involved and the lack of magnates in such armies, in these instances the group described are probably simply those young in age. *Tyronēs*, on the other hand, are more likely to be a collective body of those individuals whom Albert considered to be *iuvēnes* in its more social meaning. *Tyronēs* are described as participating in battle in the following of Hugh the Great and that of Duke Godfrey against the forces of Kerbogha;<sup>87</sup> as a body of scouts sent ahead when the First Crusade approached Ramleh, 3 June 1099;<sup>88</sup> as the Latin garrison of the Armenian town of Melitene in 1100;<sup>89</sup> and as those

<sup>80</sup> AA vii.41 (548).

<sup>81</sup> AA ii.23 (98): *Rothardus filius Gosfridi, iuvenis clarissimus*.

<sup>82</sup> AA iii.6 (148): *Baldwinus de Burch iuvenis preclarus*.

<sup>83</sup> AA v.30 (376): *iuvenis mire audacie*.

<sup>84</sup> AA ii.22 (94): *tyro illustris*.

<sup>85</sup> AA vii.65 (576): *iuvenis bellicosus*. For Hugh of Saint-Omer, also known as Hugh of Faquesmerberques see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 211–12.

<sup>86</sup> AA xii.29 (836): *illustrissimum iuvenem et militem*.

<sup>87</sup> AA iv.51 (328–30).

<sup>88</sup> AA v.42 (396).

<sup>89</sup> AA vii.29 (526).

picked to occupy siege towers at the unsuccessful siege of Tyre by King Baldwin I, November 1111.<sup>90</sup>

Introducing the evidence from Albert of Aachen helps develop the impression that certain knights who shared a characteristic reputation for bravery and a willingness to be to the fore in battle banded together during the course of the crusade. That Albert was willing to apply the terms *tyro* and *iuvēnis* to these knights suggests that there was already, at the very start of the twelfth century, a shared understanding from France to Lotharingia of the vocabulary appropriate for distinguishing 'young' champions from the broader body of knights.

A further useful source for shedding more light on this subject is the *Gesta Tancredi* of Ralph of Caen. Ralph had served with Bohemond in 1107 before journeying to Syria, where he took service with Tancred. Shortly after Tancred's death, 12 December 1112, Ralph wrote a history in the form of a panegyric to his former lord. The text is independent of the *Gesta Francorum* tradition and its value is enhanced by the fact that it was written in the knowledge that it would be read by participants in the First Crusade, and in particular by its editor, Arnulf, the chaplain to Robert I, duke of Normandy who became patriarch of Jerusalem in 1099 and again from 1112 until his death in 1118.<sup>91</sup>

Ralph's first reference to the *iuventus* as a distinct social group occurs in a speech of Duke Robert II of Normandy rallying those who, including Bohemond, were described as wavering at the battle of Dorylaeum. Robert appealed to the *iuvenes* to charge with him into the middle of the enemy force and die. Admonished by these words, the *iuvenes* joined themselves to the leaders and were more ready for death than for flight.<sup>92</sup> Once battle was joined, Ralph described the *iuventus* as being intemperate and a dangerously undisciplined force. The minds of the *iuvenes* boiled over in passion but Bohemond forbade them to charge in case the rashness of a few threw the whole battle order into confusion.<sup>93</sup>

Ralph was yet another source who associated a following of *iuvenes* with the contingent of Hugh the Great, in this instance at the battle

<sup>90</sup> AA xii.6 (832).

<sup>91</sup> RC 604. See also B. S. Bachrach and D. S. Backrach, eds., *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen* (Ashgate, 2005), pp. 2–4.

<sup>92</sup> RC 622.

<sup>93</sup> RC 623.

of Dorylaeum: in other words, a year earlier than the battle against Kerbogha in which they are grouped with Hugh by Robert and Gilo. The historian wrote that under Hugh's leadership the supporting *iuventus* ardently smote whatever fell before them.<sup>94</sup>

According to Ralph, Tancred was accompanied by *iuvenes* during his expedition through Cilicia. At a battle outside Tarsus c. 20 September 1097, the faithful *iuventus* were described as following Tancred in a charge.<sup>95</sup> Count Baldwin of Boulogne was able to attract some Norman *iuvenes* to his following, on or around 15 September 1097, by obtaining the services of their leader, Cono of Montaigu.<sup>96</sup>

As with the other sources under discussion, Ralph assigned to the *iuventus* the key role in the capture of Antioch on the morning of 3 June 1098. 'The flying winged *iuventus*, well girded with swords, flew by means of the ropes. Gouel of Chartres was the first, like an eagle calling forth its young to fly, and flying over them. This noble man since boyhood desired and thirsted for nothing more eagerly than praise.'<sup>97</sup> Gouel of Chartres has been understood to be that Fulcher of Chartres described by Robert and Gilo who led the *iuvenes* on to the walls of the city.<sup>98</sup> Ralph's version of the event supplements that of the French sources discussed here; they all shared a view that it was appropriate to term those willing to risk their lives in the climb as *iuvenes* and, if the sources are being consistent about who they applied the term to, it can be speculated that the *Chanson d'Antioche* might have been correct in including figures like Thomas of Marle and Everard of Le Puisset among the company who climbed up with Fulcher to be first on to the walls of Antioch.

Ralph next mentioned the fiery *iuventus* as coming up to join the advance forces of the crusade, before the city of Jerusalem, probably on 7 June 1099.<sup>99</sup> On 15 July 1099 the crusaders stormed Jerusalem. Ralph's description of the day's events included phases of the struggle

<sup>94</sup> RC 625.

<sup>95</sup> RC 631.

<sup>96</sup> RC 632–3.

<sup>97</sup> RC 654–5: *iuventus volucris pennata corpora accincti gladii per funes volant: Gouel Carnotensis primus, 'sicut aquila provocans pullos suos ad volandum, et super eos volitans' [Deut 32:2], vir ille nobilis, et a puero nihil esuriens ut laudem neque sitiens, non propter vitam laudari, sed propter laudem vivere cupiebat.*

<sup>98</sup> C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 145; J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 206.

<sup>99</sup> RC 686.

where the attackers became weary and disheartened. It was during the storming of the city that Ralph assigned the epithet *iūvenis* to Tancred, the hero of his poem.<sup>100</sup>

Ralph further wrote that the first on to the wall of Jerusalem was the brave knight and *iūvenis*, Raimbold Croton.<sup>101</sup> According to Ralph, Raimbold's lead was followed up by other *iūvenes*.<sup>102</sup> Ralph named another knight as leader of this party, Bernard of St Valéry.<sup>103</sup> Ralph also praised Everard of Le Puiset for a battle inside the city, where a rally of the inhabitants threatened to turn back the Christian attack. Everard, however, engaged a thousand and moved the *iūventus* to follow him.<sup>104</sup> All in all, Ralph's account of the fall of Jerusalem fits very well with the conjecture that when Guibert of Nogent refused to name those *iūvenes* who played a prominent role in the taking of the city, the abbot was thinking of a grouping of knights that included Raimbold, Everard and Thomas of Marle.

If the historians who wrote in the aftermath of the First Crusade employed a vocabulary that distinguished those who they understood to be *iūvenes* from the other fighting forces of the Christian army, can the same be said of the eyewitness accounts?

The *Gesta Francorum* is a complicated text, sharing a great deal of material with another eyewitness account, that of the Poitevin priest, Peter Tudebode, but for the purposes of this discussion they can be considered as one as their variations do not bear on the question of *iūvenes*.<sup>105</sup> The text is relatively crude in its depiction of the social layers of the Christian army and typically the author simply writes of 'us' rather than differentiate among the various classes present. It also has an Italian bias in its language.<sup>106</sup> It is therefore perhaps not too surprising that there is no mention of *iūvenes* in this text. It is, however, curious that one of those knights who were first on to the walls of Antioch is described in the *Gesta Francorum* as a *serviens* and that this term, which

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<sup>100</sup> RC 688.

<sup>101</sup> RC 689.

<sup>102</sup> RC 693.

<sup>103</sup> RC 693. For other references to Bernard of St Valéry see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 202.

<sup>104</sup> RC 698.

<sup>105</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between the two texts see above pp. 23–4.

<sup>106</sup> J. G. Gavigan, 'The Syntax of the *Gesta Francorum*,' *Language* 19, III (1943), pp. 10–102, here p. 11.

encompassed a very wide range of contemporary meanings, was elsewhere used in the *Gesta Francorum* in a passage where Gilo of Paris preferred the term *iuvēnes*.<sup>107</sup>

Rather more disappointing is Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana*. Although Fulcher had a richer social vocabulary than the anonymous author, this tended to be manifest in his more theologically inspired passages. In detailing the narrative of events Fulcher tended to be direct, terse and far less florid than the later historians. As a consequence, he did not employ the term *iuvēnes* or its equivalents.

Lastly, the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers had a very distinct theological perspective that saw the lower social orders as especially meritorious in the eyes of God, because of the hardship that they had to endure during the expedition. Raymond did, however, also write about knights and here are four references *iuvēnes* in his history that seem to be references to a certain type of combatant rather than simply those young in age.

The first possible mention of such a *iuvēnis* occurs in Raymond's description of a skirmish during the siege of Antioch, 29 December 1097, in which the standard bearer of the papal legate, bishop Adhémar of Le Puy was killed, and his standard was captured. Raymond wrote that there also perished at that time a certain most noble *iuvēnis*, Bernard Ato, viscount of Béziers.<sup>108</sup> As with Gilo's reference to William of Benium's raising of the banner of Hugh the Great, there seems to be a connection between defending the standard and being a *iuvēnis* and it is this military context and the phrase *nobilissimus iuvēnis* that suggests Raymond meant something other than simply the adjective 'youth' here.

A further very striking example of a *iuvēnis* who was also a standard bearer occurred in the next reference to the *iuventus* given by Raymond of Aguilers, namely his account of a vision of St George. Raymond wrote that when the priest and visionary Peter Desiderius discovered the relics of an unknown saint, the crusading clergy decided to leave them

<sup>107</sup> GF 46; 43, compare with GP 123.

<sup>108</sup> RA 40–1 (244). For Bernard Ato see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 201. The standard bearer mentioned here was not the better-known Heraclius I of Polignac who bore Adhémar's standard at the battle against Kerbogha, for whom see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 211.

behind, but in the night which followed a certain *iuvēnis*, about fifteen years old, most beautiful, was present with him as he kept vigil.<sup>109</sup> In seeking the identity of this *iuvēnis*, Peter Desiderius was asked by the vision to name the standard bearer of the army and learned that he was in the presence of St George.

The fact that Raymond reported the age of the saint as fifteen means that the term *iuvēnis* might have simply meant ‘youth’ here. On the other hand, the cult of St George was to grow, considerably accelerated by the success of the First Crusade, until by the fifteenth century he was the personification of chivalry. From Raymond’s theological perspective the embodiment of the highest ideal of a crusading warrior and standard-bearer of the whole expedition was St George, whose prowess was assisting the Christian army. Raymond’s employment of the term *iuvēnis* for the warrior saint might have been to intentionally evoke some of the qualities associated with the term in its social sense: bravery, eagerness for battle, willingness to take the most dangerous place by carrying the standard. Another eyewitness, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, provided evidence that on the crusade it was popularly believed that St George was offering military assistance to the Christians, in his description of the battle against Kerbogha, where St George was described as being among the resplendent saints who rode into battle with the crusading forces.<sup>110</sup>

The third mention of a *iuvēnis* in Raymond of Aguilers’s history is made with regard to a detachment of knights under Count Galdmar Carpenel of Dargoire, who were sent from the siege of Jerusalem, 18 June 1099, to make contact with six Christian vessels that had arrived at Jaffa. This expedition ran into a troop of Arab and Turkish riders, dispersing them after some losses, including three or four knights of the following of Geldemar and Achard of Montmerle, a most noble *iuvēnis*, and renowned knight.<sup>111</sup> This last example is an important one for demonstrating that the term *iuvēnis* could be used by Raymond of Aguilers in different sense than that of a young person, for he would have known Achard was a mature man. Albert of Aachen described

<sup>109</sup> RA 291–3 (290).

<sup>110</sup> GF 69. For further discussion of St George and the First Crusade see C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), pp. 6, 54, 87, 135, 273–81.

<sup>111</sup> RA 318–9 (294).

Achard as being 'white-haired'.<sup>112</sup> The former castellan of Montmerle had mortgaged his patrimony to the monastery of Cluny in return for 2,000 solidi and four mules in order to join the crusade and his donation charter included a clause covering the case he might stay in the Levant.<sup>113</sup> While the later stories that sprang up about Achard, such as those in the *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, were clearly legendary, it is significant that local traditions indicated that he had already something of a career and reputation for bravery before departing on the First Crusade.<sup>114</sup> Again, also, the context is an appropriate one for a *iuvēnis* in the social sense of the term. Achard was *nobilissimus* and died bravely, fighting against the odds.

The last possible reference to *iuvēnes* in the work of Raymond of Aguilers occurs with regard to the storming of Jerusalem, 15 July 1099. Although Raymond did not describe them as being first on to the wall, he described a *iuvēnis* as playing a key role at the point where the breakthrough occurred: this *iuvēnis* devised arrows, firing at the coverings which protected ramparts that the Saracens had made to face the wooden tower of Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia and Count Eustace of Boulogne.<sup>115</sup>

Lacking decisive examples from the eyewitness accounts, there has to remain a certain element of speculation about the role of *iuvēnes* in the First Crusade. Certainly there seem to have existed a distinct stratum of the nobility to whom later authors found it appropriate to apply the language of 'youth'. A band of a particular sort of knight appears to have formed during the crusade, at the core of which were Thomas of Marle, Rainald of Beauvais, Drogo of Nesle, Clarembald of Vendeuil and Everard of Le Puiset. What they had in common was an illustrious, if not quite princely background, an unsettled career and a reputation for bravery. Their behaviour was characteristic of those who from the latter half of the Twelfth Century, perhaps more precisely, fitted George Duby's definition of the 'young'.

It might well have been this faction that Guibert of Nogent had in mind when he wrote that Hugh the Great was 'supported by certain *proceres* so that if, by right of battles, the Gentiles were conquered and

<sup>112</sup> AA ii.23 (100).

<sup>113</sup> *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, 6 (Paris, 1876–1903), v. 51–3.

<sup>114</sup> See C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 193, n. 3.

<sup>115</sup> RA 343 (300).



it came to pass that they occupied [the land] they planned to make him king.<sup>116</sup> Following the victory over Kerbogha, however, Hugh was sent as a messenger to Alexios but did not return, causing his potential supporters to disperse. Some of this band sought work with Baldwin of Edessa in the plague-filled summer months at Antioch in 1098. They also seem to have been to the fore in pushing the expedition on to Jerusalem. After completing the pilgrimage, Thomas and Raimbold Crotton returned to France where they pursued very violent and troublesome careers.

The most important turning points of the expedition were the battle at Dorylaeum; the capture of Antioch; the battle against Kerbogha; the decision to leave Ma'arra and push on to Jerusalem and the storming of Jerusalem. From the descriptions of these early crusading historians a picture emerges that has these knights and others termed *iuvenes* to the fore at each of these moments, seeking glory in being the first into battle and the first on the walls in the storming of cities. They were a small layer of crusaders, but distinct enough to catch the eye of the historians and be identified with a vocabulary that contemporary readers would have understood not so much as meaning young knights, but as champions out to prove their worth.

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<sup>116</sup> GN 131: *Huic quidam procerum innitebantur; et si quid bellorum jure evictis gentilibus: eos obtinere contingeret, ipsum sibi regem praeficere meditabantur.*

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### *PRINCIPES AND THE CRUSADING NOBILITY*

As with their vocabulary for the lower social orders, the early Latin historians for the First Crusade differed from one another in the terms they employed for the upper layers of society. *Principes*, *optimates*, *seniores*, *maiores*, *proceres* and so forth had, in the classical era, held very distinct social or legal meanings.<sup>1</sup> By the early twelfth century, however, there was much less appreciation of their former nuances. Furthermore, the usage of such terms was still evolving, as can be seen by the various ways in which these historians made use of them.

One fairly consistent feature of the works examined here was their notion of nobility. By the early twelfth century the concept of *nobilitas* had come a long way from its origins as a term for the consular families (descendents of men who had held the consulship) of the Late Roman Republic.<sup>2</sup> As discussed in Chapter Five, on the whole the evidence of the sources for the First Crusade shows that they considered nobility to be a honoured social status possessed not only by the very uppermost members of the expedition, but also for the far more numerous *milites*, the knights. The most important examples in this regard comes from Guibert of Nogent. He described the relatively lowly knight Matthew as being of 'noble birth' (*genere nobilis*) and the entire body of knights on the crusade as the 'flower of the nobility' (*flos nobilitatis*) of the Franks.<sup>3</sup>

In one of his—rare—substantial additions to the *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode described an incident in which the knight Rainald Porchet, himself a *miles nobilis*,<sup>4</sup> was displayed to the Christians on the walls of Antioch by the besiegers before being executed. Brave in the face of death, Rainald shouted out to encourage the Christian leaders, letting them know that in a recent battle they had killed all the *maiores*

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<sup>1</sup> A. Berger, 'Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Roman Law', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43:2 (1953), 333–809.

<sup>2</sup> G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London: Duckworth, 1981), p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> GN 198, 147.

<sup>4</sup> PT 79. For Rainald Porchet see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 219.

and the bolder men of the city, namely twelve emirs and 1,500 *nobiles*.<sup>5</sup> Although the society being described here is that of the Muslim army in Antioch and the numbers are exaggerated, it gives a sense that Peter Tudebode saw the category of *nobiles* as a very broad one.

Another crusading historian who used the term *nobiles* with regard to Muslim society was Raymond of Aguilers.<sup>6</sup> The passage of greatest interest from Raymond's history in this regard is his comment that bodies of Arabs, both of the *nobiles* and the *vulgus*, outside Tripoli were a delightful sight to the Christian army, following fighting early in March 1099.<sup>7</sup> This example suggests that Raymond of Aguilers understood the couplet, *nobiles* and *vulgus*, expressed the entire body of society: that the basic social division was between noble and commoner.

The image of a society that consisted of two basic orders, the nobility and the commoners, was a commonplace for Albert of Aachen. At the siege of Antioch, sometime during the spring of 1098, Count Hugh of Saint-Pol and his son Engelrand led a successful foray against those Turks who were preventing his followers bringing forage to the camp. As a result of their victory *nobiles et ignobiles* came running up from every side.<sup>8</sup> Despite this victory, famine soon pressed hard on many *nobiles et ignobiles*.<sup>9</sup> Soon after the flight of Count Stephen of Blois from Antioch, 2 June 1098, a vision of the Church Father, Bishop Ambrose of Milan was reported to the Christian army. Albert wrote that Ambrose's speeches produced great comfort to clerics and lay people, *nobiles et ignobiles*.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, on the death of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, *nobiles et ignobiles* mourned with extreme lamentations.<sup>11</sup> When, in August 1098, plague struck the Christian forces in Antioch, 'both *nobiles et ignobiles* gave up the spirit of life.'<sup>12</sup> Furthermore 'whether *equites* or *pedites*, *nobiles et ignobiles*, *monachi et clerici*, *parvi et magni*, to say nothing of the female gender, more than 100 thousands were laid waste by death without being struck down by swords.'<sup>13</sup>

<sup>5</sup> PT 79.

<sup>6</sup> RA 23 (240), 125 (260), 186 (272), 262 (286).

<sup>7</sup> RA 262 (286).

<sup>8</sup> AA iii.48 (214). For Hugh of Saint-Pol, aged vassal of Count Eustace III of Boulogne, see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 213.

<sup>9</sup> AA iii.53 (220).

<sup>10</sup> AA iv.38 (306).

<sup>11</sup> AA v.4 (342).

<sup>12</sup> AA v.4 (342): *Tam nobiles quam ignobiles spiritum vite exalarent.*

<sup>13</sup> AA v.4 (344): *...tam equites quam pedites, nobiles et ignobiles, monachi et clerici, parvi et magni, quin sexus femineus supra centum milia sine ferro morte vastati sunt.*

Again, the three thousand troops that accompanied Duke Godfrey, now ruler of Jerusalem, to Arsuf in the late autumn of 1099, were divided into *nobiles et ignobiles, equites et pedites*.<sup>14</sup> Albert's description of the defeat of the crusade of 1101 in July of that year, stated that everyone made haste to flight, *magni et parvi, nobiles et ignobiles*.<sup>15</sup> A final appearance of the couplet *nobiles et ignobiles* in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* was for a great number of Christians who drowned off the island of Cyprus in a storm, 20 September 1113.<sup>16</sup>

Albert used the term *nobilis* for a number of individuals. Count Emicho of Flonheim, leader of one of the contingents of the People's Crusade, was a *vir nobilis*;<sup>17</sup> Duke Godfrey also was a *vir nobilissimus*.<sup>18</sup> Gilbert of Traves and Achard of Montmerle, together 'mighty leaders of the Christians and *virī nobiles*;<sup>19</sup> Geldemar Carpenel, a *miles egregius et nobilis*<sup>20</sup> and William of Wanges, a *miles gloriosus et nobilis*;<sup>21</sup> Baldwin of Bourcq, was a *vir nobilis* of the family of Baldwin of Boulogne.<sup>22</sup> Albert twice used the term *nobilitas*, 'nobility,' in connection with prominent figures of the First Crusade. He wrote of Robert of Flanders, Robert, count of Normandy, Cono of Montaigu, Count Raymond of Toulouse and all the *nobilitas* of Gallia.<sup>23</sup> He described Ralph of Scegonas, a relative of Duke William IX of Aquitaine, as a *vir magne nobilitatis*.<sup>24</sup>

Another of the crusading historians who saw noble and commoner to be a basic division of society was Baldric of Dol. As noted in Chapter Two, Baldric wrote a very interesting elaboration of a speech by Bohemond that he found in his *fons formalis*, the *Gesta Francorum*. Baldric had Bohemond appeal to the other leaders of the expedition to give good example and ride forth to battle, for 'how does a *dominus* differ from a *servus*, a *nobilis* from a *plebeius*, *dives* from *pauper*, *miles* from *pedes*, if not that the counsel of us who rule over them should be useful, and our

<sup>14</sup> AA vii.1 (486).

<sup>15</sup> AA viii.18 (610).

<sup>16</sup> AA xii.16 (848).

<sup>17</sup> AA i.27 (50).

<sup>18</sup> AA ii.1 (60).

<sup>19</sup> AA vi.4 (408): *Gisilbertus de Treva et Achart de Montmerla, fortes Christianorum duces et viri nobiles*. For Gilbert of Traves see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 208.

<sup>20</sup> AA vii.22 (516).

<sup>21</sup> AA xii.5 (830).

<sup>22</sup> AA vii.31 (528).

<sup>23</sup> AA iii.65 (244).

<sup>24</sup> AA viii.35 (626). This is the only known reference to Ralph of Scegonas.

help should protect them?<sup>25</sup> Lord and servant, noble and commoner, rich and poor, knight and footsoldier. For Baldric a fundamental division ran through society, separating the elite from the masses, creating a responsibility for those at the top to aid those at the bottom.

The division of *nobiles* and *plebs* occurred a second time in the *Historia Hierosolymitana*. During the spring of 1098 the Christian forces outside of Antioch decided to build a castle at a mosque, which was subsequently garrisoned by the followers of Count Raymond. The *Gesta Francorum* simply has the report that this was a decision of the *maiores*.<sup>26</sup> In Baldric's version the motive for the decision was elaborated, he wrote that the nobility were mercifully concerned to look after the *plebs*.<sup>27</sup>

Other than this use of the term as the upper half of a bipartite division of society, there are two examples in Baldric's history in which *nobiles* appear, both in a context that indicates he was writing about a relatively large number of people. In his account of the council of Clermont, Baldric wrote that after Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy had been appointed the commander of the army of God 'the great multitude of *nobiles* offered their assent'.<sup>28</sup> Secondly, Baldric's amendment of the eulogy to Adhémar in the *Gesta Francorum*, changed the description of the papal legate from having been counsellor of the *divites*<sup>29</sup> to counsellor of the *nobiles*.<sup>30</sup>

Although Guibert of Nogent had the most acute sense of social status of the early crusading sources, he generally preferred other terms to *nobiles* in commenting on the upper class. Apart from the examples above with regard to *milites*, the *Gesta Dei Per Francos* provides only one other interesting example where the term *nobiles* was used. Guibert was disturbed by accounts of the shortages of food and water among the Christians at the siege of Jerusalem. Having explained that the water had to be brought six miles in the rotten skins of makeshift hide bags, he gave vent to his sympathy for the nobles undergoing such an experience. The roughness of the bread must have worn away the jaws and throats of the *viri nobiles*; their elegant stomachs must have been twisted by the bitterness of the putrid liquid. They doubtless remembered with

<sup>25</sup> BD 45–6: *Quid differt dominus a servo, nobilis a plebeio, dives a paupere, miles a pedite, nisi nostrum qui praesidemus eis prosit consilium, et patrocinetur auxilium?*

<sup>26</sup> GF 39.

<sup>27</sup> BD 48.

<sup>28</sup> BD 16: *...praebeuit assensum multitudo multa nobilium.*

<sup>29</sup> GF 74.

<sup>30</sup> BD 82.

suffering the pleasures of their former lives.<sup>31</sup> This is vivid sociological evidence for the lifestyle of the nobility and although it does not define those termed *nobiles* with any precision, the incident illustrated a basic social division on the crusade, since while the higher social class were suffering from rough bread and foul water, some of the poor were drinking water so filthy that they died of the swelling that resulted from having ingested leeches.<sup>32</sup>

Thus far the sources are fairly consistent with regard to their portrayal of the nobility: it was a relatively large social grouping, not simply confined to those princes at the very top of the social structure. The evidence from one eyewitness, however, is less straightforward and it might well have been that for Fulcher of Chartres the idea of nobility was more restricted than for the other historians. Certainly very few individuals in his work were described by the adjective *nobilis*, all very senior figures indeed. These were Matilda, countess of Tuscany, a *nobilissima matrona*,<sup>33</sup> Count Stephen of Blois, a *vir probissimus et valde nobilis*,<sup>34</sup> and a *vir prudens et nobilis*;<sup>35</sup> Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia, who on his election as ruler of Jerusalem, was described as having *nobilitas*<sup>36</sup> and Stephen, count of Burgundy.<sup>37</sup>

When Fulcher of Chartres described the journey of the contingent of Duke Robert of Normandy through France in 1096, he stated that this army was accompanied by Stephen, count of Blois, and Robert, count of Flanders and many other *nobiles*.<sup>38</sup> Clearly, Stephen and Robert shared their status as nobles with many others: the term *nobiles* was not being restricted by Fulcher to just the handful of very senior princes. But how many more nobles were present? A very large number such as given in the example by Peter Tudebode, or by the writers who used *nobiles* to indicate all of the upper half of a bipartite society, does not fit the spirit of the formulation, which seems to refer to only the most prominent people present.

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<sup>31</sup> GN 274.

<sup>32</sup> AA vi.6 (412).

<sup>33</sup> FC I.v.5 (149). Matilda, margravine of Tuscany (1046–1114), daughter and heiress of the Marquess Boniface of Tuscany, m. Godfrey III, duke of Lower Lotharingia, supporter and patron of Gregorian reformers. See also I. S. Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 45–50.

<sup>34</sup> FC I.xvi.7 (228).

<sup>35</sup> FC II.xix.4 (443).

<sup>36</sup> FC I.xxx.1 (307).

<sup>37</sup> FC II.xvi.1 (430).

<sup>38</sup> FC I.vi.8 (161).

Yet, to balance against these tentative suggestions of a restrictive use of the term *nobiles* in the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, there is Fulcher's eyewitness report that during the march of Baldwin of Edessa and Bohemond of Antioch to Jerusalem in the autumn of 1099 *milites nobiles* became *pedites*, having lost their horses.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, Fulcher lamented for the loss of many *nobiles* and *probi milites* at the second battle of Ramleh, 17 May 1102.<sup>40</sup> In both cases he probably did so to emphasise that among the *milites* so described were figures of particularly high status, but it is clear that the term *nobiles* was, for Fulcher, broad enough to extend to at least some, if not all the *milites*.

The fact that the modern historian has access to both the early and later versions of Fulcher's work (see Chapter One) allows a useful investigation of an interesting passage in regard to the question of his use of the term *nobiles* and composition of the higher social orders present on the First Crusade more generally. This was Fulcher's enumeration of the divisions that formed up for the battle against Kerbogha, 28 June 1098. In his first version of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1101–5), Fulcher wrote that the *optimates* of the Franks at the battle were Hugh the Great, Robert, duke of Normandy, Robert, count of Flanders, Duke Godfrey, Count Raymond of Toulouse, Bohemond and many other *nobiles*.<sup>41</sup> In his second redaction (1124), with hindsight, Fulcher preferred to write that the *principes* at the battle were Hugh, Robert, Robert, Godfrey, Raymond, Bohemond and 'many other lesser [princes]'.<sup>42</sup>

The effect of this change was twofold. The latter version made it clear that Fulcher, unlike for his comment about the departure of Robert of Normandy's contingent, now saw a distinct gap in status between the named senior princes and other nobles of the First Crusade. It also meant that his use of the term *optimates* was restricted to the prominent nobles of the Kingdom of Jerusalem who were involved in the decision making of the kingdom.<sup>43</sup> Tempting as it is to conclude that the substitution of lesser princes for *nobiles* here means that for Fulcher they are synonymous, it might be that when he came to redraft his formulation

<sup>39</sup> FC I.xxxiii.13 (331): *Videretis milites nobiles, equis quoquomodo amissis, pedites effici*. For a discussion of this passage see above p. xxx.

<sup>40</sup> FC II.xix.4 (443).

<sup>41</sup> FC I.xxii.1 (251).

<sup>42</sup> FC 251 n. a; n. g: *multi alii minores tamen horum*.

<sup>43</sup> FC II.xxviii.5 (481); III.xi.2 (648); III.xvi.2 (660); III.lvii.2 (807); III.lxi.5 (822).

to make explicit the point about great and lesser princes, he found the word *nobiles* unsatisfactory precisely because it was too broad.

Overall then, there is a very strong case for accepting that these sources saw the nobles as a wide group, encompassing the entirety of the upper part of the social structure of the First Crusade. The 'nobles' were more than the princely elite, they were all those above the social status of the middle ranks—the footsoldiers, artisans, sailors and siege engineers—who shared a non-noble status and the fact they went on foot with those below them, the *pauperes*. Looked at from this perspective, thousands of nobles were present on the First Crusade, contrasted with the commoners in their tens of thousands.

Within this broad upper class of nobles were, of course, considerable gradations. In Albert of Aachen's account of Pope Urban II's call to the crusade at Clermont, he noted that great *principes*, of every *ordo* and *gradus*, vowed to join the expedition.<sup>44</sup> The comment is interesting, revealing Albert's conscious awareness of many gradations within the upper layers of society, gradations that were reflected in his very broad range of terms for them. At various times and in various contexts Albert wrote of *nobiles*, *magni*, *maiores*, *optimates*, *primores*, *potentes*, *principes*, *proceres*, *capitales*, *capitanei* and *domini*.

The difficulty in focusing on what exactly distinguished the various layers of the upper class is that such terms were used rather loosely in all the sources and not always consistently. Perhaps this is not surprising for the early twelfth century, when even titles such as 'count' had yet to become clearly delineated from other grades of the senior nobility.<sup>45</sup> A helpful contemporary model for analysing the social structure of the crusading elite is that derived from the work of Guibert of Nogent, the most linguistically innovative of our sources. In describing the different social orders that participated in the First Crusade, Guibert wrote a very important passage in which he identified a sub-stratum of the *principes*, the *mediocres principes* and gave a very specific definition of the group. He observed that along with those from the illustrious orders (*inclyti ordines*), a multitude of the *mediocres principes* marched forth who could not be counted, because who could enumerate the lords of one, two, three or four towns?<sup>46</sup> An examination of the texts in the *Patrologia*

<sup>44</sup> AA i.5 (8).

<sup>45</sup> I. S. Robinson, 'Eine unbekannte Streitschrift über die Salevamento von Exkommunizierten im Münchener Kodex lat. 618', *Studi Gregoriani* 11 (1978), p. 311 n. 30.

<sup>46</sup> GN 133.



*Latina* shows that the phrase *mediocres principes* was unique to the *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

Unlike the other early crusading historians, who struggled to match a vocabulary inherited from the past to their contemporary experiences, Guibert was willing to coin new phrases to express his ideas. In this case it is clear that Guibert held a pyramid-like image for hierarchy of knights on the First Crusade. At the top were a handful of very illustrious princes, below them a large number of others also encompassed by the term *principes*, but of more modest means, being the lords of between one and four towns. Below these were immense numbers of knights, owners of at least their armour and a horse and probably, before they departed, a fief, but not a town or castle. The same kind of schema is suggested by another original phrase of Guibert's: *mediocritas equestrium virorum*, the 'middle rank of equestrian men'. It appeared in his report that as news spread of the events of the Council of Clermont, counts palatine and the middle ranks of *equestres* besides were enthused to join the expedition.<sup>47</sup>

Taking Guibert's model as the most useful contemporary one, is it possible to obtain a sense of the proportions between these three layers? The senior princes were a few specific individuals who can be easily identified and they are discussed further below. The numerical relationship between the other two layers, the *mediocres principes* and the broader body of knights, is suggested by the description in the *Gesta Francorum* of how, early in October 1097, soon after leaving the town of Coxon, Count Raymond of Toulouse decided to send some of his men ahead in the hope of catching the defenders of Antioch by surprise.<sup>48</sup> He therefore assigned four named leaders to accompany 500 *milites* in the undertaking. Guibert's version of the same incident was that Count Raymond chose four men from among the *primores* of his own army, one of whom was William VI of Montpellier and

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<sup>47</sup> GN 118. *Comites Palatinorum*: in the earliest Merovingian times the title *comes palatii* was a technical one for the assessor who prepared cases for presentation to the king. Thereafter it evolved to becoming a title given to senior figures at the royal court who had no particular office and in the Germanic Empire a territorial prince (J. Niermeyer, *Medieval Latin Dictionary*, I, 268–9). Guibert's use of the phrase might have been intended as a reference to those senior nobles around the court of King Philip I of France who joined the First Crusade, figures such as his brother, Hugh the Great, count of Vermandois and Walo II of Chaumont-en-Vexin, constable to the king.

<sup>48</sup> GF 26.

assigned to them 500 *equites*.<sup>49</sup> Later, at the siege of Jerusalem, Guibert described Raymond Pilet and two other *proceres*, as leading 100 *equites* from the army of his lord, Count Raymond of Toulouse to the port of Jaffa.<sup>50</sup> These rephrasings of the *Gesta Francorum* not only indicate that *primores* and *proceres* were distinctly higher up the social pyramid than *equites* but they also, perhaps, give a rough indication of their relative proportions.

Guibert's examples of small numbers of *primores* being juxtaposed to large numbers of *milites* suggest that the social gap between them was huge. In fact, numerically, there was more of a division between senior nobles and knights than between knights and footsoldiers. Not that contemporaries would have considered the issue in such a numerical light. For them, as we have seen in Chapter Five, the different between riding and walking was of such importance that knights would take to oxen and mules rather than risk losing their social status by travelling on foot with the commoners.

There were, very approximately, seven thousand knights on the First Crusade if the estimate of John France, probably the most convincing writer on the subject, is accepted.<sup>51</sup> Using the figures given above as a very rough guide to the proportions between the knights and the higher nobility above them, this would suggest that there were some 150–200 'middle-ranking' princes on the expedition. Is this plausible? In an immensely valuable and impressive prosopographical study, A. V. Murray has provided a catalogue of the individuals who were companions to Godfrey IV of Bouillon during the course of the First Crusade.<sup>52</sup> Examining this catalogue for senior clergy, advocates, castellans, counts, lords of towns or their close relatives, reveals that some 35 such individuals can be identified as forming part of the Lotharingian contingent on the First Crusade.<sup>53</sup> This figure will be an underestimate,

<sup>49</sup> GN 168. For William VI of Montpellier see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 226.

<sup>50</sup> GN 272–3. For Raymond Pilet see n. 121.

<sup>51</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 122–142.

<sup>52</sup> A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 176–238.

<sup>53</sup> Adalbero of Luxembourg; Arnulf of Oudenaarde; Baldwin, archbishop of Caesarea; Baldwin, bishop of Beirut; Baldwin of Bourcq; Baldwin II of Mons, count of Hainaut; Berwold; Cono, count of Montaigu; Drogo of Nesle; Dudo, lord of Cons; Engelrand of Saint-Pol; Eustace III, count of Boulogne; Franco of Maasmechelen; Fulcher of Chartres, lord of Sajū; Fulk of Guînes; Gerard of Avesnes; Gerard, lord of Quierzy; Gerbod, lord of Scheldewindeke; Gisbert of Clermont; Godfrey of Esch; Gozelo of Montaigu; Hartmann I, count of Dillingen and Kyburg; Henry of Esch;

due to the titles and even names of some prominent crusaders escaping the notice of the sources. Given the Lotharingians made up about a quarter of the united Christian army, it does seem that the estimate that there were 150–200 senior members of the nobility on the First Crusade is a reasonable one.

Although Guibert decided it would be tiresome to list all of these middle-ranking princes, modern historians, were they to follow the work of A. V. Murray and extend it to the other contingents might be able to account for a high proportion of them. J. Riley-Smith has laid a foundation for such an investigation in his establishment of a very valuable database that in 2003 consisted of 791 identified crusaders.<sup>54</sup>

This tri-partite model for the upper class, of a handful of princes, some 200 senior nobles and 7,000 knights, is consistent with the sources, albeit that an examination of their language and phrases only rarely addresses the issue with clarity. In part this is because, with the exception of Guibert, they were using terms derived from antiquity that no longer applied directly to their own experience and, perhaps related to this point, there does not seem to have been a consensus across the authors as to the exact meaning of the terms they were using. For the remainder of this discussion, an examination of the language and perspective of each of the sources with regard to the upper social orders of the First Crusade, the tri-partite division will be referred to as that between princes, magnates and knights.

### *The Gesta Francorum*

In the *Gesta Francorum* the term *princeps* is only ever used for a handful of named, very senior, figures. It is also a rare term, appearing in the text only six times in total. When the leaders of the various crusading contingents gathered in Constantinople and argued with Count Raymond that he should take the oath to Alexios, which he did on 26 April 1097, the author described how Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders

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Heribrand of Bouillon; Hugh II, count of Saint-Pol; Lambert of Montaigu; Louis, count of Mousson; Louis, archdeacon of Toul; Peter of Dampierre, count of Astenois; Rainald III, count of Toul; Ralph of Aalst; Sigemar of Maasmechelen; Walter of Domart; Warner, count of Grez; William, count of Dülük. For all these crusaders see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 176–238.

<sup>54</sup> M. Bull and N. Housley ed., *The Experience of Crusading 1: Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 7. J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, *passim*.

and other *principes* spoke to Raymond.<sup>55</sup> Duke Godfrey was described as *princeps* of Jerusalem on his election as ruler of the city, 23 July 1099.<sup>56</sup> Soon afterwards, Tancred was described as sending a message to Duke Godfrey, the patriarch, and all the *principes* at Jerusalem.<sup>57</sup> The term *principes* was used to describe Count Raymond and Robert of Normandy on the 10 August 1099, two days before the battle at Ascalon.<sup>58</sup> Another appearance of the term *principes* was for those leaders who after the victory over Kerbogha and the decision to halt the expedition for five months, offered to provide gold and silver in return for the services of the active poor.

One important example for identifying those who the *Gesta Francorum* considered to be a *princeps* occurred in the description at battle near Antioch, between the Christian army and the relieving forces of Ridwan, emir of Aleppo, and Suqman ibn Ortuq, 9 February 1098. Bohemond ordered that each of the *principes* should form up their battle lines, one after the other. There were five battle lines and a reserve led by Bohemond himself.<sup>59</sup> Is it possible to identify the other 'princes' to whom Bohemond issued his orders? Stephen of Blois wrote a letter which indicated he was present at this battle<sup>60</sup> and Ralph of Caen, who claimed to have visited the site, mentioned Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia,<sup>61</sup> but the sources are inconsistent as to which other senior figures were present at this battle. John France reasonably suggests that Tancred would have been present in company with Bohemond and Hugh the Great with Stephen. This leaves one division with an unnamed leader. Given that Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, Duke Robert of Normandy and Count Raymond of Toulouse were probably not present, John France's proposition that it was Count Robert of Flanders who was the sixth *princeps* who formed a battle line seems entirely plausible.<sup>62</sup>

A much more frequent term in the *Gesta Francorum* for the leaders of the crusade was *seniores*. The anonymous author probably employed the term to encapsulate not only the most prominent figures but also

<sup>55</sup> GF 13.

<sup>56</sup> GF 92.

<sup>57</sup> GF 93.

<sup>58</sup> GF 94.

<sup>59</sup> GF 36.

<sup>60</sup> H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck, 1901), p. 150.

<sup>61</sup> RC 647.

<sup>62</sup> For a full discussion of this battle see J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 245–51.

others who deserved to be distinguished from the larger body of nobles. The use of the term *seniores* also probably reflects an overall Italian bias in the language of the *Gesta Francorum*,<sup>63</sup> which contrasts with the vocabulary of the French sources, whom invariably replaced it (for Peter Tudebode and the term *seniores* see Chapter One).

One clear instance of *senior* being applied to a lord who was not one of the very greatest princes was the use of the term for one of the leaders of the People's Crusade. This was a certain Rainald, leader of the German fragment of the People's Crusade that was besieged in Xerigordo. Rainald eventually surrendered to the Turkish forces of the Seldjuk Sultan of Rūm, Qilij Arslan, 7 October 1096.<sup>64</sup> The term *seniores* also seems to have a slightly broader connotation in the several speeches attributed to Bohemond in the *Gesta Francorum*. Speaking to all the *milites* before the battle of Dorylaeum, 1 July 1097, Bohemond began: *seniores et fortissimi milites Christi*.<sup>65</sup> Telling a council of *seniores* that he was willing to go on a foraging expedition around Christmas 1097, while the expedition was besieging Antioch, Bohemond began: *seniores et prudentissimi milites*.<sup>66</sup> Bohemond again spoke to the *seniores et prudentissimi milites* at a council of leaders, 8 February 1098.<sup>67</sup> Before the 'Lake Battle' the next day, Bohemond addressing the other leaders once more began: *seniores et invictissimi milites*.<sup>68</sup> It is not at all clear where the line is being drawn between the magnates and the brave knights, but the impression is that the author means the leaders of the army in a slightly broader sense than for those whom he elsewhere terms *principes*.

A key term in discussing the leadership of the First Crusade is *maiores*. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* repeatedly used it for those who gathered together in councils to direct the expedition and the historians who based their work on the *Gesta Francorum* often retained the term *maiores* in that context. At times the term *maiores* was used synonymously with *seniores*, such as in the report that when the priest and visionary Stephen of Valance came to the worried *maiores* while the Christian army was trapped inside of Antioch by Kerbogha,

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<sup>63</sup> J. G. Gavigan, 'The Syntax of the *Gesta Francorum*,' *Language* 19, III (1943), pp. 10–102, here p. 11.

<sup>64</sup> GF 3–4.

<sup>65</sup> GF 18.

<sup>66</sup> GF 30.

<sup>67</sup> GF 35.

<sup>68</sup> GF 36.

Stephen began his address to them by saying, ‘*seniores*.’ Those leaders who promised Antioch to Bohemond and whom he urged to keep that promise were *omnes maiores* and *omnes seniores*.

There is a difficulty, however, in assuming that in the *Gesta Francorum maiores* was always synonymous to *seniores*, as the anonymous author used the former term rather loosely. Three times *maiores* was used in a simple juxtaposition to *minores* to mean the upper part of the entire population.<sup>69</sup> Much more often the author wrote of *nostri maiores*, conveying a sense that they were a layer of leaders above the knights, but failing to distinguish whether it was confined to the princes or was inclusive of magnates also. One passage that does offer a little light on the issue is that in which, in spring 1096, all the Byzantine *maiores natu* who were in Constantinople were described as meeting and agreeing that the *duces*, *comites* and all the *maiores* of the arriving armies ought to swear an oath faithfully to the emperor.<sup>70</sup>

As an aside, the phrase *maiores natu* has classical antecedents for elders, especially those who founded customs, legal opinions or institutions, but to the anonymous author it probably meant something more like ‘baronage’.<sup>71</sup> It is interesting that a slightly different term is employed for the Byzantine courtiers and the Latin military leaders, but the main point here is that the *maiores* seem to be not only the individual princes but a wider layer of dukes and counts. This impression is strengthened by consideration of the fact that those who took the oath to the emperor were not only the princes of the expedition but also the magnates with them.<sup>72</sup> Given that the anonymous author often attributed the direction of the crusade to a council of *maiores*, this has important implications for assessing how the crusade was led, discussed in Chapter Eight.

### *Raymond of Aguilers*

By contrast with the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers did not restrict his employment of the term *princeps* to the individuals who led each of the crusading contingents. That his use of the term

<sup>69</sup> GF 44, 53, 75.

<sup>70</sup> GF 11.

<sup>71</sup> Niermeyer, *Medieval Latin Dictionary*, II, 822.

<sup>72</sup> AA ii.16 (86).

also encompassed a wider group of magnates can be seen from the fact that Count Raymond was twice described as holding a council with his *principes*.<sup>73</sup> In other words, there were *principes* within the contingents of each of the most senior leaders. In one instance the historian gave the names of two knights whom he considered to be *principes* in the Provençal contingent: Pontius Rainaud and his brother Peter, who were *principes nobilissimi*.<sup>74</sup>

One other named *princeps* from outside the ranks of the most prominent leaders was a noble from the central Pyrenees, Gaston of Béarn, who was put in charge of workers making siege equipment for the storming of Jerusalem and featured in lists of the magnates in the following of Count Raymond of Toulouse.<sup>75</sup> To distinguish the individual leaders Raymond qualified the term *principes*, terming the most prominent individuals, *principes maiores*.<sup>76</sup> He also referred to Bohemond and Raymond as the 'two greatest *principes* in the army'.<sup>77</sup> It is a reflection of Raymond's greater interest in the lower social orders than the upper ranks of the First Crusade that his vocabulary was extremely limited in regard to the nobility and sheds no further light on the discussion.

### *Fulcher of Chartres*

Fulcher of Chartres, on the other hand, had a relatively rich vocabulary for the nobility. Although his style of writing was terse, his phrasing is revealing. One term, for example, that seems to have quite a precise function for Fulcher was *optimates*. After redrafting his work, Fulcher's use of the term *optimates* became one that was employed consistently for the prominent nobles of the Kingdom of Jerusalem who were involved in the decision making of the kingdom.<sup>78</sup>

The term *proceres* was a popular one for Fulcher. He seems to have favoured using the term in a military context. At the battle of Dorylaeum, Fulcher wrote of *proceres nostri* resisting until support could arrive.

<sup>73</sup> RA 49 (245), 157 (266).

<sup>74</sup> RA 10 (236); For Pierre and Pons de Fay see RA 10 n. c; see also J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 217 (Pierre), p. 218 (Pons).

<sup>75</sup> RA 332 (295). PT 78.

<sup>76</sup> RA 183 (272).

<sup>77</sup> RA 64 (248); *Duo maximi principes in exercitu*.

<sup>78</sup> FC II.xxviii.5 (481); II.xxxii.1 (495); III.xi.2 (648); III.xvi.2 (660); III.lvii.2 (807); FC III.lxi.5 (822); II.xxxii.1 (495).

Those senior princes so termed were Duke Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, Robert of Flanders and Bohemond.<sup>79</sup> Fulcher commented on the banners of the *proceres* at the battle against Kerbogha.<sup>80</sup> It was on the signal of the *proceres*, said Fulcher, that the Christian forces attempted to storm Jerusalem in their initial, unsuccessful, assault, 13 June 1099.<sup>81</sup> At the battle of Ascalon, 12 August 1099, Fulcher wrote that Duke Godfrey and the other *proceres* advanced, some in the first line, others in the second. The one other use of the term *proceres* in the *Historia Hierosolymitana* with regard to the First Crusade was not in a direct military context, although it was concerned with the consequence of military action. Fulcher reported that on the fall of Nicea, 19 June 1097, the Byzantine Emperor, Alexios I Comnenus, gave gifts to *nostri proceres*.<sup>82</sup>

Whereas *optimates* seems to have been a term for magnates in the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, the term *proceres* appears to denote a much more exclusive social group. This is borne out by an examination of Fulcher's use of the term *princeps*. When he reported on the first contingents to depart on the 'pilgrimage' he listed a number of *principes*. These were Hugh the Great, Bohemond, Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, Count Raymond of Toulouse and Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy.<sup>83</sup> When Fulcher described the arrival of Robert, duke of Normandy and Stephen of Blois at the siege of Nicea, early in May 1097, he called them as *nostri principes*.<sup>84</sup> The leaders of the expedition resolving upon co-operation for the siege of Antioch, which began on 21 October 1097, were also termed *nostri principes*.<sup>85</sup> In the battle against Kerbogha, Fulcher twice referred to the banners of the leaders, the first time describing them as *signa procerum nostrum*,<sup>86</sup> the second *vexilla principum nostrum*.<sup>87</sup> The change was made simply for Fulcher to avoid repetition, but is helpful in showing that for the historian *proceres* and *principes* were synonymous. Fulcher again referred to all the leaders of the First Crusade as *principes* with regard to their movements in and around Antioch in November

<sup>79</sup> FC I.xi.10 (197).

<sup>80</sup> FC I.xxii.4 (253).

<sup>81</sup> FC I.xxvii.2 (294).

<sup>82</sup> FC I.x.10 (188).

<sup>83</sup> FC I.vi.3 (154).

<sup>84</sup> FC I.x.1 (181).

<sup>85</sup> FC I.xv.5 (218).

<sup>86</sup> FC I.xxii.4 (253).

<sup>87</sup> FC I.xxii.6 (253).



1098.<sup>88</sup> Those leaders of the expedition at the time of its arrival at Jerusalem, 6 June 1099, who ordered the construction of ladders were termed *principes*.<sup>89</sup> Baldwin of Edessa and Bohemond of Antioch on their march to Jerusalem, January 1100, were termed *principes*.<sup>90</sup> It is noteworthy that Baldwin was not described as a *princeps* before his becoming ruler of Edessa.

Fulcher described the departure of the First Crusade from Nicea at the end of June 1097 by writing that '*nostrī barones*' received permission from the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I to depart.<sup>91</sup> Quite apart from the interesting implication that Fulcher saw Alexios as having authority over the expedition at this point, his use of the term *barones* for the crusading princes was unusual. Its use was not particularly common in the early twelfth century and none of the other early crusading historians employed the term. Fulcher himself used *barones* only this once, in his first redaction of the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, although he clearly found the term unproblematic as he retained it in the later version of his work.<sup>92</sup>

The term *barones* does not appear in any other of the early histories, nor again in the work of Fulcher of Chartres. This is why, when modern historians distinguish the contingents led by princes from the People's Crusade of Peter the Hermit, it is probably more in keeping with the sources to refer to the Princes' Crusade rather than, as is sometimes used, the Barons' Crusade. In general at this time, the collective group, *barones*, were the great men of a realm, generally vassals to a king or emperor.<sup>93</sup> It could be that in writing about the crusading princes in the aftermath of their having taken the oath to the Emperor, Fulcher was indicating a stronger sense of vassalage to the Greek Emperor than subsequently existed on the crusade.

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<sup>88</sup> FC I.xxv.1 (266).

<sup>89</sup> FC I.xxvii.1 (293).

<sup>90</sup> FC I.xxxiv.2 (335).

<sup>91</sup> FC I.xi.1 (189).

<sup>92</sup> FC 189 n. e.

<sup>93</sup> J. F. Niermeyer, *Medieval Latin Dictionary*, I, 114–5.

*Albert of Aachen*

Albert of Aachen generally used the term *princeps* for those at the very apex of society, particularly the leaders of the First Crusade and the senior Muslim leaders. He tended to provide additional adjectives when emphasising the pre-eminence of a select few; Duke Godfrey in particular was referred to variously as *egregius princeps*,<sup>94</sup> *nominatissimus princeps*,<sup>95</sup> *magnificus princeps*,<sup>96</sup> *clarissimus princeps*,<sup>97</sup> on becoming ruler of Jerusalem, 'highest princeps of Jerusalem',<sup>98</sup> and on his death, *gloriosissimus* and *nominatissimus princeps*.<sup>99</sup> Baldwin of Boulogne was termed a *praeclarus princeps* when Albert was emphasising how important a hostage he was for the good behaviour of the Lotharingians as they crossed Hungary in October 1096.<sup>100</sup> Thereafter, Baldwin was termed an *egregius* and *nominatissimus princeps* when he arrived at Edessa, a city he was shortly to become ruler of, 10 March 1098.<sup>101</sup> Later, on his arrival at Jerusalem, to take over the kingdom, he was an *egregius princeps* and after his coronation as King Baldwin I, 11 November 1100, he was referred to as *magnificus princeps*.<sup>102</sup>

The most common term for the upper class of a bipartite division of society in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* was *maiores*. As discussed in Chapter Two, it was several times coupled with *minores* to encompass the whole of a population. But it was also Albert's term of choice for the general activities of the 'greater' people. It was the social group *maiores* that for Albert, as with the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, were the leaders of the First Crusade.<sup>103</sup> Given these references were typically to *maiores* offering counsel and advice, Albert clearly was applying the term to those magnates beyond the narrow group of princes. Only one individual was specifically named as a *maior* in the *Historia Iherosolimitana*.

<sup>94</sup> AA ii.4 (66).

<sup>95</sup> AA ii.4 (67).

<sup>96</sup> AA vii.30 (528); AA vi.37 (450).

<sup>97</sup> AA vii.31 (530).

<sup>98</sup> AA vi.48 (466): *Dux Godefridus summus princeps Iherusalem*.

<sup>99</sup> AA vii.37 (540).

<sup>100</sup> AA ii.6 (68).

<sup>101</sup> AA iii.20 (169).

<sup>102</sup> AA vii.42 (548).

<sup>103</sup> AA ii.37 (126); AA iii.9 (152); AA iii.13 (156); AA iii.16 (164); AA iii.58 (228); AA iv.9 (262); AA vi.29 (440); AA vi.30 (440).

Richard of the Principate, count of Salerno, was described as one of the *maiores* of the household of Bohemond.<sup>104</sup>

In a speech that Albert imagined taking place between Peter the Hermit and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, he had Peter say that 'I will search out all the *primates* of Christendom, *reges, duces, comites* and those who hold the foremost place of royal power, to destroy the yoke of slavery and the impatience of your difficulties.'<sup>105</sup> This passage provides a useful definition of the way in which Albert used the term *primates*, namely for those senior nobles in positions of authority. King Coloman of Hungary was described as having received the advice of his *primates* concerning Duke Godfrey.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, Emperor Alexios I Comnenus was described as taking advice from his *primates* before turning back from his march towards Antioch.<sup>107</sup> Alexius extended his kiss of peace to Duke Godfrey's *primates*.<sup>108</sup> In reporting the election of Duke Godfrey as ruler of Jerusalem, Albert wrote that the Lotharingian prince was more blessed than all other *primates*.<sup>109</sup> Four of the knights on the First Crusade were explicitly termed *primates*: Drogo of Nesle, Rainald III, count of Toul, Gaston of Béarn and Fulcher of Chartres.<sup>110</sup> This group, important for a discussion of *iuvenes* on the First Crusade, were here identified as going to Edessa after Baldwin had been made ruler there.<sup>111</sup>

Although the speech attributed to Peter the Hermit above and the example of the promotion of Duke Godfrey made it clear that for Albert even a king could be numbered among the *primates*, he typically preferred to use the term for the leading followers of a prince rather than the princes themselves. So, in addition to the examples above, he wrote of how Adhémar took counsel with all his *primates* at the siege of Antioch and they decided to try to destroy a bridge that was allowing the garrison to cross and attack their camp.<sup>112</sup> King Baldwin I was described as holding a council with all his *primates* shortly after

<sup>104</sup> AA vii.27 (524).

<sup>105</sup> AA i.3 (4): ...*omnes primates Christianorum, reges, duces, comites, et principatum regni tenentes, iugum servitutis vestre reserans, et angustiarum vestrarum intolerantiam.*

<sup>106</sup> AA ii.3 (64).

<sup>107</sup> AA iv 41 (312).

<sup>108</sup> AA ii.16 (84).

<sup>109</sup> AA vi.33 (446).

<sup>110</sup> AA v.15 (356).

<sup>111</sup> See below pp. 202–4, 211–12.

<sup>112</sup> AA iii.40 (202).

his coronation and it was the king and his *primates* who advocated to a visiting Venetian fleet that there should be an attack on Sidon.<sup>113</sup> Albert used a similar formulation for Baldwin's proposals to King Sigurd Magnusson of Norway.<sup>114</sup>

That Albert was occasionally willing to use the term *primates* in such a way as to make it inclusive of the princes as well as magnates, is evident in a reference to Duke Godfrey and Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy 'and the other *primates*',<sup>115</sup> as well as a reference to the *primates* of the Christian army deciding to consult a local hermit before assaulting Jerusalem.<sup>116</sup>

Another of Albert's frequently used terms for magnates was *primores*. He used it for the leaders of the People's Crusade, the Princes' Crusade as well as Greek, Hungarian and Muslim princes. In several instances the *primores* were indicated as being involved in decision-making. During the siege of Antioch Godfrey and Bohemond fell out over a tent that mistakenly came to Bohemond although the Armenian prince Nicus had sent it to Godfrey. Finally, wrote Albert, Bohemond, on the advice of the *comprimores* of the army, restored the tent to the duke.<sup>117</sup>

This emphasised version of *primores*, *comprimores*, was a term that seems to have suggested a body of equals or 'fellow *primores*.' Albert wrote three times of Duke Godfrey 'and the other *comprimores*', the last example being of a manuscript tradition which used the term as a substitute for *compares*, 'equals';<sup>118</sup> once of Godfrey, Robert of Normandy 'and the other *comprimores*';<sup>119</sup> once of 'Bohemond and the other *comprimores*';<sup>120</sup> and once also for Count Raymond 'and his *comprimores*'.<sup>121</sup> Thus, more than *primores*, *comprimores* could be applied to just the more prominent princes. Similarly when Albert reported that Bohemond was promised Antioch if he could capture it by Robert of Flanders, Duke Godfrey 'and the other *comprimores*', he was probably referring to the other princes rather than a wider body of magnates.<sup>122</sup> By contrast, to emphasise

<sup>113</sup> AA vii.43 (550); x.3 (720).

<sup>114</sup> AA xi.30 (804). For Sigurd Magnusson see AA 798 n. 37.

<sup>115</sup> AA iii.60 (232): *ceterorumque primatum*.

<sup>116</sup> AA vi.7 (412).

<sup>117</sup> AA iv.9 (262).

<sup>118</sup> AA iv.32 (296): *ceterique comprimores*; AA v.12 (352): *ceteri comprimores*; v.34 (382): *ceterique comprimores* [H].

<sup>119</sup> AA iv.21 (280): *ceterosque comprimores*.

<sup>120</sup> AA iii.63 (240): *Boemundus ceterique comprimores*.

<sup>121</sup> AA v.29 (374): *et suorum comprimorum*.

<sup>122</sup> AA iv.15 (272): *ceteros comprimores*.

how even very prominent magnates were afraid and preparing to flee Antioch after the arrival of Kerbogha, Albert did use the term for a broader layer of nobles.<sup>123</sup>

*Primi* appear in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* much as do *primores*, as the 'foremost' people. In his account of Duke Godfrey's making his oath to the Byzantine emperor, Albert wrote an interesting depiction of the ceremony of vassalage in which Godfrey 'surrendered himself to [Alexios] not only as a son but also as a vassal with clasped hands, along with all the *primi* who were present.'<sup>124</sup> The term was evidently used both for the princes as well as for a wider layer of leading nobles.

Another term for the magnates, *optimates*, entered Albert's vocabulary only in later life, to judge by the fact that it appears only in books seven to twelve of the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, mostly in a distinct cluster in book seven. This book marks Albert's return to the history that he began, probably with the intention of completing with Godfrey's rule of Jerusalem. Did the intervening time consolidate the meaning of *optimates*? Fulcher of Chartres, when (after 1105), returning to his own history made *optimates* his term of choice for the new Christian magnates of Jerusalem, in particular the advisors to the king. Albert seemed to have had the same fixed stylistic idea of how to use the term, as *optimates* always appeared in connection with a person or a kingdom, generally through the expression King Baldwin I 'and his *optimates*.'<sup>125</sup> Once it was used for the senior nobles of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, who were distinguished from the knights. After the first battle of Ramleh, 6 September 1101, Albert attributed to Baldwin I the report that 'our *optimates* and all our *equites* except for ourselves were killed.'<sup>126</sup>

There are a number of usages of *potentes* and the more emphatic form *praepotentes* in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* that show the term sometimes functioned as a noun for magnates in addition to its more general use as an adjective for 'powerful'. In one sentence, where the term is coupled with *principes* it seems to have a more restricted application to very senior figures. After praising the qualities of Duke Godfrey on his

<sup>123</sup> AA iv.40 (310).

<sup>124</sup> AA ii.16 (86): *Non solum se ei in filium, sicut mos est terre, sed etiam in vassallum iunctis manibus reddidit, cum universis primis qui tunc aderant.*

<sup>125</sup> AA vii.39 (544); vii.43 (550); vii.46 (554); vii.51 (560); vii.53 (562); vii.54 (562); vii.60 (570); x.2 (718); xii.7 (834).

<sup>126</sup> AA vii.69 (582): *Optimates nostri et equites universi preter nos ceciderunt.*

election as ruler of Jerusalem Albert listed categories of leading nobles who undertook the crusade, before or since: *principes* and *potentes*, bishops and counts, and sons of kings.<sup>127</sup>

*Proceres* was yet another term in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* used for the magnates of the Christian army. When Albert wanted to emphasise how the plague at Antioch killed both the higher and lower social order, he wrote that it destroyed an uncountable multitude, whether *nobiles proceres* or *humile vulgus*.<sup>128</sup> When, 4–28 June, the crusade was trapped in Antioch by the arrival of Kerbogha, Albert emphasised that even *egregii proceres* had fled the city.<sup>129</sup> After the capture of Nicea, a nun who had been held prisoner called out to the *proceres et milites Christi*.<sup>130</sup> To distinguish the princes from the magnates, although they were all *proceres*, Albert qualified the term with a suitable adjective. Bohemond, Count Robert of Flanders, Duke Godfrey, Robert of Normandy were collectively termed by Albert *magnifici proceres*.<sup>131</sup>

A rare term in Albert's work used for both the princes and senior nobles was *capitanei*, a term with a considerable range of meaning in the twelfth century: from a dependent subject, prominent vassal or citizen to a military commander or baron.<sup>132</sup> By and large, Albert seems to have used it for those from the class of princes. In commenting that the great princes brought along with them very lowly figures of every *ordo*, the phrase he used for the upper class was *capitanei primi*.<sup>133</sup> Duke Godfrey and Bohemond were described as bring among the *capitanei exercitus* on the approach to Antioch.<sup>134</sup> Similarly Godfrey, Bohemond, Robert, Raymond, were together the *capitanei exercitus*.<sup>135</sup> In Albert's report on the election of a ruler for Jerusalem he wrote that only after Count Raymond and all the other *capitanei* who were offered the honour had declined did Duke Godfrey finally accept it.<sup>136</sup> There is one passage in which the person named was probably a magnate rather than a prince. Because of evil rumours concerning the People's Crusade in

<sup>127</sup> AA vi.35 (448).

<sup>128</sup> AA v.4 (342).

<sup>129</sup> AA iv.37 (306).

<sup>130</sup> AA ii.37 (126).

<sup>131</sup> AA iv.31 (294).

<sup>132</sup> See J. F. Niermeyer, *Medieval Latin Dictionary*, I, 177–8.

<sup>133</sup> AA ii.23 (100).

<sup>134</sup> AA iii.36 (196); 316.

<sup>135</sup> AA iv.13 (268).

<sup>136</sup> AA vi.33 (446).

Hungary, Albert reported that Duke Godfrey decided to send ahead no one from the *nominatissimi et capitanei viri* except an envoy, Henry of Esch.<sup>137</sup> Though, as discussed below, at this point Henry of Esch was a powerful figure with considerable financial resources of his own and his social status was borderline between being considered a prince in his own right and one of the magnates of Duke Godfrey.

*Robert the Monk*

When it came to writing about the magnates, Robert the Monk's preference was for the term *optimates*. In a passage that has been discussed in Chapter Two, for his report of the gathering of Bohemond's forces for the expedition, Robert used the term *optimates* to emphasise the seniority of some of those who joined the Norman prince.<sup>138</sup> Another useful passage, which confirms the *optimates* to be a wider grouping than the princes was that in which Robert wrote that accompanying Bohemond were *nobilissimi principes*, namely Tancred, Richard of the Principate, count of Salerno, and all the *optimates* of Apulia.<sup>139</sup> Again, a layer of magnates is indicated in Robert's report that Bohemond was greeted at Constantinople by a great number of *consules*, *duces* and *optimates*.<sup>140</sup> These *optimates* of the crusade were those who were involved in decision making alongside the senior princes.<sup>141</sup>

*Consules* was a term with a wide range of meanings by the time of the First Crusade, its classical meaning evoked the powerful image of a consul of the Roman Republic, but a relatively recent evolution of the term had occurred through its adoption by the leaders of communes of Italian cities.<sup>142</sup> It appears in the history of the First Crusade written by Robert the Monk. Fortunately, Robert gave a definition of emir (*admiraldus*) in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* that also conveyed something of his meaning of the term *consules*. 'And those who they call emirs are kings, who are in charge of the provinces of the regions. A province

<sup>137</sup> AA ii.2 (62).

<sup>138</sup> RM 742.

<sup>139</sup> RM 744.

<sup>140</sup> RM 747.

<sup>141</sup> RM 776, 840.

<sup>142</sup> J. F. Niermeyer, *Medieval Latin Dictionary* 1, 342–3.

is that which has a metropolitan, twelve *consules* and one king.<sup>143</sup> This seems to indicate Robert used *consules* for senior nobles, akin perhaps to counts, another possible meaning of the term. They also seem to be appointees, which was consistent with both the classical and contemporary use of the term.

When Robert described the departure of the contingent of Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders he wrote of *optimates* and ‘*consules* of lesser repute’ joining with them, from France, Britain and Brittany.<sup>144</sup> The *consul* then, for Robert, was of a lower social status than the *optimas*. With Robert the Monk we have therefore an indication of a further gradation in the ranks of the nobility. For him there are four layers: princes, magnates, *consules* of lesser repute and then knights.

By contrast with his *fons formalis* Robert was not given to using *maiores* to indicate the higher social orders. He used the term once to contrast with the *plebeia multitudo*, who rejoiced that the *maiores* swore not to abandon Antioch in the face of Kerbogha’s arrival.<sup>145</sup> The only other use of the term as a social order occurred in Robert’s description of an invented letter from Kerbogha, which was addressed to the caliph, the king and the *maiores procures* of the kingdom of Persia.<sup>146</sup>

A more common term used by Robert for the magnates was *procures*. That they were a social layer distinct from the princes is evident from the report that as a result of Bohemond and Count Raymond being ambushed on 6 March 1098, the report of the slaughter reached the camp and shook all the *principes* and *procures*.<sup>147</sup> Several times the *procures* made important decisions with regard to the direction of the crusade.<sup>148</sup> In a short but very significant comment, Robert wrote that the wife of Walo II of Chaumont-en-Vexin, had been ‘born with the blood of *procures*’.<sup>149</sup> This is very clear evidence for Robert’s adherence to the belief that high social rank was inherited.

A favoured term for the senior figures of the First Crusade in the *Gesta Francorum* was *seniores*. Robert was clearly uncomfortable with the term and consistently replaced it with the terms discussed above,

<sup>143</sup> RM 788: *Et quos admiraldos vocant, reges sunt, qui provinciis regionum praesunt. Provincia quidem est, quae unum habet metropolitanum, duodecim consules et unum regem.*

<sup>144</sup> RM 739: *... minoris famae consules...*

<sup>145</sup> RM 823.

<sup>146</sup> RM 811.

<sup>147</sup> RM 785.

<sup>148</sup> RM 783, 785, 793, 825, 857, 866.

<sup>149</sup> RM 795: *Procerum sanguine procreata.*



probably indicating a difference in vocabulary between the northern French monk and the southern Italian crusader. Robert did have a limited use for the *seniores*; he twice referred to the leadership of the First Crusade as *seniores*.<sup>150</sup> Other than those examples, the term appeared just once in the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, for those leaders of Kerbogha's forces who lost heart after a meteor appeared to fall from the sky into their camp.<sup>151</sup> All three examples are clustered very closely together, suggesting a temporary, unconscious, adoption of the vocabulary of his source.

### *Baldric of Dol*

Baldric's preferred term for the leading nobles of the First Crusade was *optimates*. It was applied not just to the princes but a broader group of magnates. Bohemond, for example, was described as crossing the Adriatic *cum optimatibus suis*.<sup>152</sup> Again, Bohemond was described as addressing his following as *optimates et commilitones nostri*.<sup>153</sup> The fact that for Baldric the *optimates* could be synonymous with 'the nobility' was indicated in his account of the meeting that agreed to the departure of Bohemond and Robert of Flanders on a foraging expedition. Baldric described those who met together as 'the nobility' *nobilitas*, soon after terming them 'the aforementioned *optimates*.'<sup>154</sup>

At other times Baldric clearly meant only the most senior princes, as when he described the *optimates*, together with their armies, as entering the land of the Armenians.<sup>155</sup> Baldric imagined the citizens of Tarsus surrendering their city to Baldwin and Tancred, with the two Christian leaders being addressed as illustrious *optimates*.<sup>156</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* reported a speech of Bohemond to the other Christian princes as beginning: *Seniores et prudentissimi milites*.<sup>157</sup> Baldric adjusted the same speech to begin: *Optimates et domini*.<sup>158</sup> In general Baldric edited out the term

<sup>150</sup> RM 824, 825.

<sup>151</sup> RM 824.

<sup>152</sup> BD 21.

<sup>153</sup> BD 22.

<sup>154</sup> BD 45.

<sup>155</sup> BD 38.

<sup>156</sup> BD 38.

<sup>157</sup> GF 30.

<sup>158</sup> BD 42.

*seniores*, from his version of the episodes reported in the *Gesta Francorum*. *Seniores* appears just once in the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, surviving in the address of Bohemond to the other princes shortly before the capture of Antioch.<sup>159</sup> Baldric's preference for *optimates* over *seniores* almost certainly reflected a geographical difference between the terminology used for magnates in northern France and southern Italy.

Baldric commonly used another term for nobles, *procere*s, again sometimes in order to replace the term *seniores*. That *procere*s could also refer to magnates outside the ranks of the most senior princes is shown by another speech of Bohemond, given to his followers, in which he addressed his *procere*s.<sup>160</sup>

A less favoured term for senior nobles in the *Historia Hierosolymitana* was *maiores*. It was used three times for the leaders of the First Crusade and once in the rather more classical sense of 'elders', for a wider body of nobles, when, in November 1098, *omnes maiores natu* assembled in Antioch.<sup>161</sup>

Baldric used the term *primores* twice, both times as a substitute for the use of *seniores* in the *Gesta Francorum*. When, 5 April 1098, Tancred offered to garrison a castle to assist with the siege of Antioch, Baldric reported that the Norman prince made a pact with the *primores* of the Franks.<sup>162</sup> The Christian princes who gathered for the battle of Ascalon were described by Baldric as *primores*.<sup>163</sup>

The term *princeps* was reserved by Baldric for very senior figures. Several times he referred to the collective leadership of the First Crusade by the term, curiously in a cluster of usages towards the end of his work (which might have a relevance to the construction of a modern edition of the *Historia Hierosolymitana*).<sup>164</sup> In describing the conflict of Bohemond and Count Raymond of Toulouse over the ownership of Antioch during the winter of 1098, Baldric three times referred to the two protagonists as *principes*.<sup>165</sup> Tancred was twice termed a *princeps*,<sup>166</sup> as was Duke Godfrey on his becoming the ruler of Jerusalem.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>159</sup> BD 54.

<sup>160</sup> BD 22.

<sup>161</sup> BD 83.

<sup>162</sup> BD 52. See GF 43.

<sup>163</sup> BD 107. See GF 94.

<sup>164</sup> BD 89, 89, 98, 99, 104, 106, 107.

<sup>165</sup> BD 89, 89, 87.

<sup>166</sup> BD 24, 76.

<sup>167</sup> BD 105.

*Dominus* was coupled with *servus* in the list of several couplets that expressed a bipartite view of society.<sup>168</sup> That Baldric sometimes used the term in a social sense and not simply to express those exercising the function of lordship is shown by its appearance in other speeches, where the *domini* were being addressed as the leading princes. The priest and visionary, Stephen of Valence, was described as speaking to *fratres et domini mei*...<sup>169</sup> Similarly, the priests of the Christian army addressed its leaders as *fratres et domini* before the storming of Jerusalem.<sup>170</sup>

### *Guibert of Nogent*

The most common term for leaders of troops and for those in the upper part of society in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* was *princeps*. Very often it was the term used for the leaders of the First Crusade. In a passage on the high price of food during a period of famine at the siege of Antioch, during the winter of 1097, Guibert observed that when even the *principes* began to experience a contraction of their wealth, hardship must have been severe on those whose wealth had been used up.<sup>171</sup> The princes here being those with the greatest resources, presumably those able to obtain revenues from the towns captured during the course of the crusade.

In one of the few passages in which the leaders were named Guibert wrote that the *principes*, Duke Godfrey, Count Raymond of Toulouse, Bohemond, Count Robert of Flanders and all the others, held a council together.<sup>172</sup> It is clear, however, that Guibert was willing to employ the term to indicate 'leaders' without necessarily meaning persons of noble status. In his account of the behaviour of young boys who had come on crusade Guibert was struck by the fact that they formed themselves into an army of children with *principes* of their own named after the senior princes: Hugh the Great, Bohemond, Flanders, Normandy.<sup>173</sup>

One of Guibert's favoured terms for the collective leadership of the senior princes of First Crusade was *primores*.<sup>174</sup> The leaders of the Cru-

<sup>168</sup> BD 46.

<sup>169</sup> BD 67.

<sup>170</sup> BD 100.

<sup>171</sup> GN 176–7.

<sup>172</sup> GN 243.

<sup>173</sup> GN 309.

<sup>174</sup> GN 142, 153, 155, 234, 267.

sade of 1101 were also termed *primores*.<sup>175</sup> Guibert also used the term for a slightly broader grouping of magnates than the most prominent princes. Early in October 1097, soon after leaving the town of Coxon, Count Raymond of Toulouse decided to send some of his men ahead in the hope of catching the defenders of Antioch by surprise. According to Guibert, Count Raymond therefore chose four men from among the *primores* of his own army, one of whom was William VI of Montpellier (the *Gesta Francorum* gives the other three names: Peter of Castillon, Peter of Roaix, Peter Raymond of Hautpol).<sup>176</sup> Here the *primores* were leaders among a particular contingent rather than the whole army. The same sense of the term was present in the description of Raymond Pilet as being one 'of the *primores* of Count Raymond.'<sup>177</sup>

Other examples of *primores* in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* do not apply to Christian forces, but they do show the term being used consistently for relatively senior figures, albeit not individual princes. Those who surrendered the town of Tarsus to Tancred and Baldwin, a few days after 15 September 1097, were the *primores* of the city.<sup>178</sup> Similarly the leaders of the city of Edessa were termed *primores*.<sup>179</sup> Firuz, the officer who betrayed Antioch to the Christians, was described as one of the *primores* of the city.<sup>180</sup> A sortie from the garrison of Antioch against the Christians, 6 March 1098, resulted in heavy losses for the Turkish forces and Guibert reported that twelve of their *primores* were killed.<sup>181</sup> Finally, during the storming of Ma'arra, 11 December 1098, Bohemond sent an interpreter to the Saracen *primores*, in order to negotiate their surrender to him.<sup>182</sup>

Another common term for both the magnates and princes of the First Crusade in the *Dei Gesta per Francos* was *proceres*. Guibert wrote that after the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Comnenus, saw *proceres* of such great dignity gathering he envied the size of their forces and their wisdom.<sup>183</sup> In his account of the departure of the various contingents of

<sup>175</sup> GN 314.

<sup>176</sup> GN 168. GF 26. For these leaders see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 217 (Peter of Castillon, Peter of Roaix and Peter Raymond of Hautpol), p. 226 (William VI of Montpellier).

<sup>177</sup> GN 244: ...*de primoribus comitis Sancti Egidii*.

<sup>178</sup> GN 162.

<sup>179</sup> GN 165.

<sup>180</sup> GN 200.

<sup>181</sup> GN 192.

<sup>182</sup> GN 253.

<sup>183</sup> GN 105.

the expedition Guibert wrote of the *proceres* of central France.<sup>184</sup> These leaders were the papal legate, Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, Hugh the Great, Count Stephen of Blois, Duke Robert of Normandy and Count Raymond of Toulouse. On many other occasions Guibert used the term *proceres* for the Christian princes who led the expedition.

As with *principes*, *potentes* and *primores*, Guibert did not confine his use of the term to the most prominent leaders of the First Crusade. He described how ‘certain *proceres* were supported by [Hugh the Great] and if the pagans had been justly driven out through war, and they obtained that which they strove for, they planned to make him their king.’<sup>185</sup> Geoffrey of Montescaglioso, and William Marchius, brother of Tancred were termed *proceres*.<sup>186</sup>

*Potentes* was an uncommon term for princes in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. It did occur, however, in an important passage concerning an offer of those whom Guibert also termed the *seniores* of the Christian army, after the defeat of Kerbogha, that insofar as there was anyone who needed a gift of money, they should adhere to the *potentes* through a pact.<sup>187</sup> This was Guibert’s version of the passage in the *Gesta Francorum* in which the princes offered to make a compact with the *egentes* within the city of Antioch and retain them.<sup>188</sup> It indicates that Guibert understood *potentes* to apply to those leading nobles of the First Crusade who were in a position to offer lordship to the lower social orders. He also used the term for the leaders of the Crusade of 1101, referring to Count Stephen of Blois and many other *potentes*.<sup>189</sup> In one further example, Guibert provided a comment on the depth of the famine that preceded the departure of the First Crusade, saying that the extent of the hardship was threatening even to the *potentes*.<sup>190</sup> In other words, as Guibert himself put it, the time of famine reduced the wealth of all.<sup>191</sup>

Guibert used the term *optimates* only once in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. He described the arrival of Arab ambassadors at the camp of the Christians during the siege of Antioch, early in March 1098. These envoys

<sup>184</sup> GN 131.

<sup>185</sup> GN 131: *Huic quidam procerum innitebantur et, si quid bellorum iure, evictis gentilibus, eos obtinere contingeret, ipsum sibi regem preficere meditabantur.*

<sup>186</sup> GN 158.

<sup>187</sup> GN 244.

<sup>188</sup> GF 72–3.

<sup>189</sup> GN 315.

<sup>190</sup> GN 118.

<sup>191</sup> GN 119.

dismissed the Christians as possible allies against the Turks, after they had learned that the *optimates*, through lack of horses, had now become *pedites*.<sup>192</sup> Other than the fact that *optimates* here were evidently knights the precise meaning of the term for Guibert cannot be established. In his *Five Books of Tropologiae on Hosea, Amos and the Lamentations*, Guibert discussed Amos 6:1 in which the term *optimates* was defined as the 'heads of the people'.<sup>193</sup> It is likely therefore that Guibert employed the term *optimates* in that sense and it might not have been an exaggeration to depict the leaders of the Christian forces on the First Crusade as having lost their mounts. There was a desperate shortage of horses at that time and even Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia had to borrow a horse from Count Raymond of Toulouse for the battle against Kerbogha,<sup>194</sup> while a bowl was carried from inn to inn on behalf of Robert of Flanders whose constant fighting had seen him lose all his own horses.<sup>195</sup>

This examination of the vocabulary of the sources with regard to the upper strata of the First Crusade suggests one thing above all: that it might be a mistake to assume that the direction of affairs was solely in the hands of a very few prominent princes. Very often the historians used terms that applied to magnates for those involved in the decision-making, rather than employ the terms that they used exclusively for princes. When John France wrote about one particular example of a broad council of the leaders, he made the observation that 'it warns us against being hypnotised by the princes.'<sup>196</sup> That this statement is more than justified is demonstrated in Chapter Eight.

<sup>192</sup> GN 271.

<sup>193</sup> PL 156, col. 436A: *capita populorum*.

<sup>194</sup> AA iv.55 (334). See also J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 122–42.

<sup>195</sup> RC 646.

<sup>196</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, p. 21.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

The historians of the First Crusade were struck by the fact that the expedition had no sole commander to lead it. For Guibert of Nogent and Baldric of Dol, this fact was turned into a source of religious pride. It was precisely because the crusaders were humble that they earned God's favour. Like the Children of Israel, who would be without king, without prince before returning to God (Osee 3: 4–5), the Christian forces were 'without king, without emperor' (Baldric);<sup>1</sup> 'without prince, without king', under God alone (Guibert).<sup>2</sup> Similarly, for Robert the Monk it was extraordinary that while those princes who normally ruled and supported their people were far off back in Europe, a few humble individuals had seen the defeat of kings.<sup>3</sup> In reporting a speech by Bohemond, which tells us more about his own views than that of the Norman prince, Robert the Monk had Bohemond compare the inspiration that had led so many nobles to gather at Constantinople for the expedition with that which led the Children of Israel from Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

The biblical parallel with the Children of Israel being led out of Egypt occurred to the participants of the crusade as well as to the Benedictine historians. Fulcher, in a prologue to his work written c. 1118, thought that the Frank's suffering for Christ and their willingness to undergo martyrdom did not differ from the Israelites and Maccabees (the followers of Judas Maccabeus who, c. 170–160 B.C. led a Jewish following against Antiochus IV Epiphanes of the Seleucids).<sup>5</sup> Another crusading cleric, Arnulf of Chocques, evoked the legend of the Israelites to a large assembly of the Christian army. After the Holy Lance had been discredited by the death of Peter Bartholomew, 20 April 1099, Arnulf of Chocques and another Arnulf, the bishop of Mirtirano, advocated that a golden image of the saviour made, so that

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<sup>1</sup> BD 9.

<sup>2</sup> GN 312.

<sup>3</sup> RM.

<sup>4</sup> RM 747.

<sup>5</sup> FC *Prologus* (116–7).



they should spend as much on their devotion as did the Israelites.<sup>6</sup> This might well have been the golden cross and image of Christ that was placed as a talisman in the siege tower of Duke Godfrey during the final assault against Jerusalem.<sup>7</sup> If the clergy of the First Crusade and those writing about the expedition soon afterwards saw the movement as analogous with that of the Children of Israel from Egypt, who did they see as the equivalent to the figure of Moses, the divinely inspired religious and military leader of the Israelites? The obvious candidate was Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy and papal legate. As far as it is possible to tell, the initial model of the crusade held by Pope Urban II was that the enterprise was to be directed by the papacy, with Adhémar acting in place of Urban himself.<sup>8</sup> This perspective was echoed, faithfully, by the clerical sources.

Robert the Monk, an eyewitness, reporting the meeting of the clergy at Clermont after the departure of the laity, wrote that Urban sought their view as to who should be at the head of so many pilgrims, given that they had no notable princes. All unanimously chose the Bishop of Le Puy, as someone very suitable both in secular and divine matters. 'Although reluctant, he undertook, like a second Moses, the generalship and direction of the people of the Lord.'<sup>9</sup> Raymond of Aguilers also described Adhémar as being a second Moses,<sup>10</sup> as did the Norman historian, Ralph of Caen.<sup>11</sup>

Early in his work, Fulcher described Adhémar as wisely ruling (*regere*) the entire army of God.<sup>12</sup> But all the sources, including Fulcher later in his history, indicate that the role played by the papal legate was a more ambiguous one than simply being the leader of the crusade. In practice, while Adhémar seems to have been in charge of religious matters, he was by no means the overall commander of the expedition, rather he was seen as one prince among several. In fact, very soon after the Council of Clermont, as soon as it emerged that several princely contingents were embarking on the crusade, it seems that even pope

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<sup>6</sup> RC 683.

<sup>7</sup> AA vi.16 (422).

<sup>8</sup> Urban II, To the faithful in Flanders: Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 136–7.

<sup>9</sup> RC 731: *Ille itaque, licet invitus, suscepit, quasi alter Moyses, ducatum ac regimen dominici populi.*

<sup>10</sup> RA 351 (301).

<sup>11</sup> RC 673.

<sup>12</sup> FC I.iv.1 (138–9).

Urban II found it necessary to appoint two other legates for the other armies leaving France. Arnulf of Chocques and Alexander, the chaplains of Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois both appear to have been legatine authority.<sup>13</sup> This indicates, as I. S. Robinson points out, that the crusading princes from a very early stage did not accept Urban's original model of an undertaking consisting of a single army led by the pope's representative.<sup>14</sup>

Guibert of Nogent wrote that Urban entrusted the care (*cura*) of the expedition to the bishop of Le Puy.<sup>15</sup> This formulation is in keeping with that in the *Gesta Francorum* regarding those people who remained in Antioch following the defeat of Kerbogha, rather than disperse to nearby cities. Adhémar was described as being their *rector et pastor*: both terms for a leader in an ecclesiastical sense.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Ralph of Caen described the dying Adhémar as saying 'Pope Urban handed me to you to give instruction.'<sup>17</sup> The letter of the crusading princes to pope Urban after the death of Adhémar described him as 'the father committed to us' and 'vicar' of the pope.<sup>18</sup> The formulation of Adhémar himself was that the pope had given to him the *cura* of the Christian army.<sup>19</sup> In all these cases the language emphasises the spiritual side of Adhémar's leadership role, while leaving ambiguous the extent to which he was considered a secular ruler. The obscurity of the precise meaning of these formulations has, as a consequence, given rise to a debate among modern historians as to the importance of Adhémar's leadership role.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>13</sup> I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198 Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 351 n. 154.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351.

<sup>15</sup> GN 117.

<sup>16</sup> GF 74.

<sup>17</sup> RC 673:

'*Sic me doctrinae vobis quum papa ministrum*

'*Tradit Urbanus.*'

<sup>18</sup> Letter of Bohemond and the other princes to pope Urban II: Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et chartae*, p. 164.

<sup>19</sup> Letter of Patriarch Simeon and Adhémar of Le Puy: Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et chartae*, p. 141.

<sup>20</sup> J. H. Hill and L. Hill, 'Contemporary accounts and the later representation of Adhémar, Bishop of Puy', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 8 (1955), pp. 30–8. J. A. Brundage, 'Adhémar of Puy: The Bishop and his Critics', *Speculum* 34 (1959), pp. 201–212. H. E. Mayer, 'Zur Beurteilung Adhémar's von Le Puy', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 16 (1960), pp. 547–52.

There is little question that the legate reigned supreme in ecclesiastical matters, some of which would have had quite a strong impact on the overall direction of the crusade. If there was one contingent that was likely to baulk at Adhémar's authority, it was that of Duke Godfrey. The Lotharingian clergy included figures who had been supporters of the imperial side of the conflict between Pope Gregory VII and King Henry IV, most notably Bishop Otto of Strasbourg.<sup>21</sup> Otto was brother of Henry IV's son-in-law, Duke Frederick I of Swabia. His adherence to the crusade seemed to represent a submission to the Gregorian party.<sup>22</sup> Otto's obituary notice by Bernold of St Blaisen (Constance) in 1100 suggests, however, that this was temporary: 'the schismatic Otto of Strasburg, having returned from the journey to Jerusalem, but, it was believed, still with his schism uncorrected, reached the end of his life.'<sup>23</sup>

That Adhémar's authority in spiritual affairs was, regardless of the former loyalties of the Lotharingian clergy, nevertheless deferred to is evident from an incident where a nun from the convent of St Maria in Oeren (Trier) was released from a period of captivity in Nicea, during which time she had been ravished. Seeking 'purification', she had initially appealed to Henry of Esch, a Lotharingian nobleman whom she had recognised, who in turn took her case to Duke Godfrey. Godfrey sought for advice from Adhémar, who gave instruction as to the necessary penance.<sup>24</sup>

There are several other clear examples that indicate Adhémar's ecclesiastical authority on the crusade. Firstly, after an earthquake took place during the siege of Antioch, 30 December 1098, Adhémar announced three days of fast, with a procession, prayers and alms-giving to the people. He ordered that the priests perform mass and prayers, and the clergy, psalms.<sup>25</sup> This was probably the occasion described by Guibert of Nogent and Albert of Aachen, as being one where a council of

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<sup>21</sup> For references to Otto, bishop of Satsbourg see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 216.

<sup>22</sup> I. S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056–1106* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 292.

<sup>23</sup> Bernold of St Blaisen (Constance), *Chronicon*, ed. I. S. Robinson, *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz, MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum nova series* 14 (Hanover, 2003), p. 540: *Otto Strazburgensis scismaticus, de Ierosolimitano itinere reversus, sed de scismate, ut putabatur, non emendatus, diem clausit extremum.*

<sup>24</sup> AA ii.37 (127).

<sup>25</sup> RA 48 (245): *Praedicavit eo tempore episcopus triduanum [Col.0602B] jejunium, et cum processione, orationes, et eleemosynas ad populum; ad presbyteros autem mandavit ut vacarent missis et orationibus, et clerici, psalmis.*

the clergy was held to regulate the spiritual conduct of the Christian army. The council appointed judges to flog, brand and shave the heads of miscreants.<sup>26</sup> A couple found guilty of adultery were subsequently whipped through the whole camp as an example, by order of Adhémar.<sup>27</sup> Writing approvingly of this incident, Guibert of Nogent added that the legate let no Sunday or holiday go by without preaching and enjoining every cleric to do the same.<sup>28</sup>

Secondly, because there was a danger that Christians would attack each other on the fall of Antioch, Adhémar ordered everyone to shave and to wear a cross.<sup>29</sup> Thirdly, before the battle against Kerbogha, Adhémar led the way in attempting to earn God's approval for the Christian army.<sup>30</sup> The ecclesiastical activity which was organised at that time was described in the *Gesta Francorum*: three days fasting; processions from one church to another; confession; absolution; communion; the giving of alms and the celebration of masses.<sup>31</sup> It has seemed strange to modern historians that soldiers were asked to fast before battle, but the practical side of the idea was to give as much grain as possible, no matter how precious, to strengthen the mounts of the Christian army.<sup>32</sup>

Adhémar was responsible for leading services, such as the burial rituals for the much-admired knight Roger Barneville.<sup>33</sup> The legate also took responsibility for the distribution alms and tithes of captured booty to the poor.<sup>34</sup> Rather gruesomely, at the siege of Antioch he offered a reward for Turkish heads and, after Tancred presented him with a 'tithe' of heads, had them mounted on long poles facing the city.<sup>35</sup> To demoralise the garrison in Antioch, Adhémar organised the Christian farmers to demonstratively plough and seed the land around the Christian camp.<sup>36</sup> The legate also played the central role in oath-taking ceremonies, such as that of the Christian princes who swore that Bohemond would be ruler of the city if he could find a way to

<sup>26</sup> AA iii.58 (228).

<sup>27</sup> GN 196; AA iii.58 (228).

<sup>28</sup> GN 196–7.

<sup>29</sup> GN 206.

<sup>30</sup> FC I.xxii.1 (201–2).

<sup>31</sup> GF 67–8.

<sup>32</sup> FC I.xxii.2 (202). For the desperate state of horses at this time see J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 286–7.

<sup>33</sup> AA iv.28 (290).

<sup>34</sup> PT 100.

<sup>35</sup> GN 311–12; RC 644.

<sup>36</sup> GN 312.

capture it.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, when the leaders took an oath not to abandon the expedition in the face of the arrival of Kerbogha with an appallingly large army, Adhémar was central to the occasion.<sup>38</sup> Naturally, also, he was the judge of the validity of visions and miracles, such as those presented by Stephen of Valance and Peter Bartholomew.<sup>39</sup> With regard to the latter and the Holy Lance, Adhémar initially voiced his disbelief in the relic, but appreciating the connection between the discovery of the Lance and the heightened desire for battle with Kerbogha among the Christians, he later went so far as to have the relic associated with his Provençal following as they marched out to the conflict.

In all these matters, Adhémar was the most prominent leader by far. But some modern historians have questioned whether, outside of clerical affairs, he played much of a role at all.<sup>40</sup> In the context of the crusade, it is probably mistaken to underestimate the importance of Adhémar's direction of the religious rituals of the entire army in creating a sense of authority around the legate. But it is true that in the more secular and military decision-making of the crusade, Adhémar was clearly not the overall leader of the expedition. He was, nevertheless, a prominent figure, one among several princes.

As the various contingents set out, Fulcher wrote a list of their respective leaders and included Adhémar among them.<sup>41</sup> When the Christian army neared Antioch, Albert of Aachen wrote that Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia, Bohemond, Count Raymond of Toulouse, Count Robert of Flanders, Duke Robert of Normandy and Adhémar governed it equally.<sup>42</sup> They may have been equals in authority, but Adhémar seems to have been seen as something of a co-ordinator for the leadership of the crusade, because at least one council of the princes at the siege of Antioch took place in his 'house'.<sup>43</sup>

The legate was described as playing a leading role in a number of military affairs: he led his men to outflank the Turkish army at

<sup>37</sup> RC 653.

<sup>38</sup> GF 58–9.

<sup>39</sup> GN 100. GF 58. See Chapter Three.

<sup>40</sup> Especially J. H. Hill and L. Hill, 'Contemporary accounts and the later representation of Adhémar' *passim*; see also H. E. Mayer, 'Zur Beurteilung Adhémars von Le Puy'.

<sup>41</sup> FC I.vi.3–8 (154–161).

<sup>42</sup> AA iii.27 (180).

<sup>43</sup> RA 54 (246): *domo*.

Dorylaeum;<sup>44</sup> he advised the whole army that there should be no further breakaway detachments as they approached Antioch; he ordered a shield-roof formation to be drawn up to cope with the resistance of archers at the 'Iron Bridge', 20 October 1098; he planned the order of march by which the Christian army arrived and took up positions at Antioch<sup>45</sup> and, due to Count Raymond being ill and left in Antioch to guard against a sortie from the Muslim held citadel, he led the Provençal troops in the battle against Kerbogha.<sup>46</sup>

Probably the most accurate assessment of Adhémar's overall role is that given by Raymond of Aguilers in the historian's account of the vision of Stephen of Valance. Christ was reported as appearing to Stephen and among other questions asked, 'who is the commander of the Christian army?' To this Stephen replied, 'Lord, there was never one sole lord, but rather they trust in the bishop [Adhémar].'<sup>47</sup> In other words, Adhémar was one among several princes, but the person with the most respect across the whole of the various contingents of the Christian army.

Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia was another crusading prince to whom the analogy of Moses was applied. But this was in the very specific context of his election as ruler of Jerusalem, where it seemed appropriate for Albert of Aachen to recall the dream of a local knight, whose spirit was transported to Mount Sinai, from where he saw the Duke ascending the mountain, to be met by two bishops dressed in white. These mysterious figures blessed Godfrey by praying that he be appointed commander of the Christian people, like Moses.<sup>48</sup> The conclusion that Albert drew from this vision was that, in the spirit of Moses, Godfrey was the preordained prince of the people.<sup>49</sup>

The role of Moses was attributed to Godfrey by a distant author, after the Duke had successfully obtained the sole authority of Jerusalem. There was, however, one other contender for the position of divinely approved leader who self-consciously sought to be seen as such from the very beginning of the expedition. This was Count Raymond IV of Toulouse. Baldric of Dol's eyewitness account of the speech of the

<sup>44</sup> GF 20.

<sup>45</sup> AA iii.33 (190); iii.35 (190–2); iii.36 (198).

<sup>46</sup> GF 68.

<sup>47</sup> RA 104 (256): *'Domine no fuit ibi unus solus dominus unquam, sed magis episcopo credunt.'*

<sup>48</sup> AA vi.34 (446).

<sup>49</sup> AA vi. 35 (448).

envoys of the count at the Council of Clermont has been examined in Chapter Two for what it reveals of Baldric's sociology. But it also offers a very interesting perspective on the leadership of the crusade. The count's envoys are reported as responding to fact that Adhémar had volunteered to go by saying: 'Behold! God be thanked, two men voluntarily offered to proceed with the Christians on their journey. Behold! Religious and secular power, the clerical *ordo* and the laity, harmonise in order to lead the army of God. Bishop and count, we imagine ourselves like another Moses and Aaron.'<sup>50</sup>

Aaron was the elder brother of Moses and, as high priest of the Israelites, was nearly as important to their journey from Egypt as the prophet. It was a commonplace of medieval writing to refer to them both as the leaders of the Children of Israel.<sup>51</sup> It is quite possible that Baldric was accurately recalling the theme of the followers of Count Raymond. At the time of their address it would not have been clear that several other major contingents would participate in the crusade and the analogy with the divinely inspired biblical brothers might have seemed appropriate to the count. The fact that Urban had met with Adhémar before the Council of Clermont and had travelled through Languedoc, both before and after the council, meeting Count Raymond at Nîmes, has been cited as evidence that there had been an early understanding that the leadership of the expedition would be assigned to the legate and the count.<sup>52</sup> In this light it would make sense that Raymond would try to portray himself as a divine appointee. In the course of the expedition the count went to great lengths to portray himself as spiritually devout and especially chosen for the enterprise, with a pattern of behaviour that was quite distinct from the other princes.

During the difficult crossing of Anatolia after the crusaders' victory at Dorylaeum, Count Raymond was so sick that he thought he was dying and, indeed, the Bishop of Orange administered the last rites. A Saxon count in the Provencal contingent comforted the Count Raymond, saying that he would not die of this illness. The Saxon claimed to know this directly from having interceded with God on behalf of the Raymond

<sup>50</sup> BD 16: *Ecce, Deo gratias, jam Christianis iuribus, duo ultronei processere viri; ecce sacerdotium et regnum; clericalis ordo et laicalis ad exercitum Dei conducendum concordant. Episcopus et comes, Moysen et Aaron nobis reimaginantur.*

<sup>51</sup> For example, they are listed together among the known Biblical 'princes of the people' by Bruno de Segni, *Commentaria in Mattheum*, PL 165, Col. 0152C.

<sup>52</sup> J. H. Hill, 'Raymond of Saint Gilles in Urban's Plan of Greek and Latin Friendship', *Speculum*, 26, 2 (1951), pp. 265–276, here p. 266.

and promised to always be beside the Provençal count. Count Raymond believed this divine intervention to be true and, reported his chaplain, ‘divine mercy, which had made him leader of his army, immediately relieved him from death and restored him to health.’<sup>53</sup>

In a public display of piety, Count Raymond walked barefoot from Ma’arra when the crusade departed that city, 8 January 1099.<sup>54</sup> He was accompanied by the recently appointed Bishop of Albara and his clerics, who were also barefoot. In a similar spirit of devotion, when the Count reached the river Jordan, he did not rush to immerse himself in it, as did the other crusaders, but first rowed across in a boat, wearing a linen shirt and breeches, after which he was splashed with water from the river; the garments dried and kept with the Holy Lance. Raymond of Aguilers, the chaplain of the Count who reported this, did not know the significance of these rituals, but they were adhered to as having been the instruction of the visionary, Peter Bartholomew.<sup>55</sup>

In a further demonstration of his spiritual convictions, this time with an initiative all of his own, Raymond made himself guardian of the Church of Mount Zion his arrival at the walls of Jerusalem, 6 June 1099. This was perhaps a conscious echo of the deeds of Judas Maccabeus, who restored the sanctuary on Mount Zion and built a sanctuary there.<sup>56</sup> As noted above, Judas Maccabeus was a Jewish commander who campaigned on behalf of his people against the Seleucid Empire; he was seen by papal reformers of the eleventh century as a model *miles Christi*.<sup>57</sup> Even the count’s own army were less than impressed by this undertaking; most of them refused to follow Raymond up the hill and remained in an earlier camp, those that did attend him having to be paid with large sums of money.<sup>58</sup>

Count Raymond’s championing of the Holy Lance was perhaps the most striking example of his attempt to associate himself with miraculous and divinely ordained events. Despite the fact that Adhémar’s first response to the approach of Peter Bartholomew was to ‘reckon

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<sup>53</sup> RA 28 (241): *Sed divina clementia quae eum ducem praefecerat exercitus sui, de morte eum illicite relevavit, et sospitali reddidit.*

<sup>54</sup> GF 81; RA 185 (272).

<sup>55</sup> RA 356–7 (301–2).

<sup>56</sup> I Machabees 4: 36–61.

<sup>57</sup> C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977). Also I. S. Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century* (Manchester, 2004), p. 45.

<sup>58</sup> RA 307 (293).



the words to be nothing', Count Raymond believed the lowly servant and brought him in to his chaplaincy.<sup>59</sup> The count himself joined the group of twelve clerics and nobles who, with everyone else locked out of the church of St Peter, dug all day to try to find the promised relic. It was after Count Raymond's departure that Peter Bartholomew leapt down into what must have been quite a deep pit to discover the Lance.<sup>60</sup> No doubt appreciating St Andrew's message on the night following the discovery of the Lance, that God had reserved the relic for Count Raymond and decreed him standard-bearer (*vexilliferum*) of this army,<sup>61</sup> the count had the relic wrapped in precious purple cloth and it was displayed with great enthusiasm to the Christian army.<sup>62</sup>

The seemingly miraculous victory of the Christian forces over Kerbogha enhanced the authority of the visionaries and, as discussed in Chapter Four, Peter Bartholomew in particular. But it also brought a new surge of popular approval for Count Raymond, whose purse filled from gifts to the Lance, whose spirit rose and whose army became overbearingly proud.<sup>63</sup> This renewed sense of divine purpose seems to have evoked a desire in the count to assert himself as leader of the entire expedition, because at a council at Chastel-Rouge on 4 January 1099, part way between Antioch and the recently captured town of Ma'arra, he offered Duke Godfrey and Robert of Normandy ten thousand solidi each to join his following; Robert of Flanders six thousand, Tancred five thousand and smaller amounts proportionate to the strength of other leaders. Again at Tripoli, 19 May, Count Raymond once more offered the nobles of the army entreaties and rewards, this time to attack the city.<sup>64</sup>

Brought back down to earth with a bump by the mutiny described in Chapter Four, Count Raymond discovered that his attempts to utilise popular religious enthusiasm in support of the idea he was a divinely appointed figure to lead the expedition had failed. He had unleashed social forces, which he could not control.

Other than an incident reported by Albert of Aachen, of Duke Godfrey taking a barefoot walk around the city after the fall of Jerusalem,<sup>65</sup> Count

<sup>59</sup> RA 100 (247): *Episcopus autem nihil esse, praeter verba putavit.*

<sup>60</sup> RA 109–10 (257).

<sup>61</sup> RA 110 (257).

<sup>62</sup> AA iv.44 (316).

<sup>63</sup> RC 677.

<sup>64</sup> RA 282 (289). 19 May, FC 271 n. 25.

<sup>65</sup> AA vi.26 (437).

Raymond's pattern of behaviour was exceptional among the princes. He went to greater lengths than any of the others to publicly demonstrate his piety and belief in God's miraculous interventions. In this context it is worth looking again at Count Raymond's obduracy in resisting making an act of homage to the Greek Emperor. The report of Raymond of Aguilers, the chaplain of the count, was that the oath was refused on the ground that Raymond had not taken the cross to pay allegiance to any other lord or be in the service of any other than He for whom he had abandoned his native land. This has been dismissed as a 'pretty phrase' composed by the historian based on what the count would be expected to say,<sup>66</sup> but it might well have formed the substance of the reply by someone who did genuinely did see themselves as a potential Moses (or Aaron) for the expedition.

Another prince whose role as a possible overall leader of the First Crusade deserves attention is Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres, husband of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror.<sup>67</sup> In a letter to Adela, Stephen reported that he had been made *dominus* and director and governor of all the acts of the princes.<sup>68</sup> That he had been given a special leadership role is confirmed by Raymond of Aguilers, who wrote that before Stephen abandoned the expedition, he had been chosen as *dictator* of the other princes.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, the *Gesta Francorum* confirms that Stephen was elected *ductor nostrum* by all the *maiores*.<sup>70</sup> Again, Albert of Aachen described him as *caput et primus consilio* in the whole army.<sup>71</sup>

Just when this decision had been reached cannot be ascertained with any precision, it took place sometime after the victory of the Christian forces at Dorylaeum, 1 July 1097, and before Stephen abandoned the crusade, around 3 June 1098. The information about Stephen being

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<sup>66</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jherusalem*, trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 23, n. 7. For the substance of the oath that Count Raymond did swear to, see J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, 'The Convention of Alexius Comneus and Raymond of Saint-Giles', *American Historical Review*, 58 (1953), pp. 322–7.

<sup>67</sup> For Stephen of Blois, see J. A. Brundage, 'An Errant Crusader, Stephen of Blois', *Traditio* 16 (1960), pp. 380–95.

<sup>68</sup> Letter II of Stephen of Blois to his wife Adela: Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, p. 149.

<sup>69</sup> RA 117 (258).

<sup>70</sup> GF 63.

<sup>71</sup> AA ii.23 (96).

lord of the army is, as John France puts it, ‘very odd.’<sup>72</sup> Stephen played no particularly prominent role in any of the military events, nor in any of the appointments decided upon by the leaders of the crusade, or in the deployment of the army at Antioch. The conclusion that John France reached, was that perhaps Stephen functioned as chair of the meetings of the leaders.<sup>73</sup> That this might well have been the sense in which Stephen was leader of the princes is suggested by Guibert of Nogent’s comment that Stephen’s performance in council was sober, steady and mature, thus placing his leadership qualities in the context of councils.<sup>74</sup>

Despite the initial model of Urban II, the spiritual efforts of Count Raymond and the diplomatic skills of Stephen of Blois, the crusade lacked an overall commander. Or rather, for most of the expedition there was never such a figure. The qualification is needed because for a period of about two months, May and June 1097, Alexios I, the Byzantine Emperor, does seem to have managed to direct affairs. After the various regional armies arrived at Constantinople and the respective leaders, with the exception of Count Raymond, swore homage to him, the Byzantine emperor exerted a certain authority over the combined forces of the Latin princes. Albert of Aachen described Tatakios, the general appointed to the Christian forces by Alexios, as being *ductor Christiani exercitus* at the time of the siege of Nicaea, because he was familiar with the region.<sup>75</sup> When Fulcher described the departure of the First Crusade from Nicaea at the end of June 1097, he wrote that ‘*nostri barones*’ received permission from the Byzantine Emperor to leave.<sup>76</sup>

Clearly Alexios was exerting a certain degree of hegemony over the magnates of the expedition in this period, but it was unlikely that his authority extended far beyond the elite to the wider body of crusaders. When, 19 June 1097, the city of Nicaea had fallen to the combined crusader army and Byzantine fleet, the middle ranks, *mediocres exercitus personae*, of the Latin forces had expressed envy and enmity towards the Alexios and the princes.<sup>77</sup> Unlike the very poor and the princes, to

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<sup>72</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, p. 255.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> GN 131–2.

<sup>75</sup> AA ii.22 (94–6).

<sup>76</sup> FC I.xi.1 (189).

<sup>77</sup> GN 153.

whom Alexios had made generous donations, the knights, footsoldiers and siege specialists who had exerted themselves the most and taken all the risks, had got nothing. They had been anticipating a share of the loot from the city, but the transition from Seljuk to Byzantine rule was skilfully managed by negotiation just at the point where it seemed as though the crusading army might break in.

The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* was one of those knights who were furious with their leaders for playing a subordinate role to the Byzantine Emperor. He questioned why their own princes had felt it necessary to mislead the army with regard to Alexios.<sup>78</sup> Thus, even at his height of influence, the ability of the Emperor to direct affairs was limited and once clear of the immediate influence of Constantinople, the leadership of the crusade had to be created from rival geographical contingents and from those at the top of a social hierarchy whose boundaries were not clearly defined.

There was another brief period when one source claims the crusade was under the overall direction of one person. This was for two weeks in June 1098 when the Christian forces closed ranks to face the army of Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul. Raymond of Aguilers reported that because Adhémar was sick, as was Count Raymond, and Stephen of Blois had fled, everyone promised to follow Bohemond's leadership for the coming battle and for fifteen days afterwards so that he could manage the custody of the city.<sup>79</sup>

Bohemond was the commander for the battle of 28 June 1098,<sup>80</sup> but it is clear that Count Raymond, at least, was not one of those who subscribed to Bohemond's authority thereafter, for he resolutely refused to yield full control of Antioch to the Norman prince. Although he was general of the united Christian army for that one particular battle, Bohemond did not prove able to subsequently order the direction of the crusade, not least due to the rivalry of Count Raymond.

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<sup>78</sup> GF 12.

<sup>79</sup> RA 116 (258).

<sup>80</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 295–6.

*The Councils of the First Crusade*

With no one person able to assert overall leadership, in practice the crusade was directed by councils and assemblies. Each of the regional contingents seems to have held its own councils, that, at least, is the impression given by the sources. In describing the journey of Bohemond's contingent through Byzantine territory the *Gesta Francorum* reported that Bohemond called a council of his people to restrain his forces from engaging in plunder.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, Duke Godfrey held a council with the other *primores* of his army, in December 1096, before agreeing to the proposal of a legation of the Byzantine Emperor that he ride ahead to Constantinople.<sup>82</sup> Shortly before the crusade reached Antioch, Count Raymond held a council of his own people before deciding to send five hundred knights ahead to see the rumour that the Turkish garrison had fled was true.<sup>83</sup> To encourage knights to defend those going on foot in search of forage at the siege of Antioch, Count Raymond again called together his magnates and the Bishop of Le Puy. They held a council at which it was agreed to establish a fraternity with a common pool of silver from which any knight who lost their horse could draw enough funds for a replacement.<sup>84</sup> When the Provençals were at 'Arqa and wanted the support of Duke Godfrey and Robert of Flanders, Count Raymond took counsel with his followers at 'Arqa, reported the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, and decided to summon them because of the rumour that an immense number of pagans were gathering to attack.<sup>85</sup>

There was nothing exceptional about councils of this nature; they did not reflect any kind of shared command. Rather, it was customary for those at the apex of the feudal structure to take advice from their vassals. By contrast, when assemblies took place for the sake of decisions affecting the entire crusade, they were meetings of people with more or less equal authority.

A number of princes were clearly at the core of the decision-making of the crusade. Those named at various times as being among the

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<sup>81</sup> GF 8.

<sup>82</sup> AA ii.9 (74).

<sup>83</sup> GF 26.

<sup>84</sup> RA 49 (245). See also J. Richard, 'La confrérie de la première croisade', *Études de civilisation médiévale: mélanges offerts à E. R. Labande*, ed. B. Jeannau (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 617–22.

<sup>85</sup> GF 84.

leaders are relatively well known and can be listed briefly: Hugh of Vermandois, known as Hugh the Great, brother of King Philip I of France; Robert Curthose, the eldest son of Duke William I of Normandy, the conqueror of England;<sup>86</sup> Robert, II of Flanders count from 1093, having been regent of Flanders between 1085 and 1091 when his father, Robert I of Flanders had been on pilgrimage; Godfrey IV, duke of Lower Lotharingia, lord of various territories in that region; Bohemond I, lord of Taranto, son of Robert Guiscard the duke of Calabria and Apulia; Stephen of Blois; Count Raymond IV of Toulouse and Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy. To these Latin princes, although he was never mentioned specifically as being present at a council, it is probably sensible to assume that Tatikios, the Byzantine general and commander of two thousand was present for so long as he participated in the expedition.

These nine princes were almost certainly those meant when the sources described how decisions that concerned the whole enterprise were taken. The examples from the *Gesta Francorum* are, however, characteristically vague. After the Anatolian town of Plastencia had given itself to the Christian army, Peter of Aups was given made governor by *omnes seniores*.<sup>87</sup> At the siege of Antioch *nostrī seniores* sent some knights to reconnoitre a castle near Antioch called Harem.<sup>88</sup> It was *omnes maiores* who gathered at the siege, 17 November 1097, to decide to build a castle later called *Mabregard* on a hill near Bohemond's camp<sup>89</sup> and again, in March 1098, to decide upon building another castle at a former Muslim mosque.<sup>90</sup> Bohemond sought agreement from *omnes seniores* that whoever led the way into Antioch should keep the city<sup>91</sup> and *omnes maiores* eventually came together in council to agree this.<sup>92</sup> Finally, *omnes maiores* held a council before sending a message to Kerbogha, 25 June 1098.<sup>93</sup> Stephen of Blois and Tatikios, having abandoned the crusade earlier in the month, would not have been present at this last council and, given his predilection for 'slumber and idleness' at Latakia in the

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<sup>86</sup> For Robert II of Normandy see C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 1920).

<sup>87</sup> GF 25–6.

<sup>88</sup> GF 29.

<sup>89</sup> GF 30.

<sup>90</sup> GF 39.

<sup>91</sup> GF 44.

<sup>92</sup> GF 45.

<sup>93</sup> GF 65–6.

winter of 1097/8, Robert of Normandy was probably not present at the meetings that commissioned the construction of castles.<sup>94</sup>

The material examined in Chapter Eight, however, serves as a warning not to assume that those present at such councils were limited to those these nine princes. Not only did the author of the *Gesta Francorum* tend to use *maiores* and *seniores* for the magnates in a broader sense than the princes, but the sources attest to a number of councils where there evidently was participation by members of this broader layer of nobles. After the victory over Kerbogha, the *Gesta Francorum* reported that ‘all our *seniores*, namely Duke Godfrey, Count Raymond of St-Giles, Bohemond, the Count of Normandy, the Count of Flanders and *et alii omnes*, sent the most noble knight Hugh the Great to the Emperor of Constantinople.’<sup>95</sup> The interesting phrase here is, ‘and all the others’. Who was the anonymous author pointing to by this? As Stephen of Blois and Tatikios had abandoned the crusade by this time, the only missing person from the list of nine princes was Adhémar of Le Puy, who was almost certainly present, but clearly there were others also.

For some councils the additional figures included other senior clerics. An important council was held in Antioch on 5 November 1098 to try and resolve the future of the expedition and the ownership of the city. This was something of an exceptional meeting, being probably the most formal gathering of the entire expedition. It took place in the Church of St Peter. *Omnes maiores*, says the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, returned to Antioch for this assembly, which dragged on over several days, as Bohemond referred again and again to the agreement the others had made to make him lord of Antioch if he could gain the city, while Count Raymond insisted that they remember the oath they had taken to the Byzantine Emperor, an oath, which he pointed out, that Bohemond had advised that they all take.<sup>96</sup>

Eventually, ‘the bishops’, Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy and other *seniores* went apart from the rest, to the part where St Peter’s chair stood, to give judgement.<sup>97</sup> Here, it is evident that bishops were an important part of the council. There

<sup>94</sup> RC 649.

<sup>95</sup> GF 72: *Omnes nostri seniores, videlicet dux Godefridus, comes Sancti Egidii Raimundus, Boamundus, et comes Nortmanniae, comesque Flandrensis, et alii omnes miserunt nobilissimum militem Hugonem Magnum imperatori Constantinopolim.*

<sup>96</sup> GF 75–6.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

were, perhaps, nine bishops on the crusade at this point. Eight who had travelled from Western Europe<sup>98</sup> and one, Peter of Narbonne, who had recently been raised to Bishop of Albara after the capture of the city or about 25 September 1098.

John France has drawn attention to the phrase *alique seniores* here as showing that there were many parties to the judgement,<sup>99</sup> and it is possible some of these other *seniores* were drawn from a wider layer of clergy than the Bishops present at this meeting. Robert the Monk wrote that it was 'bishops, abbots, dukes and counts' who went to St Peter's chair.<sup>100</sup> This provides an insight into the social position of those who Robert thought ought to have been involved in decision-making on the crusade, but his distance from the events means his report cannot be used as definitive proof that abbots also took part in the council.

Another council in which the clergy participated to a large extent took place much later on, when the crusade approached Jerusalem. When Tancred placed his banner over the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, 6 June 1099, he precipitated a debate about whether a secular prince should be lord over ecclesiastical properties, as if it were merely a temporal possession. In particular, did this mean that one of the princes would become king of Jerusalem? Because the princes at this point were in dispute, 'we' reported Raymond of Aguilers, rather vaguely, 'had an assembly convened'. At this meeting the 'bishops and clergy' objected to the prospect of any prince being elected with the title 'king' of Jerusalem.<sup>101</sup>

For the final attack on Jerusalem, William Hugh of Monteil, Isoard, count of Die and some of the clergy convened a council of the princes and *omni populus* to announce the plan of attack on Jerusalem and that it would be preceded by a bare foot procession.<sup>102</sup> William Hugh was the brother of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy and, as discussed in Chapter Four, along with the other former followers of the legate, had earlier broken from Count Raymond of Toulouse to pursue an independent policy. Both these councils took place in the context of a political vacuum at the head of the crusade due to a growing hostility to Count

<sup>98</sup> J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), p. 76.

<sup>99</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 20–1.

<sup>100</sup> RM 843.

<sup>101</sup> RA 322 (295): *Habuimus eo tempore conventus, quia principes male inter se conveniebant.*

<sup>102</sup> RA 326–9 (296–7).



Raymond, yet where no other leader, not even Duke Godfrey, was prominent enough to exert hegemony over the other princes.<sup>103</sup>

The presence of 'all the people' at this latter council does not necessarily mean it was a mass assembly of the entire Christian army. *Populus* in this era was a term that often had a more limited meaning than the translation 'the people' suggests. It was frequently used in a legalistic context to indicate those involved in elections. Thus Raymond of Aguilers described the election of Robert of Rouen as bishop of Ramleh, 3 June 1099, as being a decision of the *maiores* and the *populus*.<sup>104</sup> Clearly a much broader body than the princes, in these kind of contexts *populus* has the sense of the more respectable members of the community rather than a crowd of the entire people.<sup>105</sup>

A more clear case for mass participation in an assembly is that of a council held in Antioch on 2 February 1099, where the decision to leave for Jerusalem was taken by all, *magni et parvi*.<sup>106</sup> Because of the context it seems reasonable to accept the testimony of Albert of Aachen that the 'great and small' took part. At this point, Count Raymond of Toulouse was engaged in an arduous siege of Ma'arra and those left in Antioch were becoming so suspicious that Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders and Bohemond did not intend to continue on to Jerusalem that they were already leaving these lords. A guard had to be placed on the seaports to prevent the many departures.<sup>107</sup> The point of the council was to reassure the broader followings of these princes, which they did by resolving to assemble in March at Latakia in order to continue on to Jerusalem.

The nature of more important decision-making councils on the First Crusade then, does not seem to have ever become fixed. Depending on which princes were present, the strength of the disagreements between them, and the extent to which the decision was a religious matter, councils of differing size and composition were convened. Similarly, even

<sup>103</sup> For a summary of the situation at this time see J. France, *Victory in the East. A military history of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 233–4.

<sup>104</sup> For references to Robert of Rouen see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 221. For the early history of the bishopric of Ramla see H. E. Mayer, 'The Origins of the Lordship of Ramla and Lydda in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Speculum* 60.3 (1985), pp. 537–552.

<sup>105</sup> For the nuances of *populus* in the work of, for example, William of Tyre, see C. Kostick, 'William of Tyre, Livy, and the Vocabulary of Class,' *Journal of History of Ideas*, 65.3 (2004), pp. 353–368, here pp. 360–1.

<sup>106</sup> AA v. 28 (342).

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

the smaller councils, held to direct day-to-day military affairs, turn out on closer inspection, to have something of the same fluidity.

Following the return of scouts sent to investigate the news of Kerbogha's impending arrival, the leaders of the army met to hear the report, 3 June. Those listed by Albert of Aachen as being among *omnis primatus* for that assembly were Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Count Raymond of Toulouse, Bohemond, Eustace and Tancred.<sup>108</sup> Even if Albert was not accurately informed about this particular council, his inclusion of Eustace III, count of Boulogne, elder brother of Godfrey,<sup>109</sup> and Tancred, as well as unnamed others echoes the earlier example from the *Gesta Francorum* above, of the council that sent Hugh the Great on his embassy to Alexios. In both cases there were other magnates from outside the princely elite in attendance.

That Eustace was considered one of the leaders of the crusade, even though it was his younger brother Godfrey who was the more dominant figure among the Lotharingian contingent, is evident from a letter written by the princes of the First Crusade to Pope Urban II, 11 September 1098.<sup>110</sup> Those whose names are appended to it are six from the group of nine princes (Stephen of Blois and Tatikios had left the crusade and Adhémar was dead at the time of its composition) plus Eustace. It is quite likely that Tancred was also regularly one of the 'others' at the councils of the leaders as he is specifically mentioned as being in two assemblies reported in the *Gesta Francorum*. When 'our men' (*nostrum*) held a council to deal with raids from the Turks in Antioch, reported the *Gesta Francorum*, Tancred came forward from among the others (*ante alios*) to volunteer to garrison a castle with just his own men, providing he received payment. The council offered him four hundred marks of silver.<sup>111</sup> The impression here is of a meeting of the senior princes, at which other prominent magnates, including Tancred, were present but were not playing the same decision-making role. He could come forward and speak but, perhaps, not quite with equal weight as the senior princes who made him the offer of silver.

<sup>108</sup> AA iv.14 (268).

<sup>109</sup> For Eustace III, count of Boulogne see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Dynastic History 1099–1125* (Oxford, 2000), p. 193.

<sup>110</sup> Letter of Bohemond and the Other Princes to Pope Urban II: Hagenmeyer, *Epistolae et Chartae*, pp. 161–5.

<sup>111</sup> GF 43.

Later, after the fall of Antioch but before the battle with Kerbogha, when the *maiores* held a council at which they decided to swear an oath not to flee from the city, Tancred added the qualification that he would stay so long as he had forty knights.<sup>112</sup> Here, he seems to be on an equal footing with the other *maiores*, but this may reflect the broad nature of the council rather than a status accorded to Tancred that was equal to the senior princes.

Tancred's career on the crusade provides the most interesting example of the presence of a layer of lords who might best be described as 'semi-princes'. These were magnates with an independent following who might aspire to become fully equal with the princes, or, if their affairs went badly, could sink back into a more dependent position. To some extent this reflected the careers of magnates all over Western Europe. Success in political and military affairs could make dukes out of knights, kings out of dukes. Three years of campaigning on the First Crusade provided opportunities for the aspiring prince to establish himself as an independent lord and it has to be taken into consideration that such figures may have participated in the councils that directed the crusade.

Tancred was the son of Bohemond's sister Emma. As they shared wine together and discussed the coming crusade, Bohemond urged his nephew to participate as his second-in-command, 'as though a duke under a king'.<sup>113</sup> After many promises, Tancred agreed and came on the First Crusade with the South Italian Normans, where he did indeed command the army in Bohemond's absence.<sup>114</sup> In anticipation of his future successes, many people transferred their allegiance to Tancred, including, so long as they were paid, *iuvēnes*. Tancred borrowed from his richer supporters to pay those who were poorer.<sup>115</sup>

A dramatic illustration of Tancred's ambition took place when he was finally brought before Alexios, at the end of June 1097, having tried up until then to avoid performing homage to the Byzantine emperor. Submitting angrily to the required act, Tancred was offered the chance to ask for a treasure by the conciliatory emperor. The Norman prince had the temerity to ask for the tent that Alexios used when campaigning. This was an enormous affair, requiring twenty camels to move it,

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<sup>112</sup> GF 59.

<sup>113</sup> RC 607: *quasi dux sub rege*.

<sup>114</sup> GF 11.

<sup>115</sup> RC 610.

and which had a turreted atrium when assembled. It could hold 'a multitude'.<sup>116</sup> The message was clear and prescient: Tancred sought royal dwellings, suitable for the magnificent lord that he intended to become.

When, around 10 September 1097, Tancred left the main army with a detachment of troops to make for Tarsus, he was nevertheless clearly a follower of Bohemond, as he negotiated for the surrender of Cilician cities in the name of his lord.<sup>117</sup> On leaving Cilicia to rejoin the main army, having left troops to garrison a number of towns and cities, he was reported as leading a hundred knights and two hundred archers.<sup>118</sup>

During the siege of Antioch, as noted above, Tancred undertook to defend a castle for pay and, with Bohemond's support, he also obtained land near Hamah and Harenc. Tancred's total revenues during the worst of the famine at Antioch, over the winter of 1097/8, meant that he not only kept his followers but was able to recruit to his table 'many excluded by others'.<sup>119</sup> As noted above, Tancred agreed to stay committed to the crusade so long as he had forty knights and curiously this was the number attributed to him when he brought up the rearguard of the troops heading towards Jerusalem under Count Raymond.<sup>120</sup>

For this period of the crusade, Tancred had become the follower of Count Raymond, for a payment of five thousand solidi and two fine horses, presumably transferring his allegiance while Bohemond consolidated his position as prince of Antioch. Although R. L. Nicholson believes that Tancred was encouraged by Bohemond to join with Count Raymond in order to monitor the affairs of the Provençal lord and get him away from Antioch, there is no direct evidence for this.<sup>121</sup>

In any case, Tancred soon chaffed at his relationship with Count Raymond and, contriving a quarrel, he 'wickedly' abandoned Raymond for Duke Godfrey,<sup>122</sup> whom he followed with a great deal of autonomy. With trickery that his grandfather, Robert Guiscard, would have been proud of, Tancred sent his banner to a number of Arab towns, claiming

<sup>116</sup> RC 619. See also AC 11.3 (340).

<sup>117</sup> AA iii.6 (146).

<sup>118</sup> RC 630.

<sup>119</sup> RC 650: *multos ab aliis exclusos*.

<sup>120</sup> RA 186 (272).

<sup>121</sup> R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred*, pp. 76–7.

<sup>122</sup> RA 218 (278): *male*.

to be leader of the crusade and demanding tribute.<sup>123</sup> He led frequent raids; was the first to Bethlehem, which he tried to claim;<sup>124</sup> and, on the fall of Jerusalem, first to the Temple of the Lord, where he took a fortune in silver to increase the numbers of his military force and to pay the foreign soldiers who had joined up with him.<sup>125</sup> Tancred also gave a banner to the Muslims who had taken refuge there, probably intending to sell them on the slave market, but was furious that instead they were slain in the massacres. When he left Jerusalem, Tancred had eighty knights as followers.<sup>126</sup>

Throughout the crusade then, Tancred led a following of his own, which varied between some forty to eighty knights. He conducted himself with a great deal of independence, but nevertheless was subject to Bohemond as far as the capture of Antioch, and later, more nominally, Count Raymond and Duke Godfrey. It is significant that after Tancred was sent for in March 1101 by the Normans of Antioch to be ruler of the city, because Bohemond had been captured by the Danishmend ruler Malik Ghāzī, his biographer, Ralph of Caen reported that he felt burdened by the suspect nature of the dignity, because in the event of Bohemond's return, he would have been more of a host than a prince.<sup>127</sup> By 1105 though, there was no doubting that Tancred was a most illustrious prince in his own right, having obtained full authority over Antioch when Bohemond left the city to recruit an army to fight against the Byzantine empire. In that year also, Tancred was regent of Edessa while its lord, Baldwin of Bourcq was a prisoner.

Another example of a young relative of one of the senior princes striving to become a lord and leader in his own right is that of Baldwin of Boulogne, younger brother of Eustace and Duke Godfrey.<sup>128</sup> As with Tancred, Baldwin had his own following, but served under Godfrey and captured cities in Cilicia under his older brothers' name.<sup>129</sup> Notoriously, the two young aspirant princes came to blows during this campaign,

<sup>123</sup> RA 218 (278).

<sup>124</sup> RA 322 (295).

<sup>125</sup> RC 696.

<sup>126</sup> RC 703.

<sup>127</sup> RC 706.

<sup>128</sup> For Baldwin of Boulogne see H. E. Mayer, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, n.s. 5 (Paris, 1984), see also A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Dynastic History 1099–1125* (Oxford, 2000).

<sup>129</sup> AA iii.10 (152).

their conflict fuelled not only by rivalry between the Lotharingian and Norman contingents, but the implications for their status as princes. Baldwin got the upper hand, driving Tancred's troops from Tarsus, but this led to the low point of his career. Around 20 September 1097 some three hundred Norman soldiers arrived at Tarsus, looking for Tancred. Ignoring the pleas of his own men, Baldwin mistrusted the Normans and refused to let them into the city. During the night these troops were slaughtered by the local Turkish forces, leading to a mutiny in which the enraged lower ranks sought out Baldwin, intending to harm him for his guilt in the death of these fellow Christians. He survived the arrows aimed his way from his own men by taking to a tower until the tumult died down.<sup>130</sup>

Thereafter, though, Baldwin saw a dramatic turn in his fortunes. A fleet arriving in the region to join the crusade turned up only a few days later. It had, as one of its leaders Winemer of Boulogne, a member of the household of Count Eustace, Baldwin's brother.<sup>131</sup> These reinforcements augmented Baldwin's forces considerably, allowing him to garrison a number of towns. Even more fortunately, Baldwin thus attracted the attention of the Christian rulers of Edessa, who saw in him the possibility of emancipating themselves from pressure of the local Muslim princes. Marching to Edessa with between sixty and two hundred knights,<sup>132</sup> he was disappointed to learn that the ruler there, Thoros, wished only to hire his services for coin. Refusing to be treated like a mere mercenary, Baldwin's supporters among the elders of the town obliged Thoros to adopt the Lotharingian as his son, c. 6 February 1098.<sup>133</sup> A coup by the townspeople on Sunday 7 March 1098 killed the elderly Thoros and installed Baldwin as lord of Edessa. Thereafter his status as a prince was never in doubt, and indeed, his feet were firmly set on the path that would take him to Jerusalem and a crown.

Baldwin's elevation was reflected in the writings of his chaplain, Fulcher of Chartres, who thereafter included him amongst the very few whom were designated *princeps* by the historian.<sup>134</sup> For Raymond of Aguilers too, there was no doubt that Baldwin was now one of the

<sup>130</sup> AA iii.12–3 (156–8).

<sup>131</sup> AA iii.15 (160). Winemer is otherwise unknown.

<sup>132</sup> 200 in AA iii.19 (168); 80 in FC, I.xiv.7; 60 in Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, RHC Arm. 1, 36.

<sup>133</sup> AA iii.21 (170). William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 4.3 (236).

<sup>134</sup> FC I.xxxiv.2 (335).

leaders of the crusade, although his occupancy of Edessa meant that he could not help direct affairs. Raymond reported that *omnes principes* with the exception of Baldwin, met in Antioch for the assembly of 5 November 1098 described above.<sup>135</sup>

In the drawn out expedition that was the First Crusade the bonds of vassalage and obligation were weakened, allowing considerable fluidity as knights changed allegiance according to which prince had the means to support them. To maintain a place at the council of princes and a measure of leadership over events, it was desirable to have a reputation for good generalship, for piety and for bravery. But what a lord required, above all, was control of revenues from captured cities. It was control of tribute, redistributed to followers, which ensured a lord of a following. When Arnulf of Chocques was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem, he drew attention to this particular aspect of lordship as being the one that set the princes apart from all others. 'You have promoted me from my humble position. You have made me famous, who was unknown. As if one of you, you bring about my sharing in tribute.'<sup>136</sup>

Baldwin's success in becoming lord of Edessa allowed him to attract considerable numbers of followers, including the *iuvenes* grouped with Drogo of Nesle discussed in Chapter Six. As supplies dwindled at the siege of Antioch, Baldwin settled all the revenues of Turbessel on Duke Godfrey. The value of the corn, barley, wine and oil amounted to 50,000 bezants a year, reported Albert of Aachen.<sup>137</sup> Their relationship had changed from one in which Baldwin served his older brother, to one of equals.

If Baldwin and Tancred provide the examples of those 'semi-princes' whose careers and status rose during the course of the crusade, there were several others who strove in the same direction with less success. At the start of the crusade, the Lotharingian nobles Henry of Esch and Hartmann, count of Dillingen and Kyburg had considerable resources, enough to finance the building of a siege engine at Nicea at their own expense.<sup>138</sup> They were so destitute by the siege of Antioch, however, that they became dependent on a stipend of bread, meat and fish from

<sup>135</sup> RA 159 (267).

<sup>136</sup> RC 699: '*Vos me de humili promovistis, vos de ignoto celebrem reddidistis, vos quasi unum ex vobis, et participipem tributorum creastis*'.

<sup>137</sup> AA iv.9 (262).

<sup>138</sup> AA ii.30 (112).

Duke Godfrey, Hartmann was obliged to enter battle against Kerbogha on a donkey, holding only a Turkish round shield and sword, having sold all his arms and weapons a long time earlier.<sup>139</sup>

Emerging from the Provençal contingent as a figure of prominence towards the end of the crusade, Gaston IV, viscount of Béarn, was somewhat more successful a contender for a place among the princes. He rode with his own knights alongside Robert of Flanders in the vanguard of the Christian army as it marched towards Jerusalem.<sup>140</sup> In distinct rivalry to the activities of Count Raymond of Toulouse, who funded his own siege equipment, Gaston was the choice of the other princes to be appointed to oversee operations in the crucial task of constructing their towers and mangonels for the siege of Jerusalem.<sup>141</sup> Gaston had a following of thirty knights who seem to have formed an alliance with those of Tancred. Both troops engaged in raiding the outskirts of Jerusalem as the crusading forces arrived at the city.<sup>142</sup> At the fall of Jerusalem Gaston and Tancred together placed their banners on the Temple of the Lord in their vain effort to signal that the non-Christians who had sought refuge on the roof of the Temple were their prisoners.<sup>143</sup> 'Tancred and Gaston' were also listed together in the *Gesta Francorum's* description of the marshalling of the various contingents of troops for the battle of Ascalon, 12 August 1099.<sup>144</sup>

Another Provençal noble who was an important figure and for a time a leader in his own right was Raymond Pilet, lord of Alès. Raymond Pilet came on the crusade in the army of Count Raymond of Toulouse. At one point, after Kerbogha had been defeated and while the senior princes were dispersing to the nearby regions to avoid the heat and plague of the summer of 1098, Raymond Pilet led an army of his own. He 'retained' (*retinere*) many knights and footsoldiers and set off south east, so reported the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, using his preferred verb for the establishment of the relationship between lord and vassal.<sup>145</sup> After some initial successes Raymond Pilet's forces were defeated in an attempt to storm Ma'arra, 27 July 1098.<sup>146</sup> Thereafter

<sup>139</sup> AA iv.54 (332–4).

<sup>140</sup> AA v.42 (396).

<sup>141</sup> RA 331–2 (297).

<sup>142</sup> AA v.45 (402).

<sup>143</sup> GF 92.

<sup>144</sup> GF 95.

<sup>145</sup> GF 73.

<sup>146</sup> GF 74.



Raymond Pilet resumed a place among the army of Count Raymond; although he was the commander given the responsibility of leading Provençal troops when they were detached from the main army. In the company of Raymond *vicecomes* of Turenne he took Tortosa;<sup>147</sup> again with Raymond of Turenne he left the siege of Jerusalem in search of battle and was victorious against two hundred Arabs.<sup>148</sup> When a contingent of knights was required for the hazardous journey to Jaffa to meet with recently arrived ships, a hundred knights of the Provençal army set out, with Raymond of Pilet a prominent leader.<sup>149</sup>

Other important magnates whose prominence might have warranted their presence as being among the 'others' at the councils of princes were Anselm II of Ribemont, Baldwin of Bourq, Baldwin II of Mons, count of Hainaut, Geldemar Carpenel, Hugh II, count of Saint-Pol and Roger Barneville.<sup>150</sup> There were ecclesiastical magnates of some distinction too. In addition to the bishops referred to in the council at Antioch on 5 November, both Arnulf of Chocques and Robert of Rouen became important voices at the head of the clergy, the former eventually becoming the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the latter bishop of Lydda.

There is one person from outside the ranks of the nobility who must also be taken into consideration in a discussion of the leaders of the First Crusade: Peter the Hermit. Peter was considered a leader in the same light as the senior princes by Fulcher of Chartres, when he listed those who led armies on the expedition.<sup>151</sup> After the catastrophic defeat of the People's Crusade, Peter must have lost a great deal of authority. He does not feature in any of the sources as directing troops and this, combined with his lowly background, makes it unlikely that he participated in many of the day-to-day councils of the leaders. In one capacity, though, Peter the Hermit continued to play a leading role, sometime after the death of Adhémar he had been put in charge of the *pauperes*, the clergy, and the people.<sup>152</sup>

When the Christian forces had been united at the siege of 'Arqa in March 1098 by the arrival of Duke Godfrey and Robert of Flanders

<sup>147</sup> GF 83–4.

<sup>148</sup> GF 87–8.

<sup>149</sup> GF 88.

<sup>150</sup> For Anselm of Ribemont see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 199.

<sup>151</sup> FC I.vi.3–8 (154–161).

<sup>152</sup> RA 214 (278).

a tithe was taken for the sake of the poor. A quarter of the collection went to Peter of Narbonne as the bishop of Albarra, another quarter went to the priests of the army, but half came to Peter the Hermit. He, in turn, split this fund equally between the remaining clergy and the laity.<sup>153</sup> Peter had always had a special responsibility for women,<sup>154</sup> and this seems to have continued all the way down to Jerusalem. When the military forces marched out to fight at the battle of Ascalon, Peter moved about in procession from church to church with the women, the clergy and the thin crowd of feeble people who remained in the city.<sup>155</sup> This prominent role among the non-combatants suggests that Peter would have been present at those broader assemblies discussed above, which dealt with the concerns of the clergy and the poor.

The leadership of the First Crusade was carried out by a core group of princes who were, depending on circumstances, joined in their decision-making assemblies by other prominent magnates and ecclesiastical figures. As the examples in Chapter Three and Four show, however, it would be a mistake to envisage such councils to have always been authoritative bodies. The instructions coming from the council were not always obeyed and there was more than one instance of popular mutiny against the princes. Narrative histories of the First Crusade have therefore tended to describe events a little too neatly as flowing from the initiative of nine or so very senior princes. Even among themselves the princes did not manage to stabilise a formal structure of authority for very long. The composition of their councils was constantly changing as prominent nobles died, or left the crusade and as other magnates emerged as important leaders.

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<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> See below, pp. 280–1.

<sup>155</sup> BD 107.



## CHAPTER NINE

### WOMEN AND THE FIRST CRUSADE: PROSTITUTES OR PILGRIMS?

‘Women’, *mulieres*, or, more rarely, *feminae*, are not a social stratum in the sense of *pauperes*, *milites* or *principes*. From the very large numbers of women on the First Crusade who could be ranked among the *pauperes* through to the much smaller number of women who came with their relatives and guardians among the male magnates, the women of the crusade could, in fact, be distributed among these social layers and be considered as a component part of them. To divide the women of the movement in this way would be reasonable and reflect the very different experiences of women from different social backgrounds. Can, say, Elvira, wife of Count Raymond of Toulouse have had much in common with a runaway female serf? But the women of the First Crusade were also, in several instances, identified collectively by the sources and treated as a coherent grouping; consequently any discussion of their presence on the expedition and their contribution to the social dynamics of the crusade has to examine this sense that women were a distinct category of those persons present.

A striking comment occurs in the history of Albert of Aachen, as he described the popular enthusiasm for the crusade to which he was an eyewitness: ‘crowds from different kingdoms and cities gathered together, but in no sense turning away from illicit and sexual intercourse. There was unbridled contact with women and young girls, who with utter rashness had departed with the intention of frivolity; there was constant pleasure and rejoicing under the pretext of this journey.’<sup>1</sup> This comment and others of a similar nature have, at times, led modern historians to assume that when the sources referred to the women of the First Crusade, they were indicating the presence of ‘camp followers’,

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<sup>1</sup> AA i.25 (48): *Hiis itaque per turmas ex diuersis regnis et ciuitatibus in unum collectis, sed nequaquam ab illicitis et fornicariis commixtionibus auersis, immoderata erat commessatio cum mulieribus et puellis, sub eiusdem leuitatis intentione egressis, assidua delectatio, et in omni temeritate sub huius uie occasione gloriatio.*

prostitutes. After all, women dependent for their living on soldiers have travelled in the wake of European armies for centuries.

This natural assumption is, however, mistaken with regard to the First Crusade. Albert of Aachen was a monk and this affected his perception of women joining the crusade in two ways. Firstly, a pilgrimage is a time of abstinence, a time for penitence. Given that Albert saw the expedition as a pilgrimage, it was entirely inappropriate in his eyes for men and women to undertake the journey together without adhering to a spirit of abstinence. Secondly, for a medieval monk to leave their monastery without the agreement of their abbot was an extremely serious breach of discipline. Cases of 'wandering monks' were treated with a sense of outrage that proper social order had been undermined. There is something of this same outrage in Albert's comment about women using the crusade as a pretext to leave their former lives. In other words, this passage is not about prostitution, it is about women who may have had perfectly respectable careers, indeed may have been married. Nevertheless, they were upsetting the proprieties of the enterprise by their unregulated presence among the pilgrims.

There is another aspect to the report made by Albert that deserves attention. He described how there was a sense of rejoicing among the women who joined the crusade. This observation might well reflect an important feature of their involvement. Did some women seize upon the opportunity presented by the expedition to cast aside roles and circumstances that oppressed them, to obtain a new form of freedom? Albert's report is echoed by another eyewitness to the gathering of the crowds who set forth on the expedition, Ekkehard, abbot of Aura and member of the crusade of 1101. Ekkehard wrote that a great part of the common people set out with wives and children, laden with the whole household.<sup>2</sup> These included 'degraded women' who had joined the Lord's host under the guise of religion.<sup>3</sup>

Certainly there were women who, when they learned of the crusade, emerged from obscurity to be local leaders of pilgrims. The most notorious example of this, seized upon by contemporary writers across Europe, was the woman who claimed to be the mistress of a goose that was divinely inspired. Guibert of Nogent was amused rather than outraged at the 'wretched woman' whose fame spread through

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<sup>2</sup> EA 140.

<sup>3</sup> EA 144: *inhonestas feminei sexus*.

castles and towns.<sup>4</sup> When she reached Cambrai it was an occasion for a major assembly. That, at least, seems to be the impression created by Guibert's description of the full church through which the woman and goose walked to reach the altar. Having learned that the woman died in Lotharingia, Guibert couldn't resist joking that she would have more displayed greater sanity on her journey to Jerusalem if she had eaten the goose the day before she departed.<sup>5</sup>

Behind the mockery lies a significant movement, the crowds that followed the goose were noted with hostility by Albert of Aachen and the Jewish chroniclers of the era, not least because they merged with those who had attacked the Jewish communities of the Rhineland.<sup>6</sup> Another popular movement with women at the head of it is discernable in the report of Baldric of Dol that he saw many of the common people setting out behind a cross that, due to the presumption of certain foolish women, they believed had been created from heaven.<sup>7</sup> Again, the disdain cloaks a report of popular enthusiasm for the crusade being focused by women.

Very many women desired to take up the crusading message. Orderic Vitalis, who wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* between 1123 and 1141, noted that the determination to either go to Jerusalem or to help others who were going there affected 'rich and poor, men and women, monks and clerks, townspeople and peasants alike. Husbands arranged to leave beloved wives at home, the wives, indeed, sighing, greatly desired to journey with the men, leaving children and all their wealth.'<sup>8</sup>

That thousands of women acted on this inclination is clear. Guibert of Nogent described how 'the meanest most common men and even unworthy women were appropriating to themselves this miracle [the mark of the cross].'<sup>9</sup> The Anglo-Saxon chronicler, writing in Peterborough, had very little to say about the Crusade, but he did think it noteworthy that countless people set out, with women and children

<sup>4</sup> GN 331: *mulieri miserae*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> AA i.30 (58); *The Chronicle of Solomon bar Simson* in S. Eidelberg ed., *The Jews and the Crusaders: the Hebrew chronicles of the first and second crusaders* (New Jersey, 1996), p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> BD 17.

<sup>8</sup> OV 5, 17: *Diuitibus itaque et pauperibus, uiris et mulieribus, monachis et clericis, urbanis et rusticis, in Ierusalem eundi aut euntes adiuuandi inerat voluntas mirabilis. Mariti dilectas coniuges domi relinquere disponebant, illae uero gementes relicta prole cum omnibus diuitiis suis in peregrinatione uiros suos sequi ualde cupiebant.*

<sup>9</sup> GN 330: *...quolibet extremae vulgaritatis homines et etiam muliebris indignitas hoc sibi tot modis, tot partibus usurpauere miraculum.*

(*wifan and cildan*).<sup>10</sup> The near contemporary Annals of Augsburg say that along with warriors, bishops, abbots, monks, clerics and men of diverse professions, ‘serfs and women’ (*coloni et mulieres*) joined the movement.<sup>11</sup> The Monte Cassino Chronicle reported that the desire to join the Holy Journey seized men and women and that, together with noble people, ‘ignoble men and women’ carried crosses on their shoulders.<sup>12</sup>

The epic poem, the *Chanson d’Antioche*, which, it is generally accepted, contains eyewitness material, has the lines: ‘There were many ladies who carried crosses, and the (freeborn) French maidens whom God loved greatly went with the father who begat them.’<sup>13</sup> Anna Comnena, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, Alexios I, writing in the 1140s gave a brief description of the People’s Crusade whose unusual make-up must have been a striking feature. She remembered seeing ‘a host of civilians, outnumbering the sand of the sea shore or the stars of heaven, carrying palms and bearing crosses on their shoulders. There were women and children too, who had left their countries.’<sup>14</sup> In his description of the disastrous aftermath of the battle of Civetot, 21 October 1096, Albert of Aachen wrote of the Turks who came to the camp of the crusaders: ‘entering those tents they found them containing the faint and the frail, clerks, monks, aged women, young boys, all indeed they killed with the sword. Only delicate young girls and nuns whose faces and beauty seemed to please the eye and beardless young men with charming expressions they took away.’<sup>15</sup> This description by Albert is particularly important in that it draws attention to the, often overlooked, presence of nuns on the crusade.

Even after the slaughter at Civetot, many women were assimilated into the Princes’ Crusade. It is clear, indeed, that large numbers of women were travelling with the Princes’ contingents. In Brindisi, 5 April 1097, the first ship of those sailing with Robert of Normandy capsized.

<sup>10</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. Michael Swanton (London, 2000), p. 323.

<sup>11</sup> *Annales Augustani*, MGH SS 3, 134.

<sup>12</sup> MC 174: *ignobilis viris ac mulieribus*.

<sup>13</sup> CA 844–846: *Des dames i ot maintes qui les crois ont fermees; Et les frances puceles, que Deux a tant amees Od lor pères en vont qui les ont engenrees*. See also S. B. Edgington, ‘*Sont çou ore les fêms que jo voi la venir?* Women in the *Chanson d’Antioche*’, in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. S. B. Edgington and S. Lambert (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 154–62, here p. 155.

<sup>14</sup> AC x.5 (309).

<sup>15</sup> AA 1.21(42): *tentoria vero illorum intrantes quosquos repperunt languidos ac debiles, clericos, monachos, mulieres gradeuas, pueros, sugentes, omnem vero etatem gladio extinxerunt. Solummodo puellas teneras et moniales quarum facies et forma oculis eorum placere videbatur, iuvenesque inberbes et vultu venustos abduxerunt*.

Fulcher of Chartres wrote of the incident that four hundred 'of both sexes' perished by drowning.<sup>16</sup> Fulcher described the united army at Nicaea as containing women and children.<sup>17</sup> The *Chanson d'Antioche* indicated that the camp of the crusaders had a particular women's section, which was raided by the Turks shortly after the siege of Nicaea:

Firstly, turning their violence on the ladies,  
Those who attracted them they took on horseback,  
And tearing the breasts of the old women,  
When the mothers were killed their children cried out,  
The dead mothers suckled them, it was a very great grief,  
They climbed up on them seeking their breasts,  
They must be reigning [in heaven] with the Innocents.<sup>18</sup>

The anonymous author of *Gesta Francorum* reported that at the battle of Dorylaeum, 1 July 1097, the women in the camp were a great help, for they brought up water for the fighting men to drink and bravely always encouraged them, fighters and defenders.<sup>19</sup> The *Chanson d'Antioche* has a description of the same scene:

The baronage was thirsty, it was greatly oppressed;  
The knights of Tancred strongly desired water.  
They were greatly served by them who were with them.  
The ladies and maidens of whom there were numerous in the army;  
Because they readied themselves, they threw off their cloaks,  
And carried water to the exhausted knights,  
In pots, bowls and in golden chalices.  
When the barons had drunk they were reinvigorated.<sup>20</sup>

During the battle, Turkish horsemen were sent to cover a possible line of retreat, and the near contemporary *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* recorded that they 'cruelly put to the sword almost a thousand men, women, and

<sup>16</sup> FC I.viii.2 (169).

<sup>17</sup> FC I.x.4 (183).

<sup>18</sup> CA 2034–2040: *Premierement as dames vont les resnes tornant; celes qui lor contekent es seles vont montant. Et as toibles vielletes les mameles torgant. Quant les meres sont mortes, si crient li enfant, Sor les pis lor montoient, les mameles querant, La mère morte alaitent, ce est dolor molt grant! El rene as Innocens doivent estre manant.* See also Susan B. Edgington, 'Women in the *Chanson d'Antioche*', p. 155.

<sup>19</sup> GF 19.

<sup>20</sup> CA 2144–2152: *Li bornages ot soi, si est molt esgorés, Molt desiroit de l'aigue li chevaliers Tangrés. Mestier lor ont eü celes de lor regnés, Les dames, les puceles dont il i ot assés. Quar eles se rebracent, s'ont lor dras jus jetés, S'aportèrent de l'aigue les chevaliers membrés As pos, as escuieles et as vaisiaus dorés. Quant ot but li bornages, si est resvigorés.* See also Susan B. Edgington, 'Women in the *Chanson d'Antioche*', p. 155.



unarmed, common folk.<sup>21</sup> Further along the march in the arid stretches of Asia Minor, in July 1097, Albert of Aachen noted with sympathy the suffering of very many pregnant women, who miscarried or gave birth to premature babies.<sup>22</sup> Again, Albert of Aachen was attentive to the presence of 'many thousands' of women and children at the siege of Antioch that began 21 October 1097.<sup>23</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* had a description of a woman in the camp of Bohemond being killed by an arrow during that siege.<sup>24</sup> In the plague that followed the capture of the city women were notably more likely to be victims.<sup>25</sup> At the climactic denouement of the First Crusade, the capture of Jerusalem, women were still present in considerable numbers, sharing the work and bringing water and words of encouragement to the men. Indeed, according to William of Tyre, who although writing some three generations after the events had access to local traditions in Jerusalem, the women even presumed to take up arms.<sup>26</sup>

This, by no means exhaustive selection of references to women on the Crusade, from a range of sources, establishes without a doubt that women were present in large numbers. But is it possible to focus more closely on the women present in the First Crusade and indicate something of their motivation?

One group of women whose presence and role is most easily understood are those who were members of the aristocracy.<sup>27</sup> Because the sources were largely written for the benefit of the aristocracy and because historians such as William of Tyre were interested in the genealogy of the leading noble families in Outremer, we are in a position to name some of the aristocratic women involved in the First Crusade. Raymond of Toulouse brought with him on the Crusade his third wife, Elvira, daughter of Alfonso VI of Castile by his mistress, Ximene.<sup>28</sup> Baldwin of Boulogne, later lord of Eddessa, also brought his wife, Godvere of Tosni, 'a most noble' lady from the Kingdom of

<sup>21</sup> GP 86–7; *crudeliter ense necauit, Mille viros ferme, mulieres, vulgus inerme.*

<sup>22</sup> AA iii.2 (138–140).

<sup>23</sup> AA iii.38 (198).

<sup>24</sup> GF 29.

<sup>25</sup> WT 7.1 (344).

<sup>26</sup> WT 8.13 (403).

<sup>27</sup> For a full discussion of their presence on the crusade see S. Geldsetzer, *Frauen Auf Kreuzzügen 1096–1291* (Darmstadt, 2003) esp. Appendix 2, pp. 184–7.

<sup>28</sup> FC I.xxxii1 (320); GN 134.

England.<sup>29</sup> Godvere's first cousin, Emma of Hereford came on the crusade with her husband Ralph I of Gael.<sup>30</sup> It is likely that Count Baldwin of Bourcq brought at least one of his sisters with him as she later, 12 September 1115, married Roger, prince of Antioch.<sup>31</sup> Walo II, lord of Chaumont-en-Vexin brought his wife, Humberge, daughter of Hugh Le Puiset and sister of the crusader Everard.<sup>32</sup> On the death of Walo, Humberge was described as being supported by a band of mature ladies (*matres*).<sup>33</sup>

In all likelihood the wives and sisters of many other lesser nobles intending to stay in the newly won crusader states were present, but by and large they did not come to the attention of the chroniclers of the Crusade. We know that Hadvide of Chiny, for example, journeyed with her husband Dodo of Cons-la-Grandville only due to charter evidence.<sup>34</sup> An unnamed woman of great nobility and beauty was unfortunate enough to be captured during the siege of Antioch, while playing dice in an orchard with Adelbero, son of Count Conrad of Luxembourg and archdeacon of the Church of Metz. After being taken back to Antioch, raped and tortured, the head of this woman was placed in a catapult with that of Adelbero and flung back towards the Christian army.<sup>35</sup>

Emeline, wife of Fulcher a knight of Bullion, only appears in the historical record as a crusader due to Albert of Aachen taking an interest in the story that although she was captured, because of her beauty an illustrious Turkish knight, a general of Omar, lord of Azaz fell in love with her. At the suggestion of Emeline, this Turkish general contacted Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia with a view to leading a revolt against Ridwan of Aleppo.<sup>36</sup> Other than this example, aristocratic women seem to have played no independent role in the course of the expedition. Their actions or words are not mentioned. This is hardly surprising given that for an aristocratic woman to have a measure of authority c. 1100 she

<sup>29</sup> AA iii.27 (182): *nobilissima*; WT 3. 18 (453). See also S. Geldsetzer, *Frauen Auf Kreuzzügen*, p. 186.

<sup>30</sup> OV 2, 4 (318). See also S. Geldsetzer, *Frauen Auf Kreuzzügen*, p. 185.

<sup>31</sup> WT 12. 9 (498).

<sup>32</sup> RM 794–6; GP 127. See also S. Geldsetzer, *Frauen Auf Kreuzzügen*, p. 186.

<sup>33</sup> GP 126.

<sup>34</sup> *Chartres de l'abbaye de St-Hubert-en-Ardenne*, ed. G. Kurth, I (Brussels, 1903), p. 81. For Dodo of Cons-la-Grandville see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 203.

<sup>35</sup> AA iii.46 (208–10). For Adelbero see A. V. Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 178–9.

<sup>36</sup> AA v.7 (346). See also S. Geldsetzer, *Frauen Auf Kreuzzügen*, p. 185.

would have had to be a widow with a sizeable patrimony or a mother with significant influence over powerful sons.

It was the next generation of aristocratic women who controlled property in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, who were able to wield some political power, or indeed those women left behind by their noble husbands. The women of the nobility present on the initial expedition were brought to generate families should the conquest be successful and were not in a position to play an independent political role during the campaign. Indeed if their male guardian died on the crusade such aristocratic women could be placed in a difficult position; Humberge was given a speech on the death of Walo that includes the question: 'other than with a man, can a woman live following the camp?'<sup>37</sup> Although dependent on Ovid for the phrase, Gilo posed the question in the contemporary setting of the Crusade, using the classical reference to indicate the dependency of the position of aristocratic women on their guardians.

Beyond the aristocratic women there were far greater numbers of women of the other social orders. There is no possibility of finding out their names or much detail concerning their backgrounds. Eyewitness descriptions of the gathering of forces for the First Crusade, however, have important information to offer. It is clear, first of all, that many women from the social order of *pauperes*, both urban and rural 'poor', came with their husbands and children on the crusade. Guibert of Nogent's passage about the poor families who put all these possessions in a cart and came on the expedition has been noted in Chapter Three, with regard to the *pauperes*, but it also important evidence for the presence of large numbers of women.<sup>38</sup>

From Pope Urban II's letter to the clergy and people of Bologna of September 1096, it is clear that the unexpected departure of large numbers of non-combatant forces was a concern and a development to be restrained.<sup>39</sup> But it is hardly surprising that peasants undertaking the crusade with the expectation of finding a better life moved in entire families. As Ekkehard disapprovingly observed, 'the farmers, the women and children, roving with unheard of folly, abandoned the land of their birth, gave up their own property and yearned for that

<sup>37</sup> GP 128–9.

<sup>38</sup> GN 120.

<sup>39</sup> Urban II, letter to the clergy and people of Bologna: Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 137–8.

of foreigners and go to an uncertain promised land.<sup>40</sup> There can be no question of describing such women as prostitutes or camp followers. These married women were non-combatant participants like the elderly, the clergy and the children on the crusade.

In addition to married women of urban and rural poor families, there is also evidence that unattached women participated in the Crusade. Albert of Aachen's anger that what should have been a chaste undertaking in the manner of all pilgrimages was contaminated by licentiousness is perhaps the most striking example, but a less hostile observation to the same effect comes from the history of Raymond of Aguilers. Raymond gave very detailed accounts of the speeches of peasant visionaries, from which it is possible to detect elements of the political programme of the poor crusader. In one vision of St Andrew to Peter Bartholomew, 30 November 1098, evidence that the body of unmarried women was still a cause for concern is presented, as the saint was reported as saying that 'amongst your ranks is a great deal of adultery, though it would please God if you all take wives'.<sup>41</sup>

A more precisely observed episode of relevance occurred at a moment of great strain for the Crusade, January 1098, during the siege of Antioch, when famine was causing the movement to disintegrate. During this crisis the higher clergy managed to gain an influence over the movement, which they were not subsequently able to maintain. Their argument that to weather the crisis, particularly devout behaviour was required carried the day and therefore their hostility to the presence of unmarried women on the crusade surfaced in the form of a decision that women should be driven from the camp. Fulcher—at the time in Edessa—wrote that 'the Franks, having again consulted together, expelled the women from the army, the married as well as the unmarried, lest perhaps defiled by the sordidness of riotous living they should displease the Lord. These women then sought shelter for themselves in neighbouring towns'.<sup>42</sup> William of Tyre described the same incident as being a more limited purge of solely 'light foolish women' (*leves mulierculae*).<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> EA 140.

<sup>41</sup> RA 171 (269): *Inter vos caedes et... plurima adulteria: quum Deo placitum sit, si uxores vos omnes ducatis.*

<sup>42</sup> FC I.xv.14 (223): *tunc facto deinde consilio, eiecerunt feminas de exercitu, tam maritatas quam immaritatas, ne forte luxuriae sordibus inquinati Domino displicerent. Illae vero in castris adfinibus tunc hospitia sibi adsumpserunt.*

<sup>43</sup> WT 4. 22 (264).

This incident reveals the presence of significant numbers of unmarried women on the crusade, but also that in times of crisis, they were a body of people who became scapegoats for the hardships experienced by the Christian army. The clergy of the First Crusade, as supporters of Pope Urban II, would have subscribed to notions of pilgrimage that were closely related to the Truce of God, a clerically led peace movement that emphasised chastity and abstinence. This would inevitably have led to tensions between them and the women of the First Crusade, tensions that in at least one instance erupted in the forced expulsion of the women from the crusade.

There is a contrast between the disapproval of the presence of women expressed by the regular clergy and a more sympathetic position taken by the spokespeople of the poor. That is the impression created not only by the report of the vision of Peter Bartholomew, but also in the eyewitness report of the recruiting activities of Peter the Hermit by Guibert of Nogent. '[Peter the Hermit] was liberal towards the poor showing great generosity with the goods that were given to him, making wives of prostitutes [*prostitutae mulieres*] through his gifts to their husbands.'<sup>44</sup> Again, the message is one that the position of unattached women should be regularised by marriage, not that they should be turned away altogether.

In an article unrelated to the crusades, Georges Duby made a comment that is extremely helpful in analysing the description given by Guibert of the activities of Peter the Hermit. In discussing the consequences of the drive to reform the church from 1075–1125, Duby wrote: 'Prostitution flourished in the rapidly expanding towns, thronging with uprooted immigrants. Above all, there were those women without men that the reform movement had itself thrown out onto the street, the wives abandoned by husbands because they were priests, or if laymen, because they were bigamists or had contracted an incestuous union. These women were to be pitied, but they were also dangerous, threatening to corrupt men and lead them astray.'<sup>45</sup>

The fact that Peter the Hermit was providing dowries to 'prostitutes' has been noted by E. O. Blake and C. Morris as showing that his was

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<sup>44</sup> GN 121:...*dilargitione erga pauperes liberalis, prostitutas mulieres non sine suo munere maritis honestans.*

<sup>45</sup> G. Duby, *Women of the Twelfth Century*, I: *Eleanor of Aquitaine and six others*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), p. 36.

an urban audience.<sup>46</sup> But it seems possible to draw a further conclusion, that Peter the Hermit was using his gifts to gather a following amongst marginalised women. Those who accompanied him on crusade should therefore not be considered camp followers in the conventional sense.

Guibert's use of the term *prostitutae* needs to be examined. Particularly as he wrote a very important passage on the relationship between men and women during the First Crusade in which the term reappears. Guibert reported that the measures taken on the crusade against unmarried women were far more severe than desiring they be married off. Having made the point that those requiring the protection of God should not be subject to lustful thoughts, he wrote that:

It happened there that neither a mention of harlot nor the name of a prostitute was tolerated...because if it was found that any of those woman was found to have become pregnant, who was proven to be without a husband, she and her procurer were surrendered to atrocious punishments....Meanwhile it came to pass that a certain monk of the most famous monastery, had left the cloister of his monastery and undertaken the expedition to Jerusalem, being inspired not by piety but by shallowness, was caught with some woman or other. If I am not mistaken he was found to be guilty by the judgement of red-hot iron, and finally the Bishop of Le Puy and the others ordered that the miserable woman with her lover be led naked through all the corners of the camps and be most fearfully lashed by whips, to the terror of the onlookers.<sup>47</sup>

That Guibert is particularly vehement on this point is unsurprising given his purpose, which in part, would have been the edification of his readers and the monks for whom he was responsible as abbot. But the substance of the incidence is supported by a similar report by Albert of Aachen. The context was that of a heightened religious feeling in the Christian camp at Antioch. Christmas had just been celebrated when, 30 December 1098, a serious tremor shook the land. A devastating famine along with disease was killing thousands. Therefore a special assembly took place with all the bishops and clergy, discussed with

<sup>46</sup> E. O. Blake and C. Morris, 'A hermit goes to war: Peter and the origins of the First Crusade', *Studies in Church History* 22 (1984), pp. 79–107.

<sup>47</sup> GN 196: *Unde fiebat ut ibi nec mentio scorti nec nomen prostibuli toleraretur haberi... quod si gravidam inveniri constitisset aliquam mulierum, quae probantur carere maritis, atrocibus tradebatur cum suo lenone suppliciiis. Contigit interea quemdam predicatissimi omnium coenobii monachum, qui monasterii sui claustra fugaciter excesserat et Iherosolimitanam expeditionem non pietate sed levitate provocatus inierat, cum aliqua femina ibi deprehendi, igniti, nisi fallor, ferri iudicio convinci ac demum Podiensis episcopi ceterorumque precepto per omnes castrorum vicos miseram illam cum suo amasio circumduci et flagris nudos ad terrorem intuentium dirissime verberari.*

regard to the role of Adhémar in Chapter Eight. The council passed very many laws for the regulation of the army and these concerned theft and other crimes as well as an injunction against fornication and adultery. It was in the aftermath of this council that Albert reported that a man and woman were caught in the act of adultery, stripped and whipped through the whole army.<sup>48</sup>

The important question to resolve is whether the sanctions were directed against prostitutes or women participants of the crusade? Albert, better informed about the details of the expedition than Guibert, does not mention the term *prostitutae*. Moreover, when a scholarly clerical writer of the era like Guibert employed the term, they did so with a sense that is quite different to the modern term ‘prostitute’. In contemporary clerical thought, for a woman to fail to give an appearance of modesty, let alone for her to engage in sexual activity outside the bonds of marriage, meant she was considered a prostitute.<sup>49</sup>

The application of the term to such a broad pattern of behaviour meant that canonists found it very difficult to define prostitution. A letter by Jerome (ca. 342–420) contained the definition that ‘a whore is one who lies open to the lust of many men’. In the same letter Jerome clarifies this by saying that ‘a woman who has been abandoned by many lovers is not a prostitute.’<sup>50</sup> It was the first formulation that was to be used by Gratian for his widely distributed *Decretum* (ca. 1140).<sup>51</sup> In other words, the early twelfth-century concept of *prostitutae* was far wider and much more detached from financial exchange than the modern term prostitute. The term was used by Church reformers to refer to priests’ wives, women who would have considered themselves entirely respectable. Given this context, it seems reasonable to understand Guibert’s *prostitutae mulieres* as unattached women—his sense of proper place being offended in a manner similar to his attitude towards runaway monks—rather than their literally being ‘prostitutes’. In the period of the First Crusade these women were *prostitutae* only in the sense that they were unmarried and as such a cause for concern, particularly to

<sup>48</sup> AA iii.57 (228).

<sup>49</sup> As summarised in J. A. Brundage, *Sex, Law and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993) I, 378.

<sup>50</sup> Jerome, *Epistula*, 64.7, *PL* 22, col. 611: *Meretrix, quae multorum libidini patet*; col. 612: *Non meretricem, quae multis exposita est amatoribus*.

<sup>51</sup> Gratian, *Decretum*, C.XVI. See J. A. Brundage, *Sex, Law and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, XIV, 827.

the clergy who were anxious at the potential social disorder they might cause and the contamination of the purity of the pilgrimage.

A further piece of direct evidence for the presence of large numbers of unmarried women on the crusade, an excerpt from the chronicle of Bernold of St Blaisen (Constance), sheds more light on the issue:

At this time a very great multitude from Italy and from all France and Germany began to go to Jerusalem against the pagans in order that they might liberate the Christians. The Lord Pope was the principal founder of this expedition... an innumerable multitude of poor people leapt at that journey too simple-mindedly and they neither knew nor were able in any way to prepare themselves for such danger... It was not surprising that they could not complete the proposed journey to Jerusalem because they did not begin that journey with such humility and piety as they ought. For they had very many apostates in their company who had cast off their monastic habits and intended to fight. But they were not afraid to have with them innumerable women who had criminally changed their natural clothing to masculine clothing with whom they committed fornication, by doing which they offended God remarkably just as had also the people of Israel in former times and therefore at length, after many labours, dangers and death, since they were not permitted to enter Hungary they began to return home with great sadness having achieved nothing.<sup>52</sup>

The importance of Bernold's work is that it is the most contemporary eyewitness account of the setting forth of the Crusade. He did not wait for the end of the year to write up his chronicle and therefore it is particularly valuable in recording the immediate response to events. It is notable that he shared with Guibert of Nogent and Albert of Aachen a sense that women leaving their allocated social position were similar to monks casting off their habits. Bernold's description of women dressing as men in order to go on crusade is supported by an entry in the Annals of Disibodenberg which states that news of the expedition

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<sup>52</sup> Bernold of St Blaisen (Constance), *Chronicon*, 1096, pp. 527–9: *His temporibus maxima multitudo de Italia et omni Gallia et Germania Ierosolimam contra paganos, ut liberarent christianos, ire cepit. Cuius expeditionis dominus papa maximus auctor fuit... Nimum tamen simpliciter innumerabilis multitudo popularium illud iter arripuerunt, qui nullomodo se ad tale periculum praeeparare noverunt vel potuerunt... Non erat autem mirum, quod propositum iter ad Ierosolimam explere non potuerent, quia non tali humilitate et devotione, ut deberent, illud iter adorsi sunt. Nam et plures apostatas in comitatu suo habuerunt, qui abiecto religionis habitu cum illis militare proposuerunt. Sed et innumerabiles feminas secum habere non timuerunt, quae naturalem habitum in virilem nefarie mutaverunt, cum quibus fornicati sunt; in quo Deum mirabiliter, sicut et Israeliticus populus quondam offenderunt. Unde post multos labores, pericula et mortes, tandem, cum Ungariam non permitterentur intrare, domum inacte cum magna tristitia ceperunt repedere.*



depopulated 'cities of bishops [and] villages of dwellers. And not only men and youths but even the greatest number of women undertook the journey. Wonderful indeed was the spirit of that time in order that people should be urged on to this journey. For women in this expedition were going forth in manly dress and they marched armed.'<sup>53</sup>

It is possible to see women taking men's clothing as a form of protection for their journey. Their action could also be a form a social statement, indicating a desire to be considered pilgrims. Both ideas are present in a twelfth century saint's life, that of St Hildegund, who is disguised by her father, a knight, during their travels on crusade to Jerusalem and who retains her garb to become a famous monk whose secret is only revealed upon her death.<sup>54</sup>

The prescriptions against women wearing men's clothes would have been well known at the time of the First Crusade, for example that in Burchard of Worms' widely disseminated *Decretum*: 'if a woman changes her clothes and puts on manly garb for the customary female clothes, for the sake, as it is thought, of chastity, let her be anathema.'<sup>55</sup> Guibert of Nogent also told an interesting story in his autobiography in which men and women overcame their fear and distaste of cross-dressing in order to disguise themselves for an escape.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, by this time there was an almost respectable tradition of pious women disguising themselves as men to escape persecution or to live like monks, for example, Pelagia, Thecla, Anastasia, Dorothea, Eugenia, Euphrosyne, Marina and Theodora.<sup>57</sup> Whether these tales had any influence over the cross-dressing crusaders is entirely speculative, but it is possible to draw at least one unambiguous conclusion from the description in Bernold and the Annals of Disibodenberg, which is that these women did not

<sup>53</sup> *Annales S. Disibodi*, MGH SS 17, 16: *regna rectoribus, urbes pastoribus, vici vastantur habitatoribus; et non tantum viri et pueri, sed etiam mulieres quam plurimae hoc iter sunt aggressae. Mirabilis enim spiritus illius temporis homines impulit ad hoc iter aggrediendum. Nam feminae in hanc expeditionem exeuntes virili utebantur habitu et armatae incedebant.*

<sup>54</sup> A. Butler, *Butler's Lives of the Saints, April* (London, 1999), pp. 141–2. See also V. L. Bullough and B. Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex and Gender* (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 54.

<sup>55</sup> Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, VIII.60, PL 140, col. 805A: *Si qua mulier propter continentiam quae putatur, habitum mutat, et pro solito muliebri amictu virilem sumit, anathema sit.*

<sup>56</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, III.9.

<sup>57</sup> D. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1997), p. 396 (Pelagia), p. 462 (Thecla). J. Coulson ed., *The Saints—a concise biographical dictionary* (London, 1958), p. 28 (Anastasia), p. 160 (Eugenia), p. 177 (Euphrosyne), p. 300 (Marina), p. 428 (Theodora). See also V. L. Bullough and B. Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex and Gender*, p. 51.

attach themselves to the movement as prostitutes: male attire and the bearing of arms being completely inappropriate for such a role.

Insofar as historians have considered the role of women on the First Crusade they have tended to make the assumption that the majority of women were associated with the movement as camp followers, prostitutes. A closer examination of the evidence suggests that this is an error and that the thousands of women who went on the crusade—to find a promised land, or to get away from the towns in which many of them had been abandoned—did so as participants, as pilgrims.



## CONCLUSION

The social structure of the First Crusade shown diagrammatically would resemble a diamond sitting on a flattened base.

Even though no Christian who participated in the journey remained a slave, or even a serf, non-Christians captives were enslaved during the course of the expedition, usually for sale, such as those whom Bohemond spared at the fall of Ma'arra,<sup>1</sup> but some, at least, were present at Jerusalem and made to work on the siege towers.<sup>2</sup> These, a few hundred people perhaps, were the very bottom of the social hierarchy: they were human chattel.

The *pauperes*, discussed in Chapter Three in their various and heterogeneous character, formed the next social layer and were a substantial part of the crusading army. They were possibly the largest *ordo* present on the crusade, the swelling of their ranks with respect to the footsoldiers during the siege of Antioch led Walter Porges to see them even as becoming the overwhelming majority of those present at the siege.<sup>3</sup>

Above the poor were a sizeable body of the middle ranks; defined above all by the fact they fought on foot. Associated with the footsoldiers proper were also sailors who fought and provided garrisons for towns, siege engineers and those free farmers wealthy enough to provide themselves with weapons.

Higher still were the knights, who, as discussed in Chapter Five, were not entirely distinct from the social groupings below them and were acutely sensitive to the possibility that they might fall to the ranks of the footsoldiers. Nonetheless, on the whole the *milites* were of a much higher social status than those on foot and were present in much fewer numbers.

Above the knights, indeed, a long way above them, were the magnates, the counts and dukes of territories. These were the lords, as

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<sup>1</sup> GF 80.

<sup>2</sup> RA 332–3 (297).

<sup>3</sup> W. Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade,' *Speculum* 21 (1946), pp. 1–21, here p. 4.

Guibert of Nogent put it, of between one and four castles.<sup>4</sup> If the top of diamond narrows abruptly between the knights and the magnates, it does so even more so for the jump between the magnates and those at the top of the structure, a handful of princes.

Is it possible to put figures into the diagram? Not without considerable speculation, even with regard to the princes. With Adhémar dying, Stephen of Blois and Tatikios leaving and with Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred rising in prominence, even that very small body at the apex of the movement was fluid and evolving. But, for the sake of offering at least a rough sense of proportion between the various social groupings, an estimate will be offered here.

The most thorough discussion of the number of combatants on the First Crusade is that offered by John France and this study cannot improve on his painstaking assembly of the relevant data and the plausible manner in which it assessed.<sup>5</sup> At its height, gathered together at Nicea, John France estimates the Christian army to have been composed of some 50,000 combatants, of whom 7,000 were knights.<sup>6</sup> Using these figures as a guide, the overall composition of the crusade would have, very approximately, been as follows. Nine princes, 200 magnates, 7,000 knights, 40,000 footsoldiers, and 40,000 *pauperes*.

This overall figure of around 90,000 people differs from France's estimate of 50–60,000 inclusive of non-combatants and it is at the high end of estimates by other modern historians, even though most have revised upwards the estimate in Steven Runciman's discussion of the subject, that there were 4200 to 4500 cavalry and 30,000 infantry.<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Phillips offers the figure of 60,000, although somewhat confusingly these are divided between 6,000 knights and the rest 'servants, pilgrims and hangers-on.' In other words, the footsoldiers are absent.<sup>8</sup> Peter Lock echoes the figure of 60,000 without breaking it down further beyond a comment that of these 6–7,000 were knights.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Asbridge's estimate is 75,000, and, assuming his figure of 5,000 for footsoldiers is a misprint for 50,000, this implies that his estimate for the non-combatants is about 18,000 as he estimated the number of knights

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<sup>4</sup> GN 133.

<sup>5</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 122–142.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 (fifth edition: London, 1991), I, 339.

<sup>8</sup> J. Phillips, *The Crusades 1095–1197* (London, 2002), p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> P. Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (Abingdon, 2006), p. 140.

as 7–7,500.<sup>10</sup> The most original approach to this issue has been that of Jean Flori, who approached the subject with an interesting analysis of the vocabulary of number in the crusading sources, to try and discern between their use of biblical and classical numerical conventions and genuine estimates. By contrast with the cautious figures of the English historians, Flori arrives at figure of 120,000.<sup>11</sup>

The huge variation of the various estimates is a fair reflection of the difficulty of the sources in regard to the reporting of numbers and this study claims no great authority on the matter. It does seem inconsistent of France, though, to assess the number of combatants of the First Crusade at 50,000, yet the overall number, including non-combatants, at 50–60,000. The discussion in Chapter Three shows that when the People's Crusade departed and, indeed, the various contingents of the princes, the movement had something of a mass emigratory character. The People's Crusade was overwhelmingly made up of *pauperes*, but they were also present in substantial numbers among those marching with the princes. Even after the destruction of the People's Crusade, thousands of survivors (and later, returned prisoners) joined up with the united army. That is why it seems reasonable to push the overall figure for the expedition to the higher one of 90,000 by including some 40,000 non-combatants with the 50,000 soldiers.

While estimating the numbers present on the First Crusade is extremely difficult, analysing the social structure of the movement is a much more achievable task, thanks to the richness of the sources. The crusade had a common goal and a common theology. But it within that, it was riven into different social groupings, whose outlook varied considerably. The princes strove with each other and with the rest of the crusade to establish a dominant position of leadership; the magnates to become princes; the *iuvenes* to prove their worth as magnates deserving of praise and glory. For the knight, what mattered was to find a lord who could provide the payments that could keep them mounted and armed, in other words to secure their status above the footsoldiers. For the latter, and even more for the *pauperes* below them, the priority was simply survival. But to achieve that basic goal necessitated political activity by the commoners. They had to insist upon a proper share of the captured booty and they had to stop the magnates

<sup>10</sup> T. Asbridge, *The First Crusade* (London, 2004), p. 122.

<sup>11</sup> J. Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la Première Croisade* (Paris, 1999), pp. 425–458.

abandoning them in the face of the arrival of Kerbogha's army. If the commoners had been entirely passive during the crusade, they would have suffered starvation, massacre and enslavement on an even greater scale than that which they experienced. Moreover, the expedition as a whole may have had quite a different outcome, either in a victory by Kerbogha over a demoralised and disintegrating army, or in a failure of the Christian army to continue on to Jerusalem.

The First Crusade should be understood as having a vibrant internal dynamic between all its component social groupings. In this regard it was not just the papal leadership and the spiritual beliefs of the participants that set the expedition apart from all other medieval armies: unlike a conventional medieval army, the First Crusade was something of a slice of European society on the march.

The social structure of the First Crusade presented here places a great deal of emphasis on the internal dynamics of the expedition. The implications of this for a narrative of events are probably made most explicit in Chapter Four. And while this study is primarily concerned to establish an understanding of the basic social structure of the Crusade, it also has something to offer with regard to the much-debated question of the motivation of those who participated in the First Crusade.

In popular culture, certainly in the Muslim world, but even in the West, the crusades are largely viewed as disreputable adventures in which, under the guise of piety, Christian knights slaughtered and plundered their way through the lands of non-Christians and heretics. This was essentially the view of the crusades created by enlightenment historians, especially Voltaire, Gibbon and Hume. For these authors the crusades were useless expeditions, organised by popes and the Catholic Church to satisfy an instinct for domination. They were cruel displays of fanaticism whose achievements were performed by strength, described by ignorance. Gibbon considered it absurd that 'six succeeding generations should have rushed headlong down the precipice that was open before them; and that men of every condition should have staked their public and private fortunes on the desperate adventure of possessing or recovering a tombstone two thousand miles from their country.'<sup>12</sup>

A consensus that the crusades were a negative phenomena lasted until the 1960s, with Steven Runciman concluding his famous work on the

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<sup>12</sup> E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 (Everyman's Library reprint: London, 1994), p. 116.

subject with the summation that 'in the long sequence of interaction and fusion between Orient and Occident, out of which our civilization has grown, the crusades were a tragic and destructive episode. High ideals were besmirched by cruelty and greed, enterprise and endurance by a blind and narrow self righteousness, and the Holy War itself was nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God.'<sup>13</sup>

This consensus has broken down. Many of the dominant writers in the field and the most prominent members of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East now hold to what is, essentially, a positive view of the crusades. Famously, it has been argued that crusading should be seen as 'an act of love.'<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, the author of this formulation and Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge University is quite open about the fact he is writing from a Christian, indeed Catholic, perspective. He is a member of two religious orders that have their roots in the crusading era, being a Knight of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta and of the Most Venerable Order of St John. He is the standard bearer for a certain group of Western historians, for whom the crusades are to be seen in a favourable light.

What Jonathan Riley-Smith and his students have brought to the motivation debate is new source material and in historical debate such material is decisive. Upon leaving for the crusade, very many property owners made substantial donations to the church, in return for ready coin with which to finance their involvement on the expedition. These transactions were recorded and churches and monasteries preserved the charters throughout the centuries, being ever diligent on such matters.

Methodologically, the inclusion of such charters in a discussion of the First Crusade is unfaultable; the database created as a result of research into donation charters is extremely valuable. By the mid 1990s, for the period 1095–1131, it comprised 549 men and women who definitely took the cross, 110 who probably did so, and 132 who might have become crusaders.<sup>15</sup> Insofar as such a database helps reveal the geographical and familial networks of the nobles who participated

<sup>13</sup> S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 (fifth edition: London, 1991), III, 480.

<sup>14</sup> J. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love' in T. F. Madden ed., *The Crusades*, (Oxford, 2002), p. 38.

<sup>15</sup> M. Bull and N. Housley ed., *The Experience of Crusading 1: Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 7.



in the First Crusade, charter evidence is a welcome addition to the crusading sources. But their use as the key evidence in refuting the popular notion that crusaders were greedy knights, who cloaked their desire for booty in a pretended piety, is problematic.

Essentially, the argument in favour of seeing the motivation of the crusaders as primarily spiritual consists of three observations based on the charter evidence. Firstly, the cost of going on the crusade was shown to be extremely high; four times a knight's annual income.<sup>16</sup> The enterprise was not 'cost effective'. Secondly, the proportion of second sons going on the crusade was demonstrably low. Therefore the theory that those who had no other prospects were the main driving force behind the crusade was rejected. Thirdly, the charters are consistent in expressing a deep concern for the salvation of their soul and a love of Christ. The core of the 'act of love' position rests on the point that, in the absence of material motivations, the professed piety of the first crusaders must be considered to be the best guide to their outlook. Those who set forth on the First Crusade did so out of love of Christ and their neighbour.

So powerful was this argument, presented above all in Jonathan Riley-Smith's *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (1997), that it gathered a seemingly irresistible momentum, to the point where alternative perspectives have been swept aside. Not only have the notions of 'profit' and 'second sons' been considered to have been refuted, but so too the sophisticated and strongly sourced arguments of Carl Erdmann and George Duby. Carl Erdmann saw the First Crusade as an evolving from new notions of knightly vocation developed by the papal reformers of the eleventh century, in particular by Pope Gregory VII.<sup>17</sup> George Duby's contention, not necessarily in contradiction to Erdmann, was that the great popular peace movements of the eleventh century formed the most important context for the launching of the First Crusade. Both these theories have important implications for the motivations of the First Crusader and, to a certain degree, both are uncomfortable for the school of thought that emphasises piety. The first, because it places an emphasis on the political, rather than spiritual, goals of the papacy and its followers; the second because of its portrayal of the knightly class

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<sup>16</sup> J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), p. 43.

<sup>17</sup> C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), *passim*.

of France as coming into conflict with the Church for their turbulent, exploitative and unruly behaviour.

The divergence between Erdmann, Duby and the Riley-Smith school is a relatively subtle one that will not be developed further here. Rather, it is necessary to address the core argument: is the 'act of love' contention with regard to the motivation of the First Crusaders as strong as its popularity at the time of writing would suggest?

One obvious point that seems to have been lost in the debate, is that any discussion based upon the charters of departing crusaders can only concern a small minority of those who participated. Whilst the knights formed the key fighting forces of the expedition and their military role was out of all proportion to their numbers, it is important to remember that they formed a relatively small part of the whole expedition. The others on the First Crusade—the footsoldiers, artisans, former peasants and townspeople, women and clergy—made up the overwhelming majority of the army. To discuss the motives of those knights who made donations to the church before departing, therefore, is not the same thing as discussing the motives of the majority of crusaders. What was the outcast woman thinking, who having been renounced by her husband in the name of clerical reform, attached herself to the crusade through the following of Peter the Hermit? What interpretation was put on the crusading message by the farmer who despaired of managing his land following a year of famine and the death of his relatives by plague? Or the serf, against the will of her owner, who ran away to join the expedition? Can the donation charters of departing nobles speak for them?

Moreover, even for those who did append their names to donation charters, it cannot be assumed that the spiritual outlook documented was theirs. Jean Flori has drawn attention that these charters invariably contain statements that are legal formula belonging to a tradition that predates the crusades by several centuries. The emphasis of the charter documents is generally on the act of donation being meritorious, not the fact that the knight was departing on crusade. Furthermore, as Flori puts it, 'the need for money and support of all kinds would have led some crusaders to allow themselves to be depicted as repenting and penitent.'<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> J. Flori, 'Ideology and Motivations in the First Crusade' in H. Nicholson ed., *The Crusades* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 15–36, here p. 21.

There is a methodological weakness in the first strand of the argument, that based on cost-effectiveness. Suppose future historians were to debate the US and UK-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 and ask whether the motives of those involved were self-interested or not. A short-term cost-benefit analysis would clearly point away from avariciousness as the motive. The enormous outlay of expenditure on the invasion will not be regained by those states in the foreseeable future, if at all. Should the future historians therefore conclude that the ostensible, documented, reasons for the invasion therefore be taken at face value? That those who initiated the invasion sincerely believed that it was a matter of urgency to deprive Saddam Hussein of weapons of mass destruction? Or would these future historians be better advised to look at a variety of pressures on those who launched the war, to try to build up a more complex picture that included the state of domestic political affairs and the strategic importance of oil resources.

The point of this analogy is not in any way to cast the nobles of the First Crusade as some kind of imperialist force. It is a methodological one. To rule out immediate financial gain as a motive for war, does not rule out other material and strategic considerations. In the case of the First Crusade, to add up the costs incurred by those knights who went on the expedition and compare it to the booty they returned with does not tell us a great deal about their motives on setting out. It does not even rule out the possibility that knights did anticipate considerable material reward, but that most of them were disappointed. Nor can the cost-benefit approach take into account the unquantifiable value to a knight's reputation of having been a crusader. What historians can see, however, is the reverse: opprobrium heaped on those who abandoned the crusade. A generation after the event those writing about the First Crusade were well aware of the 'rope-dancers', the scathing nickname for those knights who let themselves down from the walls of Antioch at a time when it looked like the expedition was doomed.<sup>19</sup> In an era where a reputation played an important political role in the manoeuvres of the nobility, self-interest may have played a part in the thinking of the first crusaders, not necessarily in the form of their anticipating a return laden with booty, so much as the prospect of glory and the approval of the church.

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<sup>19</sup> AC xi.6 (348); OV 6, 18.

In any case, not all modern historians have given up the thought that considerations of plunder might well have made up part of the attraction of the crusade for the nobility. So, for example, John France has seen the First Crusade as offering ‘something for everyone—salvation, cash, land, status.’<sup>20</sup> After pointing out that one of the leading crusader princes, Tancred, treated the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem as a mere prize of war, France concluded ‘the lure of booty, the hope perhaps of land or position in the exotic east, personal or institutional advantage, a whole spectrum of motives drove men to the east.’<sup>21</sup> He pointed out that piety and material aspirations are not mutually exclusive with a very convincing example. Famously, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* reported the rallying cry of Bohemond at the battle of Dorylaeum, 1 July 1097: ‘stand fast all together, trusting in Christ and in the victory of the Holy Cross. Today, please God, you will all gain much booty.’<sup>22</sup>

The cost-effectiveness argument also ignores evidence that not all departing crusaders financed themselves in a suitably pious manner: that of making a donation to the church. Some used the opportunity provided by the expedition to raise funds by increasing local levels of exploitation. At the peak of the social structure there is the example of Duke Robert II of Normandy who mortgaged his duchy to his brother, King William II of England. The ten thousand silver marks were raised from the English population by a harsh and much resented tax.<sup>23</sup> Guibert of Nogent, an eyewitness, provided evidence that at a more lowly level the departure of knights on crusade could be paid for by fierce extractions from the poor. William Carpenter, one of the knights active in the People’s Crusade who eventually abandoned the expedition at Antioch, plundered from the *pauperes* of his region to obtain his provisions for departure.<sup>24</sup> Guibert also wrote about other unnamed knights from France, who before setting out on the expedition had been fighting unjustly and were creating poverty by their

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<sup>20</sup> J. France and W. G. Zajac ed., *The Crusades and their sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot, 1998), p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> J. France, *Victory in the East. A military history of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 16.

<sup>22</sup> GF 19–20.

<sup>23</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. Michael Swanton (London, 2000), p. 233.

<sup>24</sup> GN 178–9.

criminal plundering.<sup>25</sup> The cost-benefit argument does not apply to such figures. Their departure for Jerusalem cost them nothing of their own resources. By going on crusade these knights were simply transferring their depredations from the local peasantry to those they encountered en route.

There were another body of crusaders, outside the knightly class, to whom it is worth turning in any discussion of the economic gains and losses of the First Crusade. By the end of the eleventh century a growing social milieu was beginning to assert itself in parts of Europe: the urban manufacturer and merchant. In France, Germany and Italy, a number of major towns had formed communes and in some instances fought for control of the town against the previous, often clerical, authorities. Notable examples were the effort of the citizens of Worms to throw off the rule of their bishop in 1073, and the less successful attempt the following year in Cologne.<sup>26</sup> In Italy, a number of cities were beginning to emerge as independent powers; importantly for the history of the First Crusade, Genoa was already organising itself into a commune in 1052 and by 1095 was governed by elected consuls. Sources nearly contemporary with the First Crusade noticed the *consules* of Genoa as the leading figures of city.<sup>27</sup> The significance of this development for the motivation of the first crusaders has not yet been explored in depth, but Abram Leon, who during the course of his classic work *The Jewish Question* observed that the crusades were the expression of the will of city merchants to carve a road to the Orient, has pointed to a potentially very fertile line of investigation.<sup>28</sup>

Working very firmly within the 'act of love' framework, a former pupil of Jonathan Riley-Smith, Christopher Marshall, has examined the question of the motivation of the Italian city republics with regard to crusading. Marshall drew the conclusion that since the speech of the bishops of Grenoble and Orange to the citizens of Genoa (1097) to encourage them to participate in the First Crusade made no mention of material gain 'it is therefore safe to assume that the recorded Genoese response reflected their religious fervour.'<sup>29</sup> Marshall examined the

<sup>25</sup> GN 179.

<sup>26</sup> For the context of these revolts see Robinson 1999, pp. 93–4.

<sup>27</sup> CA I, 5; FC II.viii.2 (396–7).

<sup>28</sup> A. Leon, *The Jewish Question* (New York, 1970), p. 138.

<sup>29</sup> C. Marshall, 'The crusading motivation of the Italian city republics in the Latin East, 1096–1104, in M. Bull and N. Housley eds., *The Experience of Crusading I: Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 60–79, here p. 67.

sources for the First Crusade to show that many contemporary authors treated the Genoese fleet as fellow crusaders. But no one, even the crudest advocate of the 'booty' position, would expect eleventh century sources to do otherwise. The point here, as with the argument about motivation in general, is to ask whether there were contemporary social and economic trends which would contribute to an enthusiasm, sincere or otherwise, for the First Crusade among the *consules* of Genoa? In other words, whatever the formulations of the preaching by the Bishops, was the city predisposed to support the crusade? If the sailors of the commune were acting out of a love of Christ that was detached from the strategic benefits that accrued to their city through controlling a greater share of trade to and from the east, then why, with the pilgrimage complete, did they insist upon trading privileges in return for their assistance for the newly founded Principality of Antioch and Kingdom of Jerusalem?<sup>30</sup>

When, in 1101, a fleet from Genoa made a convention with King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, the agreement is another good illustration of how contemporaries had no difficulty combining their religious beliefs with their own material interests. The treaty was made, reported Fulcher, with the consuls of the fleet. If, out of the love of God and with His assistance, they and the king could take any of the cities of the Saracens, a third of the wealth of the inhabitants would go to the Genoese, the other two thirds to the king. Additionally, a section in each captured city would be given to the Genoese in perpetuity.<sup>31</sup> This agreement became a standard one for relations between Italian cities and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, leading to considerable long-term benefit for the cities. Is it plausible to deny that the prospect of such arrangements formed part of the considerations of the Italian republics when they heard and accepted the crusading message?

The second strand of the idealist argument, the refutation of the 'second son' contention, is much stronger, as the evidence of the charters does not provide evidence for it being the younger sons of noble families who departed on the First Crusade. Not all modern historians, however, have dismissed the contention as being a consideration for some crusaders. H. E. Mayer, for example, has cited the case of the Mâconnais family of La Hongre, which successfully avoided the fragmentation of their allodial wealth through the participation of two males

<sup>30</sup> H. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae* pp. 155–6; FC II.viii.2 (396–7).

<sup>31</sup> FC II.viii.2 (396–7).

in the First Crusade and one in the Second Crusade.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that the numbers of noble crusaders who had nothing to lose and everything to gain from the expedition was nothing like the size portrayed in the nineteenth century sources. The 'act of love' school of thought therefore concludes that the crusading image of the spirited young warrior, more interested in fame and glory than the salvation of their soul, is a fictional one. They have consistently overlooked, however, the significant presence of those knights who were described as *iuvenes* and the pattern of behaviour they displayed which earned them such an epithet.

Chapter Six of this work draws attention to a number of these magnates, not always young in age, who were described by the early crusading sources as *iuvenes*.<sup>33</sup> These warriors were brave, but extremely violent. They sought glory in battle, slaughtered both combatants and civilians and revelled in displays of their riding ability. Their motivation for joining the crusade was not strictly material, in the sense of a search for land and booty. But there was nevertheless a structural consideration at work in their behaviour. Georges Duby explored the position of the unmarried sons of the magnates of a slightly later era and he drew attention to the way that bands of 'youths' would draw together to fight in tournaments and in the wars of their elders, in order to win fame, followers and if possible, the biggest prize of all, an heiress whose lands would allow them to become magnates in their own right.<sup>34</sup>

The violence of these bands of knights in search of the opportunity to prove their military prowess was destabilising and more than one clerical author breathed a sigh of relief that the destructive energy of the knightly order had been deflected by the idea of crusading onto an external non-Christian enemy.<sup>35</sup> For the *iuvenes* who took the cross, they not only had the opportunity to earn salvation without having to give up their customary military lifestyle: but they could advance their fame while simultaneously winning the approval of the church. One

<sup>32</sup> H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (seventh edition: Oxford, 1993), p. 24.

<sup>33</sup> AA ii.23 (100).

<sup>34</sup> 'Les "jeunes" dans la société aristocratique dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle,' *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 19 (5), 1964, pp. 835–846. Reprinted in Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan, University of California Press (Berkeley, 1977). Also G. Duby, *William Marshal—The Flower of Chivalry*, trans. R. Howard (London, 1986), *passim*.

<sup>35</sup> GN 87; RM 748.

of the results of the investigation in this book then, is to put back into an understanding of the mentality of those participating in the First Crusade the presence of the worldly and ambitious knight, having reinterpreted their behaviour as arising out of their particular social situation rather than it being a simple reflection of a desire for booty or the 'second son' syndrome.

Overall, the motivation of those on the First Crusade was as heterogeneous as the various social classes who took part. Not only did the balance between spiritual and material considerations vary considerably from social group to social group, within each stratum could be found figures displaying considerable devotion to the spiritual goals of the expedition and those of a more cynical disposition. And no doubt there were those whose outlook changed during the course of the expedition.

Methodologically, the school of crusading historiography that is currently dominant in the Western world can appropriately be termed 'idealist': as a result of its philosophical approach, its attribution of pious ideals to early crusaders and a quite conscious rejection of materialism. Marcus Bull has written the following explanation of why historians with a Marxist background have been incapable of analysing the crusades: 'there is no serious Marxist interpretation of the crusade and its motivations—perhaps because problems of human agency obtrude a little too disconcertingly when large numbers of people consciously engage in something that on the surface appears so eccentric in relation to the broad trends of social change. Perhaps, too, because the "poor" are seldom more than a shadowy presence in the dynamics of a crusade, cultural Marxist analysis is a lost cause.'<sup>36</sup>

Bull's portrayal of the methodology of Marxist historical writings here seems rather narrow. If everybody's behaviour always conformed to the broad trends of social change, there would be no political conflict. Human history would be very simple, smooth and mechanical. There certainly are historical works in the Marxist tradition that reduce the complexities of a historical phenomenon to overly crude economic generalisations. But equally, it is often the subtle dynamics and peculiarities of certain periods of history that has stimulated the

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<sup>36</sup> M. Bull, 'Muslims and Jerusalem in miracle stories,' in Marcus Bull and Norman Housley eds., *The Experience of Crusading 1: Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 13–38, here p. 18.



more important investigations in the Marxist tradition, not least those of Marx himself. For example, Marx's study of Louis Bonaparte is an appraisal of the colourful events of 1848–52 in France, many of which seemed extremely eccentric in relationship to the broad trends of social change, but which still leant themselves to an analysis rooted in an assessment of the material position of the various classes of the era.<sup>37</sup>

Moreover, Bull's assertion about the 'poor' is exaggerated. It has been shown here that for the First Crusade at least, *pauperes* played a significant and notable role in the dynamics of the movement. The statement about the 'poor' also indicates that for Bull, a Marxist approach is one that focuses narrowly on the lower social orders. In most Marxist historical works, however, while the writers are indeed often interested in the classes at the bottom of society, their studies are typically attempts to understand the totality of a particular historical phenomenon.

For Norman Housely, the absence of a materialist tradition of analysis with regard to the crusades is something to be regretted, but even if it did exist, it would probably not lead to a challenge to the current consensus. 'It is unlikely that the emphasis placed by recent research on devotional motivations will be overturned and that a materialist interpretation will be put forward with authority. This is not because it is inherently misguided to explain crusading in materialist terms... rather, it is because the devotional motivations that have been put forward are both appropriately nuanced and firmly embedded in broader contexts, cultural as well as economic and social.'<sup>38</sup>

It is regrettable that the great medievalists best equipped to put forward a materialist interpretation of the crusades, figures such as Georges Duby or Rodney Hilton, never did so. Regrettable, because approaching the subject with an interest in social dynamics unlocks a great deal of unappreciated content in the source material. There is a rich, stimulating, wealth of information to be studied from such a perspective. Looking at the sources with an eye for what they reveal about social structure can bring a fresh approach to old debates, even ones that seemed to have been resolved, and stimulate new ones, to the benefit of all those interested in the crusades. Hopefully, the value of such an approach is evident in this study.

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<sup>37</sup> K. Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works* (London, 1979) XI, 99–197.

<sup>38</sup> N. Housely, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006), p. 79.

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