

**REMEMBERING THE FIRST CRUSADE:  
LATIN NARRATIVE HISTORIES 1099-c.1300**

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PhD Thesis

## DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Barbara Packard, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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## ABSTRACT

The success of the First Crusade by the Christian armies caught the interest and arrested the imagination of contemporaries, stimulating the production of a large number of historical narratives. Four eyewitness accounts, as well as letters written by the crusaders to the West, were taken up by later authors, re-worked and re-fashioned into new narratives; a process which continued throughout the twelfth century and beyond. This thesis sets out to explore why contemporaries continued to write about the First Crusade in light of medieval attitudes towards the past, how authors constructed their narratives and how the crusade and the crusaders were remembered throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It will analyse the development in the way the First Crusade was recorded and investigate the social, religious, intellectual and political influences dictating change: How, why and under what circumstances was the story re-told? What changed in the re-telling? What ideas and concepts were the authors trying to communicate and what was their meaning for contemporaries? The thesis will also aim to place these texts not only in their historical but also in their literary contexts, analyse the literary traditions from which authors were writing, and consider the impact the crusade had on medieval literature. The focus will be on Latin histories of the First Crusade, especially those written in England and France, which produced the greatest number of narratives. Those written in the Levant, the subject of these histories, will also be discussed, as well as texts written in the Empire and in Italy.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Autour de la première croisade</i>	<i>Autour de la première croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995), ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996).</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Geschichtsquellen</i>	<i>Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und des Freistaat Anhalt, Urkunden des Erzstifts Magdeburg Teil 1, ed. F. Israël and W. Möllenburg (Magdeburg, 1937).</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores</i>
<i>RHC Occ</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1844-95), 5 vols.</i>
<i>RHGF</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. M. Bouquet and L. Delisle (Paris, 1869-1904), 24 vols.</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

## INTRODUCTION

The chapters of my thesis trace in chronological form the memory of the First Crusade. This thesis sets out to explore why contemporaries continued to write about the First Crusade and how the crusade and crusaders were remembered throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It analyses the development of the way the First Crusade was recorded and investigates the social, religious, intellectual and political influences dictating change. It aims also to place these works in both their historical and their literary contexts. Studies on literature naturally raise the question of audience and the reception of texts, issues that are discussed in conjunction with the influences of culture and identity. The main themes emerging from this study are: the impact of developing theological ideas; the evolving literary traditions from which authors drew inspiration and constructed their texts; the purpose of these works and their intended recipients; the culture of authors and audience; and the ways in which these writers' perception and construction of identity affected their work. By identity I mean the way in which chroniclers understood and characterised themselves and their society, and distinguished it from others.

The first chapter analyses texts written between 1099 and *c.*1135; this short period saw the production of almost half of the narratives under consideration here, most of which were of considerable length. The first chapter therefore makes up a major part of the thesis. Although displaying significant differences between themselves, the texts up to *c.*1135 shared certain traits such as concern for legitimacy - both regarding the work itself and the idea of the crusade - and a search for an identity for the crusading host. The development of theological ideas in connection with the crusade became more firmly established by the 1130's, which also suggests it was logical to view the texts up to this date as a group, albeit a large one. As we move further in time from the First Crusade the narratives become fewer in number and shorter in length and my chapters are necessarily more concise. The second chapter discusses changes in the way the First Crusade was remembered between *c.*1135 and 1200. Crusade narratives are placed in the wider context of medieval literature and analysed in light of the effect that other literary works had on the production of these texts. Furthermore, the impact of the crusade on other contemporary literature, such as hagiographical works, is

considered. This chapter also traces the development and creation of the lay leaders of the crusade into heroes. Chapter 3 considers the development of narratives from 1200 to 1250. I analyse the ways in which the pontificate of Innocent III and the rise of the mendicant orders changed how the First Crusade was remembered. The impact of the rise of vernacular literature on the Latin histories of the First Crusade, as well as the new interest in ‘travel’ literature, or works describing far away lands, are also explored. In comparison to the first 150 years after the First Crusade, few extant Latin narratives of the First Crusade were written between 1250 to c.1300; the final chapter therefore focuses on the memory of the First Crusade reflected through sermons and in treatises on how to recover the Holy Land.

Within this thesis the terms ‘narrative’, ‘text’, and ‘account’ are used interchangeably to describe the works detailing or referencing the First Crusade during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Literature in this context refers to written works in general, produced in the Middle Ages. The focus here is on histories written in Latin rather than the vernacular. Latin was the dominant literary language for most of the period in question; as the language of the learned, it carried authority and lent authenticity to the work. Most of the earliest narratives of the First Crusade were expressed in Latin. Vernacular texts were gaining popularity, especially by the end of the twelfth century, but being largely of a different genre, these are subjects for a later study. Until the thirteenth century the vernacular was used more for songs and poetry than for works of history. The majority of First Crusade narratives were produced in England and France; France had the greatest involvement in the crusade movement, and England enjoyed great historiographical productivity. Texts from these regions therefore form the core of this study. Attention is also directed at those written works in the Levant, the subject of these histories. Texts produced within the Empire and in Italy, however, are also considered.

In contrast to many aspects of the First Crusade, such as preaching, military events, aims and intentions of the participants and the ideological background, little attention has been given to the ‘post-history’ of this crusade. Given the profound impact of the expedition across western Europe this is surprising. Powell, in a brief article, has considered changes in the way the history of the crusades was being written, but he

concentrated on intended audience and did not discuss the first forty years of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> There have been some recent studies placing selected crusade accounts in their historical contexts, analysing why and for whom they were written, or charting the development of a particular idea expressed within their pages. Notable in these studies is an article by Rubenstein that discusses the provenance of a specific manuscript, MS BNF lat. 14378, containing the histories of Fulcher of Chartres, Walter the Chancellor and Raymond of Aguilers. He considers its recipient and the possible effects of its message.<sup>2</sup> In another article, Rubenstein has also scrutinised the different types of spirituality on the crusade and examined how these shaped the interpretation of the crusade and identity of the participants.<sup>3</sup> Bull has assessed how the construction of these identities was reflected in the texts.<sup>4</sup> Paul has analysed the use of First Crusade narratives as political propaganda in Amboise in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>5</sup> Throop has traced the development of the idea of vengeance in crusade histories.<sup>6</sup> Although not specifically related to crusade texts, Otter has written interesting work on the inclusion of fiction in historical accounts and the value this might have for historians.<sup>7</sup> In a similar vein, Hodgson has analysed the insertion of apparently fictional material into the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* and briefly discussed the impact this might have had on later histories of the First Crusade.<sup>8</sup> However, the focus of most of these works is on crusade histories written in the early twelfth century. Little notice has been taken of narratives of the First Crusade produced in the late twelfth century (with the exception of the history of William of Tyre) and almost none of those produced in the thirteenth century. Although the works of authors such as Jacques de Vitry and Vincent

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<sup>1</sup> J. Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140 – ca.1300', *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 128-140.

<sup>2</sup> J. Rubenstein, 'Putting History to Use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context', *Viator*, vol. 35 (2004), pp. 131-68;

<sup>3</sup> J. Rubenstein, 'Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Gilles: How Carolingian Kingship Trumped Millenarianism at the End of the First Crusade', *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith and Crusade*, ed. M. Gabriele and J. Stuckey (New York, 2008), pp. 59-75.

<sup>4</sup> M. G. Bull, 'Overlapping and Competing Identities in the Frankish First Crusade', *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'Appel à la Croisade: Acts du College à l'Université Internationale à Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 Juin 1995)*, ed. A. Vauchez (Rome, 1997), pp. 195-211.

<sup>5</sup> N. Paul, 'Crusade, Memory and Regional Politics in Twelfth Century Amboise', *JMH*, vol. 31 (2005), pp. 127-141.

<sup>6</sup> S. Throop, 'Vengeance and the Crusades', *Crusades*, vol. 5 (2006), pp. 21-38.

<sup>7</sup> M. Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth Century English Historical Writing* (Chapel Hill, 1996); M. Otter, 'Functions of Fiction in Historical Writing', *Writing Medieval History*, ed. N. Partner (London, 2005), pp. 109-130.

<sup>8</sup> 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. 163-72.



of Beauvais have received considerable attention, their histories of the First Crusade have generally been passed over with little comment. The distance of these authors from the events of the crusade and the largely derivative nature of their narratives has undoubtedly prejudiced modern historians against these texts. However, these authors were not necessarily interested in elucidating the facts of the First Crusade, but had their own truth to tell.

Remembering the past through the production of historical narratives was not purely a commemorative task in the Middle Ages. A text might be written for a number of reasons, ranging from political propaganda to elucidating the glory of God. Orderic Vitalis expressed the opinion that ‘we must write truthfully (*veraciter*) of the world as it is and of human affairs, and a chronicle (*cronographya*) must be composed in praise of the Creator and Just Governor of all things. For the eternal Creator still works without ceasing and marvellously orders all things; and of his glorious acts let each one according to his ability and desire relate what is shown to him from on high (*divinatus inspiratum*).’<sup>9</sup> The text as a physical object likewise fulfilled a number of functions, perhaps garnering prestige for its owner or eliciting awe from a largely illiterate audience.<sup>10</sup> If historical works were able to accommodate such a broad range of purposes, what did the writing of history really mean in the medieval period? History was not a category or a discrete discipline but a subsidiary of rhetoric and grammar. Histories generally followed a chronological organisation and could be characterised by a claim to truthfulness; but ultimately they were relevant to the present, subservient to upholding theories of other disciplines of knowledge.<sup>11</sup> Otto of Freising explained in the prologue to his *Chronica sive duabus civitatibus* that the knowledge of history was beneficial ‘not only for the better protection of the state by arms, but also for its better moulding by laws and statutes.’<sup>12</sup> For Otto, history served the law; for Henry of Huntingdon, moral philosophy: ‘in the recorded deeds of all people and nations, which

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<sup>9</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, (Oxford, 1969-80), vol. 3, pp. 214-15.

<sup>10</sup> The purpose and function of texts will be discussed in more detail in chapter 1.

<sup>11</sup> J. Knappe, ‘*Historia*, Textuality and *Episteme* in the Middle Ages’, *Historia: The Concept and Genres in the Middle Ages*, ed. T. M. S. Lehtonen and P. Mehtonen (Helsinki, 2000), pp. 12, 19, 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Otonis episcopi Frisingensis, Chronica sive duabus civitatibus*, ed A. Hofmeister, *MGH SS* vol. 45 (Hanover, 1912), p. 1; translated as Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities, A Chronicle of Universal History to 1146AD*, trans. C. Mierow, ed. A. P. Evans and C. Knap (New York, 2002), p. 87.

are the very judgements of God, clemency, generosity, honesty, caution and the like, and their opposites, not only provoke men of the spirit to do what is good and deter them from evil, but even encourage worldly men to good deeds and reduce their wickedness. History therefore brings the past into view as though it were present, and allows judgement of the future by representing the past.<sup>13</sup> The past was open to interpretation.

The variety of functions and philosophies of history existing in the medieval period leads also to the question of genre. Is it possible to identify discrete genres within medieval historical writing? Dumville has argued for the use of tighter definitions when referring to annals, chronicles and histories. In tracing the idea of the chronicle from antiquity to the thirteenth century, he has sought to draw attention to the various terminologies used to describe historical time and the distinctions between them.<sup>14</sup> However, Ward has noted the inconsistencies in medieval definitions (taken from classical works) of historical genres, which complicates categorisation of these works. Furthermore, while recognising the distinctions between different types of historical texts, Ward has also pointed to the fluidity between them and the common purpose with which they could be created.<sup>15</sup> Mehtonen has argued, moreover, that medieval authors did not always adhere to the genre they were purporting to write.<sup>16</sup> Mehtonen has drawn attention to the distinctions between *fabula*, *argumentum* and *historia* in the Middle Ages, defining *historia* as an account of actual occurrences written by authors, with *argumentum* and *fabula* both containing fiction and lying in the realm of the poet. However, it is clear, as Mehtonen notes, that these distinctions were not strictly upheld;<sup>17</sup> history could be written in verse - such as the work of Gilo of Paris and his anonymous continuator. Narratives might also be written using prosimetric style, mixing verse and prose. Guibert of Nogent and Ralph of Caen chose this form for their narratives. Authors of histories might also borrow from what could be considered *fabula*

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<sup>13</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), pp. 4-5.

<sup>14</sup> D. Dumville, 'What is a Chronicle?', *The Medieval Chronicle II*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 1-27.

<sup>15</sup> J. Ward, 'Memorializing Dispute Resolution in the Twelfth Century: Annal, History and Chronicle at Vézelay,' *The Medieval Chronicle I*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 269-84.

<sup>16</sup> P. Mehtonen, *Old Concepts and New Poetics: Historia, Argumentum and Fabula in the Twelfth and early Thirteenth Century Latin Poetics of Fiction* (Helsinki, 1996), pp. 6-17, 73-9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 13, 49-56.

to embellish their works.<sup>18</sup> Generally, however, ‘history’ was understood by these authors to be a narrative which, at its core, is true; and we could define ‘narrative’ as a representation transmitted through language.

In the discussion of narrative as a linguistic representation rather than a reflection of events, the problem of ‘truth’ and ‘reality’ arises. However, as noted above, the purpose of these histories was not simply to provide an account of events as they happened; they still had a truth they wished to convey, not necessarily one of facts and figures, but of morality or social or political utility. Spiegel has suggested that texts should be viewed as literary objects, as constructs of the writer, and that the social pressures surrounding the author moulded these works.<sup>19</sup> In the use of literary theory to discover hidden meanings within the texts, as Spiegel advocates, there is a danger of reading too much into it, in seeing symbolism where none, in fact, was intended. Nevertheless, an analysis of the context in which a narrative was created, and the expressions chosen by the author can be useful in tackling the issue of truth in medieval narrative. Stein has argued that specific language could be used to create reality or truth from the point of view of the author. Using the example of an entry in the Hyde chronicle regarding the Norman Conquest, he demonstrated that the chronicler used the language of the calendar and biblical typology to place the battle of Hastings and the coronation of William adjacent to one another, as if they had occurred on consecutive days. Stein pointed out, however, that this amalgamation of several months into two days represented truth and reality in the eyes of the writer; it fitted the author’s historical understanding of the conquest, he was describing the transfer of regimes.<sup>20</sup> These texts may not have adhered to the modern idea of truth as fact, but the truth of the narrative lay in its purpose, whether giving glory to God, providing examples for moral living, or supporting a political patron.

If we recognise that these texts were created in the service of the present in which they were written rather than the past they ostensibly describe, it seems all the

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<sup>18</sup> The inclusion of fiction in historical narratives, and the function of such fictions in the text, will be discussed in more detail in chapter 1.

<sup>19</sup> G. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (London, 1987), pp. 4-6, 9, 12-13, 21-2, 24, 26.

<sup>20</sup> R. Stein, ‘Literary Criticism and the Evidence for History’, *Writing Medieval History*, ed. N. Partner (London, 2005), pp. 68, 72-3, 76.

more appropriate to analyse the social, political and religious contexts in which they were created. A brief outline of recent historiography on this subject will draw attention to methodological and ideological issues arising within this thesis. Spiegel has written of the 'social logic' of the text, exploring both the social influences evident in the text and the influence of the text on the world in which it was devised. She has also proposed an analysis of the linguistic structures and form of texts, and the meanings that they might illuminate.<sup>21</sup> Stein, on the other hand, has argued for the interpretation and meaning given by the reader, and highlighted that the primary context of a work is other equivalent texts.<sup>22</sup> The works of Spiegel and Coleman have also considered the theory and practice of writing history in the Middle Ages, although they have focused on production rather than reception of literary works, with Spiegel using the apparatus of the literary critic in her analysis of texts.<sup>23</sup> Blacker has made a similar study of twelfth century Anglo-Norman texts, and discussed the material from the point of view of the writer and the audience, applying literary criticism as well as reception theory to draw her conclusions.<sup>24</sup> These works point to a trend in recent historiography to place texts in the historical environment in which they were created and to study the texts themselves as a whole. However, much of this historiography has focused on vernacular works produced within a limited geographical sphere. Spiegel, Damien-Grint and Marnette have discussed only Old French texts written in France or England.<sup>25</sup> Blacker has considered a number of Anglo-Norman works in Latin, in conjunction with Old French narratives. However, like Spiegel, she explicitly excluded crusade histories from her analysis, in order to concentrate on a corpus of texts written not only within but also about the Anglo-Norman realm, enabling a focus on contemporary politics and events.<sup>26</sup> Damien-Grint and Marnette have considered crusade narratives, but devoted limited space to Latin historiography.

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<sup>21</sup> Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, pp. 3-28.

<sup>22</sup> Stein, 'Literary Criticism and the Evidence for History', pp. 75-6, 79-80.

<sup>23</sup> Spiegel, *The Past as Text*; *Idem, Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth Century France* (Berkeley, 1993); J. Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, 1992).

<sup>24</sup> J. Blacker, *The Faces of Time: Portrayal of the Past in Old French and Latin Narrative of the Anglo-Norman Regnum* (Austin, 1994).

<sup>25</sup> P. Damien-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1999); S. Marnette, 'Narrateur et point de vue dans les chroniques médiévales: une approche linguistique', *The Medieval Chronicle I*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 174-189.

<sup>26</sup> Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 7-8; Blacker, *The Faces of Time*, pp. xii-xiii.

Recent studies on memory and the production of texts have focused on Latin works, although not directly on crusade histories, and have reviewed the function of the text and possible intentions of the authors. The conclusions drawn by these studies on the process of remembering and recording the past, though limited in geographical scope, can provide informative parallels to the development of the narrative histories of the First Crusade throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The works of van Houts and Waugh have analysed the memory of a particular event and, in the case of the former, the role of gender in that memory. Shopkow (among others) has considered the writing of history for (and by) a particular group of people and what it meant for them.<sup>27</sup> Rider has made a close study of the production - from start to finish - of single text, asking not only why the narrative was written, but also how, and in what way this affected the creation of the text.<sup>28</sup> van Houts has traced the efforts to preserve the memory of the Norman Conquest in England and Normandy throughout the twelfth century, discussing the transference of oral information into writing and the changing perceptions of the conquest in subsequent generations. van Houts, in addition, considered the role of women in remembering the past and argued that women were instrumental in keeping traditions alive in England after the conquest.<sup>29</sup> Waugh has also analysed the memory of the Norman Conquest, but has looked at it through the various lives of Edward the Confessor - in Latin and French - written throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Waugh used this study to discuss what medieval authors understood historical writing to mean, and what they wished to achieve through their texts.<sup>30</sup> Shopkow, also focusing on the Normans, has reviewed the ways Norman historical writing reflected and helped shape the culture it was documenting. Rider, in a slightly different vein, sought to outline the evolution of Galbert of Bruges' *De multro* from its inception as a set of notes on wax tablets to its conclusion as an almost completed work.<sup>31</sup> He detailed Galbert's sources, the organisation of his notes and the steps taken

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<sup>27</sup> L. Shopkow, *History and Community, Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington, 1997).

<sup>28</sup> J. Rider, *God's Scribe: The Historiographical Art of Galbert of Bruges* (Washington, 2001).

<sup>29</sup> E. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe 900-1200* (London, 1999), pp. 123-142.

<sup>30</sup> S. Waugh, 'The Lives of Edward the Confessor and the Meaning of History in the Middle Ages', *The Medieval Chronicle III*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 2004), pp. 200-215.

<sup>31</sup> Rider, *God's Scribe*. Clanchy has also commented on the 'technology of writing' in the context of recording history, but focused on the production of documents - as 'manufactured objects' - rather than the creation of literature: M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd Edition (Oxford, 1993), pp. 114-44.

in the production of the history, and the ideas and theories used by Galbert to understand and express events happening around him. Rider has argued that although the *De multro* is a unique historiographical work, it should be viewed as a work of literature, even a work of art, and read with Galbert's attitudes and intentions in mind.<sup>32</sup> Utilising such studies in comparison with crusade narratives not only helps set these histories in the context of medieval literature, but also aids in the understanding of the process of recording and remembering the past and what it meant for contemporaries.

The works of Spiegel and Blacker have had considerable influence on the analysis and methodology used in this study. This is particularly the case regarding the emphasis on placing historical works in their social contexts, as well as in the examination of the purpose and audience of the narratives. However, less stress has been placed on the use of literary theory and evaluation of language. I have looked at texts both as literary pieces and historiographical works, a practice which Spiegel suggests is something of a contradiction and a methodological problem; it means reading one text as a literary construct in order to ascertain its meanings and using another as a traditional historical source to find the context and to support those meanings.<sup>33</sup> Stein, in focusing on the reading, rather than writing, of texts, has seen less of a problem with this approach. He has argued, moreover, that both the production and the reading of these texts were informed by other texts.<sup>34</sup> In my thesis I have attempted to place the narratives of the First Crusade not only in their social context, but also in the intellectual and literary milieu in which they were created, tracing the emergence and establishment of literary traditions. An analysis of this kind also encourages a re-evaluation of our sources, focusing on the ideas and concepts the authors were attempting to express and their meaning for contemporaries.

The materials I have used to write my thesis are primarily narrative histories of the First Crusade, though I have also employed pilgrim accounts, epitaphs, papal letters and works of art. Several authors used the letters of the crusaders to the West in their texts; Fulcher of Chartres incorporated in his history the letter of the crusade princes to

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<sup>32</sup> Rider, *God's Scribe*, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> G. Spiegel, 'Theory into Practice: Reading Medieval Chronicles', *The Medieval Chronicle I*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 8-10.

<sup>34</sup> Stein, 'Literary Criticism and the Evidence for History', pp. 75-6, 77-80.

Pope Urban II in September 1098 after the capture of Antioch.<sup>35</sup> The anonymous of Fleury and Sigebert of Gembloux used letters as the basis of their texts, and Ekkehard of Aura borrowed extensively from the letter of Daimbert of Pisa.<sup>36</sup> Guibert of Nogent seems to have had access to the letters of Anselm of Ribemont, but did not use them to construct his narrative.<sup>37</sup> The main narrative histories include four eyewitness accounts by Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguilers, Peter Tudebode and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*. The traditional status of the eyewitness and the value of their testimony in the production of a historical text has recently been questioned by Harari and Lapina, an issue which will be discussed further in chapter 1. The *Gesta Francorum* has received by far the most attention from modern scholars. Much of this has centred on this text's relationship with other histories of the First Crusade, particularly the history by Peter Tudebode.<sup>38</sup> France has also analysed the relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and later twelfth century texts, noting the almost pervasive influence of the *Gesta*, but also stressing the value of subsequent works.<sup>39</sup> The author of the *Gesta Francorum*, likely to have been a south-Italian Norman in Bohemond's contingent, wrote what was probably one of the earliest accounts of the crusade. Rubenstein has argued that this work should not be seen as a history *per se*, but as a haphazard collection of anecdotes, later imperfectly copied, and a number of versions may have existed. He has also suggested that Peter Tudebode, a priest from Poitiers, did not write a narrative, but merely annotated one; probably a version of the *Gesta Francorum* somewhat removed from the version we know today.<sup>40</sup> The histories of Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers have not been so frequently analysed, and much of the commentary on Raymond of Aguilers has centred

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<sup>35</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 258-264; *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 161-5.

<sup>36</sup> On the Anonymous' use of letters see *Préface, RHC Occ.*, vol. 5, p. xciii; Sigeberti Gemblacenses, *Chronica*, ed. L. Bethmann, *MGH SS* vol. 6 (Hannover, 1844), pp. 367-8;

<sup>37</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 332.

<sup>38</sup> See for example, J. Flori, 'De l'anonyme Normand à Tudebode et aux *Gesta Francorum*, l'impact de la propagande de Bohémond sur la critique textuelle des sources de la Première Croisade', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, vol. 102 (2007), pp. 717-46; J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon*, vol. 16 (2005), pp. 179-204.

<sup>39</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>40</sup> Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 197, 201-3.

on the controversy over the relic of the Holy Lance.<sup>41</sup> The text of the *Gesta Francorum* was expanded and adapted by 'second generation' texts, produced almost contemporaneously (although evidently independently) by the Benedictine monks Baudri of Bourgueil, Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent. Guibert's account has probably been the most studied as an individual text in recent scholarship, possibly because more is known about him through his other works, including one of the earliest autobiographies.<sup>42</sup> Baudri of Bourgueil likewise wrote other works, including poetry, some of which was addressed to Adela of Blois, wife of the First Crusader Stephen.<sup>43</sup> Much less is known about Robert the Monk. Nevertheless, in spite of his relative obscurity, his work appears to have been the most popular, surviving in over 100 manuscripts. Robert's text has recently been analysed by Sweetenham in her translation of his work into English.<sup>44</sup>

One of the few texts not influenced by the *Gesta Francorum* was the *Historia Hierosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen. Almost nothing is known regarding Albert other than what can be gleaned from his text. Likely a monk from Aachen, he produced one of the longest narratives of the crusade and extended his work to include a history of the nascent states of the Latin East to 1119; however, the first six books may have been written as early as 1102.<sup>45</sup> His text survives in 13 manuscripts and seems to have gained prominence - both in the medieval period and in modern historiography - primarily through William of Tyre's use of the work.<sup>46</sup> We know similarly little of Bartolf of Nangis, writing in 1109, who abbreviated the work of Fulcher of Chartres; unlike many of his contemporaries he changed relatively little of the original work regarding the First Crusade.<sup>47</sup> Ekkehard of Aura who went on the 1101 crusade, a monk of Saint-Michel de

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<sup>41</sup> See, 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. Holt (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 33-45; T. S. Asbridge, 'The Holy Lance of Antioch: Power, Devotion and Memory on the First Crusade', *Reading Medieval Studies*, vol. 33 (2007), pp. 3-36.

<sup>42</sup> J. Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent, Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, 2002); *Idem*, 'How or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit', *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. S. Ridyard (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 53-69; A. Leclercq, 'Verse et prose, le jeu de la forme melee dans les *Dei Gesta per Francos* de Guibert de Nogent (XIIe siecle)', *The Medieval Chronicle III*, ed. E. Kooper (New York, 2004), pp. 101-115.

<sup>43</sup> *Préface, RHC Occ.*, vol. 4, pp. iv-vi.

<sup>44</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. C. Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2005).

<sup>45</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed and trans. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), pp. xxiii, xxiv-xxv.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xii-xiii. On the manuscripts see pp. xxvii-liv.

<sup>47</sup> Bartolf of Nangis, *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem, RHC Occ.*, vol. 3, pp. 489-543.



Bamberg and later abbot of Saint-Laurent d'Aura, produced the first redaction of his universal chronicle probably before his departure on the 1101 crusade, and revised and expanded the text regarding the First Crusade on his return in 1102. His *Hierosolymita* was adapted from the chronicle and later developed into a separate text, with the final version written between 1114 and 1117.<sup>48</sup> Ralph of Caen wrote his *Gesta Tancredi* around 1118, and, like Albert of Aachen, his text was not influenced by the *Gesta Francorum*. Although writing in the Latin East, he presented a strong Norman perspective. Ralph had been a pupil of Arnulf of Chocques who later became patriarch of Jerusalem. Ralph joined Bohemond's entourage in the capacity of chaplain during Bohemond's visit to France in 1106 and subsequently joined Tancred when the latter succeeded as prince of Antioch.<sup>49</sup> He appears to have enjoyed close association with Bohemond and especially Tancred, but explained that he did not write until after Tancred's death so as not to be accused of being influenced by his patronage.<sup>50</sup> His work does not seem to have been a very popular text; it exists in only one manuscript, and was used - only in part - by the author of the *Historia belli sacri*.<sup>51</sup> There were also a number of shorter accounts written before 1120 such as the works of Sigebert of Gembloux and Hugh of Fleury, and the anonymous *Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsesso Dyrrachio* and *Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum in captione Jerusalem*.<sup>52</sup>

Around 1120 a history of the First Crusade was put into verse by a clerk, Gilo of Paris, who became a monk at Cluny and subsequently cardinal-bishop of Tusculum. His work was later continued by an anonymous poet, probably from Charleville in the Champagne region. Gilo's poem survives in seven manuscripts, only one of which contains the additions of the anonymous author.<sup>53</sup> Also writing c.1120 was Lambert of

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<sup>48</sup> *Préface, RHC Occ.*, vol. 5, pp. v-vii.

<sup>49</sup> Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen. A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. B. and D. Bachrach (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 1-4.

<sup>50</sup> Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi in Expeditione Hierosolymitana, RHC. Occ.*, vol. 3, pp. 603-4.

<sup>51</sup> *Historia Belli Sacri, RHC Occ.*, vol. 3, pp. 215 ff; Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 657-8, 681 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Sigeberti Gemblacenses, *Chronica*, pp. 367-8; Hugonis Floriacensis, *Modernorum regum Francorum actus*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* vol. 9 (Hannover, 1851), pp. 392-4; *Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsesso Dyrrachio, RHC Occ.*, vol. 5, pp. 356-62; *Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum in captione Jerusalem, RHC Occ.*, vol. 5, pp. 368-9.

<sup>53</sup> Gilo of Paris, *The Historia vie Hierosolimitane of Gilo of Paris, and a Second, Anonymous Author*, ed. and trans. C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry (Oxford, 1996), pp. xviii-xix, xxiii, xxxviii-xlii.

Saint-Omer, a canon of the church of Our Lady in Saint-Omer, who incorporated a history of the First Crusade into his illustrated encyclopaedia. There was a definite apocalyptic tone to his work. Ten manuscripts of his text are extant including the autograph.<sup>54</sup> The Anglo-Norman historian William of Malmesbury included a narrative of the First Crusade adapted from Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana* in his *Gesta regum Anglorum*, which made up a significant portion of the whole work. William saw himself as a successor to Bede; the *Gesta regum* was not his only work of history, he also wrote the *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* and the *Historia novella*, as well as a history of the church of Glastonbury and a number of non-historical works. The initial text of the *Gesta regum* was produced in 1124-5, but four different versions exist as William continued to modify and manipulate his writing.<sup>55</sup> William dedicated redactions of his *Gesta regum* to King David of Scotland, his niece the Empress Matilda and her half-brother Robert of Gloucester.<sup>56</sup> William's contemporary, Orderic Vitalis, was more interested in a monastic audience.<sup>57</sup> He wrote the ninth book of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in which he incorporated a narrative of the First Crusade, in the mid to late 1130's. He borrowed from Baudri of Bourgueil's text for his narrative and also seems to have known of Fulcher of Chartres' history, although he does not appear to have made use of it.<sup>58</sup> Another Anglo-Norman author, Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, abbreviated and modified the *Gesta Francorum* for his *Historia Anglorum* the first version of which was completed c.1135 but, as William of Malmesbury had done, he continued to revise his work and produced several versions until 1155.<sup>59</sup> He wrote at the request of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, who also commissioned Geoffrey of Monmouth to translate the prophecies of Merlin into Latin.<sup>60</sup> Henry also had connections with Hervey de Glanville and Saher of Archelle who took part in the conquest of Lisbon during the Second Crusade.<sup>61</sup> Also produced during this period were

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<sup>54</sup> L. Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits du Liber floridus de Lambert chanoine de Saint Omer* (Paris, 1906), pp. 1-2

<sup>55</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), vol. 1, pp. xiii-xxi, xxiii; vol. 2, pp. xvii-xviii, xxii-xxiii, xlvi-xlvii.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, vol. 1, pp. 2-3, 6-7, 10-11.

<sup>57</sup> This is discussed in more detail in chapter 1.

<sup>58</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 5, pp. 6-7.

<sup>59</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, p. lxi.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, pp. lvii-lviii.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xxiii, xxv, xcix.

the anonymous *Historia Belli Sacri*, written in Monte Cassino, and the anonymous *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena*.<sup>62</sup> The *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena*, probably written for Baldwin III of Jerusalem in 1146-7, was one of the few narratives of the First Crusade produced in the Latin East (the others being the works of Fulcher of Chartres and Ralph of Caen - both of whom, however, were northern French in origin - and William of Tyre), and one of the few works to adapt the history of Robert the Monk.<sup>63</sup>

Narratives of the First Crusade were also written by men of significant prominence and status in the mid-late twelfth century. Otto, Bishop of Freising, included a short history of the First Crusade in his *Chronica sive duabus civitatibus*, which he completed c.1147 and revised ten years later. Otto was half-brother of Conrad III of Hohenstaufen and uncle of Frederick Barbarossa to whom he dedicated his work. He accompanied Conrad and Frederick on the Second Crusade. In spite of the assertion that he had written his chronicle 'in bitterness of spirit' and wrote of events 'in the manner of a tragedy, their sadder aspects, and so ended with a picture of unhappiness each and every division of the books', his work appears to have been popular, surviving in over fifty manuscripts.<sup>64</sup> Caffaro, lord of Caschifellone, was from a prominent Genoese family and served the commune several times as diplomat and consul. Caffaro joined a fleet sailing for the Holy Land in 1100, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1101 and participated in the capture of Arsuf and Caesarea later that year. He may have begun to write his annals at this time, and continued to keep a record of his city's history until 1163. Caffaro also wrote the *Ystoria captionis Almarie at Turtuose*, an account of Genoa's role in crusading activities in the Iberian Peninsula in 1146-8, and in which he took part. In 1152 he presented a copy of his annals to the consuls, which was read before a public assembly. While Caffaro only very briefly covered the events of the First Crusade in his annals, he wrote a more comprehensive narrative in 1155, his *De Liberatione Civitatum Orientis*, which was presented to Pope Hadrian IV as proof of the

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<sup>62</sup> On the *Historia belli sacri* see France, 'The use of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*', pp. 37-8.

<sup>63</sup> See *Préface*, *RHC Occ.*, vol. 5, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

<sup>64</sup> Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis, *Chronica sive duabus civitatibus*, pp. 2-3; translated as Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, p. 89, see also pp. 5, 45-6.

rights and privileges Genoa had been granted in the Holy Land.<sup>65</sup> William, archbishop of Tyre and chancellor of Jerusalem, had been educated in the schools of France and Italy. He began writing his history in 1170 with the patronage of Amalric I of Jerusalem and continued to work on it sporadically until 1184, his active involvement in the politics of the kingdom at times hindering progress on his history.<sup>66</sup> William used several sources to compose his narrative of the First Crusade; he made greatest use of Albert of Aachen's *Historia*, but also utilised the works of Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres and possibly also Baudri of Bourgueil and the *Gesta Francorum*. In employing these texts William rarely copied *verbatim*, he also attempted to reconcile conflicting accounts and to provide his own interpretation.<sup>67</sup> William, like most twelfth century authors, did not name his sources, but stressed the importance of truth in writing history: 'as for those who, in the desire to flatter, deliberately weave untruths into their record of history, the conduct of such writers is looked upon as so detestable that they ought not to be regarded as belonging to the ranks of historians. For, if to conceal the true facts about achievements is wrong and falls short of a writer's duty, it will certainly be regarded as a much more serious sin to mingle untruth with truth and to hand to a trusting posterity as veracity that which is essentially untrue.'<sup>68</sup> He was, however, aware of the pressures that contemporary events could exert upon the author and noted that it was 'an arduous task, fraught with many risks and perils, to write of the deeds of kings... for either he will kindle the anger of many persons against him while he is in pursuit of the actual facts of achievements; or, in the hope of rousing less resentment, he will be silent about the course of events, wherein, obviously, he is not without fault.'<sup>69</sup> Although surviving in only ten Latin manuscripts, William of Tyre's history was very influential; more than fifty manuscripts of French translations and continuations are

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<sup>65</sup> J. Dotson, 'The Genoese Civil Annals: Caffaro and His Continuator,' *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. S. Dale, A. Williams Lewin and D. J. Osheim (Pennsylvania, 2007), pp. 55-7, 61; R. D. Face, 'Secular History in Twelfth-Century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa', *JMH*, vol. 6 (1980), p. 172.

<sup>66</sup> William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York, 1943), vol. 1, pp. 15-28; On William's process of writing, see P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 25-30.

<sup>67</sup> Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East*, pp. 45-8.

<sup>68</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986), p. 98; translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, p. 54

<sup>69</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 97; translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, p. 53.

extant, and William's work was used by Jacques de Vitry, Oliver of Paderborn and Roger of Wendover.

The turn of the century saw a change in the style and content of histories of the First Crusade, perhaps influenced by the rise of vernacular texts. Narratives of the First Crusade tended to become shorter as contemporary events took precedence. The period also seems to have been dominated by Anglo-Norman texts; we have histories by Ralph Niger, Roger of Hoveden, Ralph of Coggeshall and Roger of Wendover. Only Roger of Wendover, however, wrote a narrative of the First Crusade of significant length. A monk of Saint Albans and subsequently prior of Belvoir, his history aimed to span the years from creation to his own day.<sup>70</sup> Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn also produced influential texts around the time of the Fifth Crusade, both of whom borrowed from William of Tyre's work. These men were also involved in preaching the crusade, participated personally in the expedition and wrote accounts of it.<sup>71</sup> Apart from the *Historia Orientalis*, in which he included a history of the First Crusade, Jacques de Vitry authored a number of other works, including a *Life* of the Beguine Marie d'Oignies, the *Historia Occidentalis* (of which the the *Historia Orientalis* was originally the second part), and a collection of sermons.<sup>72</sup> Another popular and influential work was Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*. This was completed by 1254, and incorporated a narrative of the First Crusade abbreviated from Baudri of Bourgueil's text; it survives in over 100 manuscripts, and was also later translated into French.<sup>73</sup> After this time narrative histories of the First Crusade become sparser and we turn to sermons, treatises and art in order to ascertain how the First Crusade was remembered. Some recent studies have been done on treatises on how to recover the Holy Land, with a number of them newly-edited by Paviot.<sup>74</sup> However, there are others

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<sup>70</sup> Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, trans. J. Giles (London, facsimile repr. 1993), vol. 1 part 1, pp. v-vi.

<sup>71</sup> Jacques de Vitry through his letters, see Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, trans. G. Duchet-Suchaux (Brepols, 1998); Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. H. Hoogeweg, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, Späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina* (Tübingen, 1894); for Oliver's preaching of the crusade; see J. van Moolenbroek, 'Signs in the Heavens in Groningen and Friesland in 1214: Oliver of Cologne and Crusading Propaganda', *JMH*, vol. 13 (1987), pp. 251-72.

<sup>72</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, ed. and trans. J. Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 7-9.

<sup>73</sup> J. Voorbij, 'The *Speculum Historiale*: Some Aspects of its Genesis and Manuscript Tradition', *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the Speculum Maius and its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars* (Groningen, 1986), p. 11.

<sup>74</sup> *Projets de Croisade*, ed. J. Paviot (Paris, 2008).

that have no modern edition, including Humbert of Romans' *de praedicatione sancte crucis*. Leopold has analysed these treatises as a genre, although his conclusions stress the variety and differences between them.<sup>75</sup> Cole has studied the manuscripts of Humbert of Romans' *de praedicatione sancte crucis* and highlighted the significance of his use of Baudri of Bourgueil's version of Pope Urban II's sermon at Clermont.<sup>76</sup>

The world that saw the fall of the Crusader States in 1291 was very different from the one that had witnessed their creation in 1099. The changes in the ideological, cultural and political scene altered the significance of the First Crusade and inspired new versions of the narrative. In this study histories, as well as other materials referencing the First Crusade, are analysed not so much for the accuracy of the information they provide about the crusade, but for how contemporaries remembered and wished to record their past, how they adapted the material before them and made it relevant to their own time, and how they went about creating their texts and (re) constructing the memory of this landmark event.

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<sup>75</sup> A. Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land* (Aldershot, 2000).

<sup>76</sup> P. Cole. 'Humbert of Romans and the Crusade', *The Experience of Crusading vol. 1. Western Approaches*, ed. M. G. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 157-174.

## REMEMBERING THE FIRST CRUSADE 1099 - c.1135

The large number of narratives of the First Crusade produced within the first three decades of its success point to the fascination it held for contemporaries, and to their interest in both preserving and utilising the memory of the crusade. The First Crusade occurred at a time of reform and renewal for the Church, but also at a time of difficulty for the papacy; the pope was in conflict with Emperor Henry IV, who supported a rival claimant for the seat of St Peter. The reform of the Church went hand in hand with a revival in intellectual circles, in what has been termed the twelfth century renaissance. There was considerable literary output, primarily in the subject of theology, but also in history. In order to discuss the ways in which the First Crusade was remembered, it is necessary to review how and why history was written in the twelfth century; the form these texts took and what was considered appropriate content; who was writing and what they aimed to achieve. Beginning an analysis of First Crusade narratives therefore raises several questions: What did writing history mean for twelfth century authors? How did they go about it? What was their view of the past? Considering these questions places the narratives in the literary context in which they were created. In examining these texts, it is also necessary to assess why so many versions of the story were produced; what factors prompted authors to modify or re-write the account of the expedition? Who were they writing for and what methods did they use to express their ideas on how the crusade should be remembered?

### The Writing of History in the Early Twelfth Century

#### **Form and Content**

Remembering the past was important in the Middle Ages. Geoffrey of Monmouth's colourful *Historia regum Britanniae* suggests that it was considered better to invent a past rather than have none at all. It also points to how easily malleable the representation of the past could be, how it could be manipulated to suit the purpose of authors, or their patrons. The aim was not necessarily to provide a comprehensive and chronologically detailed account of what had happened; history was as much an expression of ideas as a representation of reality.<sup>1</sup> This did not mean facts were

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<sup>1</sup> Spiegel, *The Past As Text*, pp. 85, 89.

irrelevant; significant value was placed on the testimony of eyewitnesses and, in a society which depended on the trustworthiness of witnesses and in which oral transmission was the norm, there was likely some consensus that a claim of truth ought to live up to expectations.<sup>2</sup> Remembering the past was important, but more important was how that past related to the present, and how it could serve the needs of the day.

Rider's detailed study of Galbert of Bruges's *De multro, traditione, et occisione glorioso Karoli comitis Flandriarum* puts forward some interesting points on how a text might have been composed and constructed. A narrative was usually produced in several stages. Often primarily drafted on wax tablets, information could have been noted as it was learnt, written in abbreviated form, and set down in no coherent order. Speech would also have to have been translated from the vernacular in which it was heard into Latin. This was a subjective process that constituted of the selection of material, the summarisation of information, and the translation of language. When re-written (onto parchment) the text was transformed; the summary expanded, notes ordered into a coherent narrative that imposed linguistic order over a sequence of events that were perhaps chaotic, disturbing, even difficult to understand.<sup>3</sup> The process would have been slightly different for chronicles of the crusade since the majority, even the eyewitnesses, worked from a pre-existing text.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the authors of the early narratives tell us little about how they went about constructing their accounts. Nevertheless, much of the process suggested by Rider for Galbert of Bruges would likely still have applied. Fulcher of Chartres stated in his prologue that he had 'carefully arranged' (*diligenter digessi*) his account of deeds of the Franks, suggesting he had used language to organise a tumultuous series of events. He further stated that he intended to write only what was worthy of remembrance (*dignum ducens memoriae*),<sup>5</sup> indicating that he, like Galbert, was selective over the material he chose to include - and exclude - from his work. Likewise, Albert of Aachen (who, as far as we know was one of the few authors not

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<sup>2</sup> van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe*, pp. 21-2.

<sup>3</sup> Rider, *God's Scribe*, pp. 31-46.

<sup>4</sup> Rubenstein has recently suggested that the *Gesta Francorum* may originally have been a collection of short stories and/or sermons, suggesting that the Anonymous too, was working with pre-existing texts. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*', p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 116. Gervase of Canturbury, writing in the late twelfth century, made a similar point in his chronicle: he wrote that he did not wish to write all that was memorable, but that which appeared to be worthy of memory (*quae digna memoriae esse videntur*). Gervase of Canturbury, *Opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1879), vol.1, p. 89.



basing his account on a pre-existing text) wrote that he had decided to record ‘at least some of the things which were made known to me.’<sup>6</sup> He selected the information given to him in order to piece together an organised narrative. Albert went on to write that he had obtained his information by ‘listening to those who had been there and from their reports.’<sup>7</sup> Presumably much of the oral information would have been transmitted in the vernacular; Albert would therefore have had to translate his information into Latin. Through this process of transmission and translation authors could bring their narrative into line with common literary traditions. This was not necessarily a deliberate distortion of information, but authors would naturally be influenced by literary models, and conformity to such models - expressing what should, rather than what actually was, said or done in a particular situation - might even have been expected.<sup>8</sup> Guibert of Nogent, for example, in his letter dedicating his work to Bishop Lysiard, asserted, ‘I had not wished, if my ability was equal to it, to differ from the ancient historians.’<sup>9</sup> Baudri of Bourgueil paid similar homage to classical authors, particularly Sallust and Cicero.<sup>10</sup> The story, might, therefore, be adapted to follow precedent.

Guibert of Nogent, Baudri of Bourgueil and Robert the Monk, in the prologues to their histories, explained that they were re-writing an anonymous and crudely written account of the crusade, primarily to improve its style.<sup>11</sup> They were of course, referring to the text (or a close variety of it) that we know as the *Gesta Francorum*. In reality, they did a lot more than just improve language, but their comments highlight the perceived importance of style in writing history. The idea was that a noble subject required noble words, and eloquence was linked with good history.<sup>12</sup> This provides some insight into medieval ideas of how history should be written and further underlines the process of creation in a historical narrative; they were carefully constructed works. Guibert of Nogent at least, appears also to have used form and style

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<sup>6</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>8</sup> Rider, *God's Scribe*, pp. 41-2, 105, 117.

<sup>9</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana, RHC Occ.*, vol. 4, pp. 9-10, 11.

<sup>11</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 79-82; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, p. 10; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana, RHC Occ.*, vol. 3, pp. 721-2.

<sup>12</sup> Leclercq, ‘Vers et prose’, p. 103. The advice of the classical writer Lucan emphasised this very strongly.

as an ideological device within his narrative. In Guibert's text, verse was used as the 'voice' of the author, to reveal his ideological position.<sup>13</sup> Verse was also used to celebrate victory or the attainment of martyrdom; Guibert, for example, inserted a poem into his text to laud those of Peter the Hermit's contingent killed at Nichomedia: 'and Christ will now have honours in the manner of ancient times, adorning our world with new martyrs ... I shall call happy those who endure during those moments, firm faith holds them to life eternal.'<sup>14</sup> A change of form in Guibert's work indicated change of tone.<sup>15</sup> Ralph of Caen also used prosimetric style in his narrative, if not to the same ideological effect as Guibert, it at least served to underline his view of history; passages he wished to stress the veracity thereof were recorded in prose, those which he desired to embellish were written in verse, thereby signalling to the audience the reliability of the information.<sup>16</sup> A contemporary use of form as an expression of the author's ideology can also be seen in the rather unique style employed by Abbot Suger of St-Denis in his *Vita Ludovici grossi regis*. The narrative is episodic, in which each unit follows a pattern: the existing social or political order is disrupted, the king takes action to redress the situation, order is restored. For the sake of retaining his structure while highlighting the king's ability to effect resolution, Suger avoided chronological progression in his work. Suger's concern was to show the correct ordering of society as ordained by God.<sup>17</sup>

Histories in the twelfth century, while often conforming to literary traditions, could vary considerably in their purposes. The astonishing success of the First Crusade seems to have been sufficient to inspire writing. Most authors, however, had a purpose beyond simple commemoration. Histories were often produced as a response to, or in an effort to resolve, conflict.<sup>18</sup> Disputes and rivalries erupted during the crusade and did

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<sup>13</sup> Leclercq, 'Vers et Prose', pp. 108, 110.

<sup>14</sup> For example: Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 125-6, see also, pp. 148-50, 289-90.

<sup>15</sup> Leclercq, 'Vers et Prose', pp. 106-8.

<sup>16</sup> Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi*, trans. Bachrach, pp. 7-9. See also Knappe, 'Historia, Textuality and Episteme in the Middle Ages', pp. 23-4. On the origins and use of the prosimetric style see J. Ziolkowski, 'The Prosimetrum in the Classical Tradition', *Prosimetrum: Cross Cultural Perspectives as Narrative in Prose and Verse*, ed. J. Harris and K. Reichl (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 45-61.

<sup>17</sup> G. Spiegel, 'History as Enlightenment: Suger and the *Mos Anagogicus*', *Abbot Suger and Saint Denis: A Symposium*, ed. P. Gerson (New York, 1986) pp. 152-5.

<sup>18</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 57-8, 179-81; Rider, *God's Scribe*, pp. 31, 134.

not cease upon its completion. The glorification and defence of their respective lords and contingents was therefore probably important to writers of early narratives of the crusade. Raymond of Aguilers, for example, stated that it was necessary for him to write because ‘misfits of war and cowardly deserters have since tried to spread lies rather than truth’.<sup>19</sup> Authors may also have wished to justify or legitimise either the actions of characters in their works or the events themselves. Moreover, the crusade, though successful, was still a new enterprise, and the conflict in Europe between the papacy and empire suggest it may not have enjoyed universal support, at least in political terms. Fulcher of Chartres hinted at this when he wrote ‘thus there were two popes over Rome, but who to obey many did not know ... some favoured one, some the other.’<sup>20</sup> Authors might therefore have felt the need to defend and justify it as a legitimate and righteous venture. One strategy was to use the past to legitimise the present.<sup>21</sup> The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, for example, highlighted that the crusaders followed the road to Constantinople built by Charlemagne, referring to the emperor’s supposed pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>22</sup> Ekkehard of Aura made a tacit comparison between the sign of the cross borne by the crusaders and the vision revealed to Constantine the Great signifying he was about to triumph over the enemies of the cross of Christ.<sup>23</sup> The implication appears to be that their venture was not entirely new. Both Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers referred to the deeds of the Israelites and Maccabees and implied that the crusaders, like the precedent provided by these ancient people, were fighting for God.<sup>24</sup> The supposed encyclical of Pope Sergius IV, ostensibly calling for an armed pilgrimage to the Holy Land at the beginning of the eleventh century, was probably written around the time of the preaching of the First Crusade to bolster support for the expedition, and further suggests that contemporaries felt the need to appeal to the

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<sup>19</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Le ‘Liber’ de Raymond d’Aguilers*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill, *Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades*, 9 (Paris, 1969), p. 35; translated as Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. H. and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 149-50; translated as Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. F. Ryan and ed. H. Fink (Tennessee, 1969), p. 70. Fulcher clearly felt Urban II had true authority, see *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 143-52, 164-6. See also Ekkehard of Aura, *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die Anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. F. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 140.

<sup>21</sup> See Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, pp. 83-98.

<sup>22</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London, 1962), p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Ekkehard of Aura, *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken*, p. 138.

<sup>24</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 116-17; Raymond d’Aguilers, ‘Liber’, p. 53.

past to legitimise the present.<sup>25</sup> In this context it is interesting to note that most of the early narratives of the First Crusade made some reference to signs in the sky. Even when authors did not explicitly interpret these signs, the implication was that celestial phenomena pointed to God's approval of the crusade. One example from many will suffice: Robert the Monk wrote, 'it is worth remembering that on that night a comet blazed among the other stars in the heavens, giving off rays of light and foretelling a change in the kingdom; the sky glowed fiery red from north to east. It was with these portents shining prominently in the heavens and as dawn began to bring light to the earth that the army of God entered Antioch.'<sup>26</sup> The crusaders believed that the Bible taught that God could communicate with his people through the stars as He had in the time of ancient Israel and Judah. This had further significance in that the Old Testament was considered not only a history of the ancient Jews but also a prophecy of the Christian future.<sup>27</sup> The authors of the narratives evidently felt it necessary to remind their audience that God was on their side and prophecy had been fulfilled, it could not be challenged; it had been written in the stars.

A further reason to write was for a didactic purpose. Fulcher of Chartres, for example, highlighted that it was profitable both to the living and the dead for history, especially that of the crusade, to be read aloud, 'for those still living in this world, on hearing of the pious purposes of their predecessors ... are themselves inspired to follow God and embrace Him with enthusiasm. It is beneficial for those who have died in the Lord when the faithful who are still alive, hearing of the good deeds of their forebears, bless the soul of the departed and in love bestow alms with prayers in their behalf.'<sup>28</sup> William of Malmesbury, although less concerned for the dead, also held the view that the value of history lay in providing examples to be emulated. He wrote, 'men of lower

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<sup>25</sup> W. J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia c. 1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 801; translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 146. Further examples include: *Gesta Francorum*, p. 62; Petrus Tudebodius, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1977) p. 95; Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 203-5, 224; Raymond d'Aguilers, 'Liber', pp. 54, 74; Ekkehard of Aura, *Frotolfs und Ekkehard's Chroniken*, p. 132, 142; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana* pp. 366-369, 398-9; Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 133-4, 318-21; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, p. 16; Radulfo Cadomensi, *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 648, 665-6; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, vol. 1, pp. 630-1 (all references to vol. 1 unless otherwise stated); Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 5, pp.18-19, 104-5 (all references to vol. 5 unless otherwise stated).

<sup>27</sup> Hamilton, "God Wills It": Signs of Divine Approval in the Crusade Movement', *Studies in Church History*, vol. 41 (2005), pp. 88, 94-8.

<sup>28</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 115-6; translated as Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, trans. Ryan, p. 57.

degree adopt as their own the virtues of those above them, reverencing the footprints of qualities they cannot hope to follow.’<sup>29</sup> Ralph of Caen expressed a similar sentiment, stating, ‘it is a noble exercise to recount accurately the deeds of princes ... to celebrate the dead, to entertain the living, and to set out a past life as a model for later generations ... it eliminates sloth, conveys honesty, presents virtues and draws a crowd.’<sup>30</sup> Here Ralph also pointed to another purpose evidently considered important; history could not only instruct but also entertain. Robert the Monk, in a preface to his *Historia*, implied that history should be made interesting and he would endeavour to do so in his work.<sup>31</sup> Colin Morris has suggested that the *Gesta Francorum* was written in the style of a *chanson de geste* to entertain its audience,<sup>32</sup> and Matthew Bennett has demonstrated the impact of vernacular poetry on the portrayal of Saracens in the narratives of the First Crusade.<sup>33</sup> It appears that there was considerable scope for transmission between the Latin and vernacular traditions. The story of the First Crusade lent itself easily to the celebration of great deeds and appealed to laity and clergy alike, perhaps facilitating and encouraging the blend of entertaining history and exemplary stories.

Various philosophies of history existed in the Middle Ages. Historical writing primarily sought to relate the past to the present rather than examine earlier occurrences for their own sake. History did not exist as a discrete discipline, it was not separate from other branches of knowledge or study but was used to support and substantiate pre-existing theories of theology, philosophy or politics.<sup>34</sup> There was no single theory of history to determine the form of an author’s work and no specific or standard methodology for historical enquiry, and therefore a great variety in approaches to historical writing.<sup>35</sup> William of Malmesbury, for example, appears to have been primarily concerned with the social and political functions of history, but his

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<sup>29</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>30</sup> Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 603, translated as Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi*, trans. Bachrach, p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 722.

<sup>32</sup> C. Morris, ‘The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History’, *Reading Medieval Studies*, vol. 19 (1993), pp. 61-2.

<sup>33</sup> M. Bennett, ‘First Crusaders’ Images of Muslims: The Influence of Vernacular Poetry?’ *Forum for Modern Languages Studies*, vol. 22 (1986), pp. 101-22.

<sup>34</sup> Knape, ‘Historia, Textuality and Episteme in the Middle Ages’, pp. 19-20, 22.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

contemporary, Orderic Vitalis, was more interested in its eschatological value and the salvation of souls. William dedicated his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* to a secular patron, Robert of Gloucester, and held the view that the deeds of leaders of nations provided examples for the common man to follow.<sup>36</sup> Orderic, on the other hand, dedicated his work to the abbot of St Evroul, evidently seeking a monastic audience.<sup>37</sup> Orderic wrote that ‘the eternal Creator wisely and providently ordains seasonal and historical changes,’ and highlighted that it was the works of God that gave ‘rise to many stories of the diverse events which take place in the world every day, and provide an abundance of materials for learned historians to use at length.’<sup>38</sup> Orderic, moreover, appeared to be happy to allow his audience interpret the meaning of events for themselves, stating, ‘let each one interpret according to the inspiration he receives from heaven, and if he finds anything profitable to him let him extract matter for his salvation from it as he best judges.’<sup>39</sup> William of Malmesbury was much more determined to assert his own view, and to guide his audience to what he believed was the correct interpretation.<sup>40</sup> He had a much greater presence in the text and explained to his audience what he was doing. For example, after lamenting that he had little accurate knowledge of Baldwin I of Jerusalem’s actions, went on to assert, ‘there is one point I would emphasise: how often he staked all on a major battle with scanty forces, and how he never retreated from the field, except at Ramleh and at Acre. And those retreats were both followed by brilliant victories, because they were brought about by reckless courage rather than fear, as the reader will learn after a brief interlude.’<sup>41</sup> William was quite clear on what it was that his readers should take from his work.

### **Eyewitnesses and Interpretations**

General precedence was, and still is, usually accorded to eyewitness texts by both medieval authors and modern scholars; often the impression given is that of journalistic reporting. Was this, however, the purpose of eyewitness testimony? What were the

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<sup>36</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 10-11; Blacker, *The Faces of Time*, pp. 4-5, 14.

<sup>37</sup> Blacker, *The Faces of Time*, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>39</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 6, pp. 436-7.

<sup>40</sup> Blacker, *The Faces of Time*, p. 14.

<sup>41</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 680-1.

attitudes of later authors towards the eyewitnesses? What was the status of eyewitnesses, and what did this mean for the writings they had created and for subsequent authors? What (in terms of genre) had the eyewitness authors aimed to write and how was this significant with regards to the writing of history in the twelfth century?

That eyewitness testimony was considered important is evident in Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres and, to some extent, Peter Tudebode's narratives; in each case they placed strong emphasis on their own status as eyewitnesses and participants in the crusade. Raymond, for instance, wrote that he kissed the Holy Lance before it was out of the ground, and, after reporting the death of Pons of Balazun at Arqa, he promised to continue the account with the same care he had begun. He also informed his readers of the role that he played in Peter Bartholomew's trial by fire and described the vision Peter Desiderius related to him regarding the revelation of the relics of St George.<sup>42</sup> Fulcher of Chartres reminded his readers several times that what he was writing he had seen with his own eyes.<sup>43</sup> Peter Tudebode referred to his participation in a procession to the church of the Mount of Olives while the crusaders were besieging Jerusalem.<sup>44</sup> It seems clear that they believed their status as eyewitnesses would give credence to their narratives. However, it should also be remembered that they were all - particularly Raymond and Fulcher - also interested in putting across their own version of events. Writing more than a century later, Humbert of Romans, in his *de predicatione sancte crucis*, evidently felt that the fact that Fulcher of Chartres had been an eyewitness and participant on the crusade was significant enough to comment upon. He wrote that Fulcher of Chartres, who personally had been in the army, 'that which he saw with his own eyes he rendered into writing'.<sup>45</sup> Guibert of Nogent, Baudri of Bourgueil and Robert the Monk's reflective assertions that their works had merit in spite of their not being participants on the crusade,<sup>46</sup> suggest that they were aware that they were deviating from the commonly held ideal that history should be written by

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<sup>42</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, 'Liber', pp. 75, 107-8, 119, 121, 123-24, 131-2, 133.

<sup>43</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 116, 153.

<sup>44</sup> Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, p.138. He also wrote of the death of his brother, p. 97.

<sup>45</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ed. P. Wagner, (Nuremburg, 1490), ch. 10

<sup>46</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 166; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, p. 10; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 721;

eyewitnesses.<sup>47</sup> Guibert expressed it most concisely, ‘If it is plainly objected to me that I did not see, it cannot be objected that I did not hear, since I believe, in a certain way, hearing surely almost equals seeing.’<sup>48</sup> Ralph of Caen similarly defended his writing by stressing his close association with both Bohemond and Tancred. Implying that Bohemond and Tancred desired a history to be written, Ralph claimed, ‘the Norman leaders... often turned their eyes towards me, for what reason I do not know, as if to say: ‘we are speaking to you, we trust you.’ Thus, I grew to know both of them, but especially Tancred. No one had a kinder lord or one who was more generous or charming.’<sup>49</sup> It seems that the First Crusade encouraged not only the creation of literature, but also a shift in attitude towards the production of history and how it should be approached and written. Nonetheless, the respect that medieval historians had for eyewitness testimony did not mean they considered such evidence sacrosanct or that their attestation could (or should) not be changed for the purpose of the narrative, or dictates of the present.

Medieval historians may rarely have questioned material from Sallust, Lucan or Thucydides, because of the great reputation these ancient authors had acquired. For medieval authors, history retained its ancient links with the disciplines of grammar and rhetoric; the writers’ evident reverence for antiquity led them to follow an ancient literary and historiographical tradition, which went a long way in dictating their perception of the past and their method of recording it.<sup>50</sup> It is perhaps significant that the *Gesta Francorum* (or whatever similar version of the text contemporaries were using) was anonymous; the anonymity - along with the perceived simplicity of language that might have suggested an author of limited education or lower status - allowed those using the text more easily to question the testimony and build their own narrative.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Mehtonen, *Old Concepts and New Poetics*, pp. 67-8, 70, 71; J. Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 281, 283.

<sup>48</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 166.

<sup>49</sup> Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 603; translated as Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi*, trans. Bachrach, pp. 19-20.

<sup>50</sup> Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, pp. 234-5, 276; R. W. Southern, ‘Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing I. The classical Tradition From Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth.’ *TRHS*, vol. 20 (1970), pp. 173 – 196.

<sup>51</sup> Harari, however, has suggested that simplicity was an important feature of eyewitness accounts: Y. Harari, ‘Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives’, *Crusades*, vol. 3 (2004), pp. 77-8.



Guibert of Nogent's text strongly suggests that the (perceived) social status of an eyewitness could have a direct impact on how reliable his testimony would have been considered to be. Guibert, for example, denigrated the work of Fulcher of Chartres while putting forward as reliable witnesses those he considered to be of a higher social (or moral) status, including himself, Anselm of Ribemont, pious ancient writers and bishop Adhémar of Le Puy.<sup>52</sup> It is interesting to note in this context that twelfth century historians rarely named their sources.

Recent articles by Lapina and Harari have questioned the role of eyewitness reports and the way they were viewed by subsequent authors.<sup>53</sup> However, both Lapina and Harari seem to have approached the question of eyewitness texts with the assumption that the main aim was to provide raw data, even if the eyewitnesses were occasionally creative for interpretive ends.<sup>54</sup> This does not seem to have been the case at all. Each of the eyewitness narratives had their own agendas and the authors constructed their stories to fit their social, political, even intellectual, purposes, their views and theories of history, and their religious ideas.<sup>55</sup> All the eyewitness narratives, for example, favoured and gave prominence to their own contingents and leaders: Raymond of Aguilers highlighted the contribution of Raymond of St Gilles to the crusade,<sup>56</sup> Fulcher of Chartres defended Baldwin's actions at Edessa,<sup>57</sup> and the *Gesta Francorum*

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<sup>52</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 332-3. Although Guibert stated that Anselm of Ribemont's letter had not mentioned Pirrus in order to discredit Fulcher's version of Pirrus' vision and his betrayal of Antioch to the crusaders, Guibert himself did not use Anselm's account in the main part of his narrative, but wrote of Pirrus' role in the betrayal of the city (though not his visions).

<sup>53</sup> E. Lapina, "'Nec Signis Nec Testis Creditur...': The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade", *Viator*, vol. 38 (2007), pp. 117-139; Y. Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade', pp. 77-99. Both articles make interesting points regarding the way in which eyewitness testimony was viewed and used in the twelfth century, though I do not entirely agree with their conclusions.

<sup>54</sup> Harari more so than Lapina, who does not analyse the purpose of eyewitness texts in any detail. Lapina, 'The Problem of Eyewitnesses', pp. 127, 129; Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade', pp. 77-79, 90-91. Also, Harari does not discuss where Peter Tudebode fits into his rather narrow definition of what constitutes an eyewitness account. Peter Tudebode explicitly identified himself as an eyewitness (and his narrative fulfils at least some of Harari's criteria) but followed the 'epic' style of the Anonymous rather closely. See also Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, pp. 276-8 where Coleman also draws a division between the eyewitness as recorder and the historian/ rhetorician as interpreter. However, later points out that this might have been the theory, but not necessarily the practice, p.281.

<sup>55</sup> For some insightful comments on the 'narrativizing strategies' of authors of crusade texts see M. G. Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000-c.1200: Reflections on the Study of First Crusaders' Motivations', *The Experience of Crusading* ed. M. G. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), vol. 1, pp. 14-16, 21-23.

<sup>56</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, 'Liber', pp. 35-6, 37, 43-44, 63, 92, 105-7, 138, 146, 150.

<sup>57</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 203-15; 322-7, 331-2. .

and, following the Anonymous, Peter Tudebode, gave particular praise to Bohemond.<sup>58</sup> All the eyewitness authors believed the crusade to be God's work. However, Raymond focused on visions and the Holy Lance,<sup>59</sup> the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was interested in highlighting that the enterprise was predestined,<sup>60</sup> and Fulcher of Chartres put forward the idea of religious pollution and moral cleansing.<sup>61</sup> In a similar vein, Ralph of Caen, though not a participant of the crusade himself, but stressing his association with crusaders, wrote 'it is fitting for me to battle on behalf of those who participated in this glorious labour'... and implied Bohemond and Tancred wanted him to write because people were relating 'fabulous inventions.'<sup>62</sup> He had an agenda that coloured his narrative as much as Raymond of Aguilers' and Fulcher of Chartres' prejudices coloured theirs.

Moreover, Harari has argued that the *Gesta Francorum* cannot be considered a true eyewitness account because the author intended to produce not an eyewitness account but an epic history.<sup>63</sup> However, the question of genre does not necessarily invalidate the text as an eyewitness account. It is very difficult to place medieval histories in discrete genre categories,<sup>64</sup> and the textual ambiguities of the *Gesta Francorum* must further complicate attempts to classify it.<sup>65</sup> Raymond of Aguilers,

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<sup>58</sup> For example, *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 12, 18-19, 35-7, 71; Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, pp. 51-2, 64, 72, 87.

<sup>59</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, pp. 68-76, 84-91, 95-97, 109, 112-124, 127-129, 131-134, 143-144, 151.

<sup>60</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 1 (implied), 55 (using Kerbogha's mother as a mouth-piece).

<sup>61</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 135-6, 223, 306. The idea is implied at the end of Fulcher's version of Urban's speech at Clermont and when he notes that women were expelled from the camp at the siege of Antioch, and explicitly stated in his account of the capture of Jerusalem. See also P. Cole, "'O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance'" (Ps. 78.1). The theme of religious pollution in crusade documents, 1095-1188', *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), pp. 85-106.

<sup>62</sup> Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 603; translated as Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi*, trans. Bachrach, p. 19. Ralph of Caen was not necessarily dismissing eyewitness testimony when constructing his narrative, as Lapina has suggested, but rather obtaining - and perhaps selecting - his evidence from a specific group of people; Lapina, 'The Problem of Eyewitnesses', pp. 122-24. In reference to the Holy Lance, see also Bohemond's apparent (initial) support for the relic in the letter of the crusading princes' to Pope Urban of 11 Sept 1098: *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), p. 163.

<sup>63</sup> Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade', pp. 90-91.

<sup>64</sup> J. Ward 'The Monastic Historiographical Impulse c. 1000 - 1260. A Re - Assessment', *Historia: The Concept of Genre in the Middle Ages*, ed. T. M. S. Lehtonen and P. Mehtonen (Helsinki, 2000), pp. 71-98. Ward has suggested that a line can be drawn between monastic and secular histories, his article, however, also demonstrates the similarities between them. To further highlight the difficulty of placing medieval histories in discrete categories, Ward states that 'religious' historians were less influenced by romance literature, p. 80, but then goes on to point out the role monasteries played in the recording and diffusion of epics such as the *Chanson de Roland*, p. 84. See also, Mehtonen, *Old Concepts and New Poetics*, p. 73.

<sup>65</sup> Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*', pp. 179-204.

Fulcher of Chartres and Peter Tudebode themselves reworked the *Gesta Francorum* (or a similar text) and Fulcher also borrowed from Raymond's narrative, though none of them acknowledged their use of another account. Furthermore, as previously noted, the process of constructing a narrative was highly selective and subjective. Seen in this light, the accounts of Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres did not differ so greatly in function from the *Gesta Francorum*. This is not to say that these texts did not aim to provide factual information or had no regard for truth; on the contrary they emphasised its value, but truth itself is subjective and generally conditioned by point of view. Baudri of Bourgueil, Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent also seem to have accepted the anonymous narrative as an eyewitness text, albeit one in need of revision. Harari has suggested, however, that Guibert of Nogent simply did not notice that the Anonymous had intended to write a history rather than eyewitness account.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that Guibert was well aware of the interpretive nature of the *Gesta Francorum's* narrative, but did not regard this a hindrance. Perhaps, considering that Guibert, Robert and Baudri all added material that they had either experienced themselves or heard about to their texts, they were more aware of the subjectivity and manipulation of language involved in producing a narrative - and therefore the functional similarities between the *Gesta Francorum*, and the texts of Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguilers and Peter Tudebode - than we might initially suppose.<sup>67</sup> They did not blindly follow the text of the *Gesta Francorum* and therefore did not necessarily simply believe in the factual truthfulness of the account, but used the *Gesta's* interpretive devices to their own ends. All the subsequent authors that took up the story in the *Gesta Francorum* of Kerbogha's mother, for example, adapted and manipulated the story to reflect their own concepts of the crusade, which will be discussed in more detail below. These authors used their sources, not necessarily in cavalier fashion as Harari suggests,<sup>68</sup> but to construct a theologically - and grammatically - sound narrative. They created a narrative that justified and explained the crusade so that it sat well with the ideals of the Reform Papacy, and also gave

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<sup>66</sup> Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade', p. 94.

<sup>67</sup> Coleman and Blacker, however, assert that words and letters were believed to directly substitute for experience. Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, pp. 276-77, 283; Blacker, *Faces of Time*, p. xiv. I am of the opinion that while medieval authors took history and truth claims seriously, they were not blind to the creativity involved in producing a narrative. Mehtonen's analysis of John of Garland's writings on the relationship between history and poetry appear to suggest that this was the case at least by the thirteenth century: Mehtonen, *Old Concepts and New Poetics*, pp. 72-80.

<sup>68</sup> Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade', p. 95.

prominence to the northern French. (Themes that will be considered further below). While later texts certainly re-interpreted the crusade, it was, I think, less to do with preoccupation over the status of eyewitnesses and their possible inability to correctly interpret the meaning of events, and more to do with the purpose of subsequent narratives and the religious, political or ideological influences exerted upon them.<sup>69</sup>

### **Theology and Exegesis**

There was no such thing as a professional historian in the twelfth century. As previously noted, history did not exist as a separate form of study, but was often used to substantiate theories configured in other branches of knowledge.<sup>70</sup> Writing history was not a primary occupation for most authors, nor was history necessarily the most popular form of literature in the Middle Ages.<sup>71</sup> The vast majority of those who produced histories in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had some connection with the Church - whether they were monks or in secular orders. It is hardly surprising, then, to find a strong relationship between theology and history.<sup>72</sup> The repetition of the liturgy, for example, was a form of remembrance, and a demonstration of respect for the past.<sup>73</sup> Robert the Monk, setting his work in the context of salvation history, highlighted the link he perceived between history and holy doctrine. He wrote that the precedents of Moses and the historians of the Old Testament demonstrated that it was pleasing to God 'that an account should be written for the faithful of any miraculous deed he has brought to pass on earth which had been part of his plan from the beginning of time.'<sup>74</sup> Guibert of Nogent self consciously styled his work *Dei gesta per Francos*, laying emphasis on God's work, and began his preface stating that he was certain that the crusade was 'brought to completion by God's power alone, and through those whom he willed.'<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Lapina, 'The Problem of Eyewitnesses', pp. 126-31.

<sup>70</sup> Knape, 'Historia, Textuality and Episteme', pp. 19-20. See also P. Classen, 'Res Gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse, Visions of Past and Future,' *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford, 1982), pp. 406-7, on Hugh of St Victor's use of history.

<sup>71</sup> Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History', p. 130.

<sup>72</sup> See Classen, 'Res Gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse, Visions of Past and Future', pp. 404-414, for a brief discussion on the role of history in the theological treatises of Robert of Deutz, Hugh of St Victor, Anselm of Havelburg, Gerhoch of Reichersburg and Joachim of Fiore.

<sup>73</sup> Ward, 'The Monastic Historiographical Impulse', p. 73.

<sup>74</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 723; translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 77.

<sup>75</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 79.

Baudri of Bourgueil was less explicit on this point but commented on the crusade's inspiration by holy spirit.<sup>76</sup> For these monastic authors history was the manifestation of divine will, the development of a celestial plan, which would come to fruition in God's own time.

The majority of those producing historical works in the Middle Ages were monks. They were therefore trained in use of exegesis in reading the Bible and accustomed to the typological interpretation of scripture - where a past event is used to foreshadow a future occurrence - and easily transferred this type of thinking onto historical writing. The authority derived from the application of exegesis and typological interpretation of the Bible was used in their interpretation of history.<sup>77</sup> The use of exegesis and typology was also a way to explain the present with no search for causality.<sup>78</sup> Hence, medieval authors did not generally investigate why Pope Urban had called the crusade exactly when he did, considering that Jerusalem had been in Muslim hands for several centuries (other than relate vague and generalised evils committed by Saracens), but drew comparisons with the supposed pilgrimage of Charlemagne, or the wars of the Israelites and Maccabees.<sup>79</sup>

### The Development of Theological Ideas

#### **Defining the Crusade**

Theology played a significant role in the production of medieval historical narratives in general, perhaps more so in early crusade narratives, which were keen to refine the rough religious sentiments expressed in the eyewitness texts, and to place the crusade within the context of providential history. The concept of predestination, for example, was given a stronger theological foundation by referring to the fulfilment of scripture and prophecy. Although the theme of prophecy fulfilled did appear in eyewitness accounts, it was significantly more pronounced in works of Guibert of Nogent, Robert

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<sup>76</sup> Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, p. 9.

<sup>77</sup> Mehtonen, *Old Concepts and New Poetics*, pp. 52-3, 55.

<sup>78</sup> Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, pp. 91-93.

<sup>79</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, pp. 52-3.

the Monk and Baudri of Bourgueil.<sup>80</sup> There was, however, no consensus on which prophecies were being fulfilled and the scriptures referred to varied widely. Fulfilment of prophecy was also a major theme in an anonymous account of the capture of Jerusalem from the abbey of Ripoll in Catalonia, dating from the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>81</sup> The account may have been written for the Office for the Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem, and therefore had a liturgical purpose.<sup>82</sup> Apart from the fulfilment of prophecy, the text also emphasised that the crusade was guided by divine providence, and highlighted the importance of spiritual purity.<sup>83</sup> The narrative itself appears to have been subordinate to expressions of crusade ideology.

Writing the history of the First Crusade was a process of construction and creation of the meaning of the crusade, a process that began with letters and eyewitness accounts but was continued and developed by second generation texts. Appropriate theological ideas in particular evolved considerably following the success of the enterprise. As previously noted, theology had an important role in the writing of history. This role was, perhaps, more significantly pronounced in narratives of the crusade written within the first decade of its conclusion. It appears that relatively few higher-ranking clergy of intellectual renown had participated in the First Crusade.<sup>84</sup> The type of spirituality the Holy Land, and probably also the crusade, attracted was one more inclined to veneration of the physical object than symbolic worship in spirit.<sup>85</sup> Guibert of Nogent was of the opinion that learned men were in short supply during the crusade and cast some aspersions on the quality of the clergy taking part in the expedition. He wrote regarding Arnulf of Chocques, ‘for the lack of learned men had made him more illustrious, and since the voice [of a man] is regarded to a greater extent than the way of

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<sup>80</sup> For example, Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 114-15; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 739, 779; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, pp. 15, 28. See also Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 8-9, 30-1.

<sup>81</sup> J. France, ‘An Unknown Account of the Capture of Jerusalem’, *EHR*, vol. 87 (1972), p. 776; J. France, ‘The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem in the Ripoll Manuscript, *Bibliothèque Nationale (Latin) 5132*’, *EHR*, vol. 103 (1988), pp. 645-6, 648, 650.

<sup>82</sup> France, ‘An Unknown Account of the Capture of Jerusalem’, pp. 775-8, 782.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 776-7; France, ‘The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem’, pp. 644, 647, 648, 651-2.

<sup>84</sup> J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd Edition (London, 2009), pp. 80-82, 154.

<sup>85</sup> B. Z. Kedar, ‘Intellectual Activities in a Holy City: Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century’, *Sacred Space. Shrine, City, Land*, ed. B. Z. Kedar and R. Werblowsky (New York, 1998), p. 132. However, the eleventh century also saw an increase in the popularity of the cult of saints, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, ‘Martyrdom and the First Crusade’, *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R.C. Smail*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), p. 47.

life, this man was called to become patriarch of Jerusalem.’<sup>86</sup> There was scope then, for religious ideas to develop without orthodox guidance, or at least ideas that were not quite in line with the reformist ideals prevalent in western Europe, especially so after the deaths of bishops Adhémar of Le Puy and William of Orange. Most of the letters of the crusaders, moreover, were dictated by laymen, and the eyewitness accounts were penned not by higher clergy but by chaplains or priests attached to households of great magnates. Guibert, Baudri and Robert the Monk, in reworking the eyewitness narratives, aimed, at least in part, to produce a more refined theological expression of crusading. As a starting point, they wished to highlight the role of the pope and give an account of the Council of Clermont. Robert even gave this as one of his reasons for writing.<sup>87</sup> Of the eyewitness accounts, only Fulcher of Chartres had written about the Council; the *Gesta Francorum* (upon which the second generation narratives were largely based) and Peter Tudebode only briefly mentioned Urban’s preaching, and even then wrote as if the pope were reacting to the situation rather than initiating it. Raymond of Aguilers, curiously enough given that he was in the contingent of Raymond of St Gilles and the papal legate Adhémar of Le Puy, did not mention the Council of Clermont at all.

The late eleventh and early twelfth centuries were a period of theological renewal, which coincided with church reform.<sup>88</sup> Pope Urban called the crusade in the midst of this milieu of renewal and reform. However, preaching the crusade was not the only, and perhaps not even the primary, purpose of the Council of Clermont; it was just the best remembered.<sup>89</sup> The crusade therefore became part of the reform movement.

### **The Impact of Papal Reform and New Monasticism**

If the launch of the crusade itself must be set in the context of the activities of the Reform Papacy, the narratives that framed it must also be viewed in light of the aims

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<sup>86</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 291.

<sup>87</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 721.

<sup>88</sup> J. Leclercq, ‘The Renewal of Theology’, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. Benson and G. Constable (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 69-70.

<sup>89</sup> Only Fulcher of Chartres, William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis referred in any detail to issues of the Council not related to the crusade. See also R. Somerville, ‘The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade’, *Estratto de Studia Gratiana*, vol. 20 (1976) pp. 325-6, 37.

and ideals of this reform.<sup>90</sup> The ideas of *imitatio Christi* and *vita apostolica* underpinned the reform movement and engendered diversity in monastic orders.<sup>91</sup> *Imitatio Christi* and the ideal of *vita apostolica* were also important concepts in early crusade spirituality.<sup>92</sup> Pope Urban II was a strong advocate of the ideal of the *vita apostolica*, a fact that may have informed his concept and preaching of the crusade.<sup>93</sup> In their letter to Urban following the siege of Antioch, for example, the crusading princes wrote that the pope had instructed them to bear the cross and follow Christ.<sup>94</sup> The author of the *Gesta Francorum* expressed such an idea at the very beginning of his narrative, quoting Matthew 16:24 and writing that ‘if any man, with all his heart and all his mind, really wanted to follow God and faithfully to bear the cross after him, he could make no delay in taking the road to the Holy Sepulchre as quickly as possible.’<sup>95</sup> Ekkehard of Aura stated that in the crusade army, warriors willingly took the cross for Christ who had been crucified for them.<sup>96</sup> Gilo of Paris, taking up the verse chronicle from the anonymous poet (c. 1120), wrote, ‘let him who wishes to imitate Christ on equal terms bow his neck and take up the cross in his turn. They fight in safety who fights under such a leader.’<sup>97</sup> Up to the end of the eleventh century it had been primarily monks who were regarded as true imitators of Christ, but after 1095 this idea was also transferred to the crusaders. Guibert of Nogent expressly stated that the holy wars instituted by God meant that it was no longer necessary to enter a monastery in order to gain salvation, implying that participation in the crusade could be seen as the equivalent of a religious life.<sup>98</sup> The ideas engendered by a revival of theological study and the ideals of church reform had encouraged the appearance of diverse monastic orders, including wandering

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<sup>90</sup> B. McGinn, ‘*Iter Sancti Sepulchri*: The Piety of the First Crusaders’, *The Walter Prescott Webb Lectures: Essays on Medieval Civilization*, ed. R. Sullivan, B. Lackner and K. Philp (Austin, 1978), pp. 38-43.

<sup>91</sup> G. Constable, ‘Renewal and Reform in Religious Life, Concepts and Realities’, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. Benson and G. Constable (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 42-3, 46-7.

<sup>92</sup> Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 22-56.

<sup>93</sup> Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 52, 55.

<sup>94</sup> *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, p. 164.

<sup>95</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, p. 1.

<sup>96</sup> Ekkehard of Aura, *Frotolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken*, p. 130.

<sup>97</sup> Gilo of Paris, *The Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>98</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 87; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 20-22.



preachers such as Peter the Hermit, who played a significant part in the crusade.<sup>99</sup> The general (if cautious) acceptance of this diversity may have inspired and encouraged the authors of second generation crusade narratives to take the Christo-mimetic sentiments expressed in the eyewitness narratives further and describe the crusade in monastic terms, viewing the crusaders as assuming a type of temporary monastic life.<sup>100</sup> Guibert of Nogent, Robert the Monk and Ralph of Caen, for example, all extolled Godfrey of Bouillon's monk-like virtues,<sup>101</sup> and Baudri of Bourgueil compared the crusader camp before Nicaea to the primitive church, holding all things in common.<sup>102</sup> The emphasis in these narratives was heavily on God or Christ as leader, with Guibert, for example, writing that no king participated in the crusade for God had not wanted the glory of his name to go to another; God was their leader and their king.<sup>103</sup> These authors were, after the event, imposing on the crusade a meaning that fitted well with ideals of reform, and, as reformers, they sought to press their own values onto the whole Church as well as to the world in general.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, it is possible that the monks who were revising the theological narrative of the First Crusade did not share the participants' overarching concern with the tangible, a sense that appears to have been at the forefront of crusader spirituality. Rather, monastic theology was more often expressed through symbolic representation.<sup>105</sup> It is perhaps natural that in the midst of theological renewal and under the influence of the reform movement, monastic authors would wish to construct a narrative of the crusade that reflected their (new) ideals.

The French monastic authors writing within twenty years of the conclusion of the crusade may also have sought to reclaim theological control of the crusade

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<sup>99</sup> McGinn, while generally downplaying the role of such preachers, has noted that they may have increased enthusiasm for the crusade: McGinn, *Iter Sancti Sepulchri*, pp. 46-7. Guibert of Nogent, although somewhat critical of him, reported that Peter the Hermit had a large following and was held in high esteem, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 121.

<sup>100</sup> Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life', pp. 42-3, 62-3; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 24--5. Moreover, the crusade itself may also have contributed to the expansion of this diversity with the establishment of the military orders.

<sup>101</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 317-18; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 731; Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 615.

<sup>102</sup> Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, p. 28.

<sup>103</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 328.

<sup>104</sup> Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life', p. 54; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, p. 150.

<sup>105</sup> Leclercq, 'The Renewal of Theology', pp. 71, 78-9; McGinn, 'Iter Sancti Sepulchri', pp. 40-43.

movement. The rough and unsophisticated theological ideas expressed in eyewitness accounts may have made them aware of how easily popular ideas could distort the pope's message. Guibert of Nogent, commenting on the wrong kind of spirituality the crusade could evoke, wrote of how the crusade inspired people to claim they had been marked by God with the sign of the cross and believe that a goose was undertaking the journey to Jerusalem.<sup>106</sup> Guibert also related the account of Abbot Baldwin, later appointed archbishop of Caesarea, who cut the sign of the cross onto his forehead in order to raise funds for the crusade. Guibert noted that Baldwin had intended pious imitation of God with regards to the stigmata but had not carried it out wisely.<sup>107</sup> The continuation of crusading - in 1101 and Bohemond's crusade of 1106 - and the need for continued defence and expansion of the Latin states in the East, may have made the production of a theologically sound narrative of the First Crusade appear all the more important to Baudri of Bourgueil, Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent.<sup>108</sup> The significance of the crusade had developed over time, and had not necessarily been apparent at its inception.

However, it is interesting to note that not all subsequent authors felt that the eyewitness accounts needed radical revision. Bartolf of Nangis, for example, did not substantially change Fulcher of Chartres' account, and did not add greatly to the theology of the text.<sup>109</sup> Ekkehard of Aura chose to add to the narrative in the archbishop of Pisa's letter by including an account of the preaching and departure of the crusade rather than significantly changing the text of the letter.<sup>110</sup> Similarly, the brief text of the Anonymous of Fleury, written c.1110, did not echo the more refined theological tone of the narratives produced by Baudri, Guibert and Robert, reflecting instead a

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<sup>106</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 330-1.

<sup>107</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p.197; Bernard of Clairvaux's censure of the unlicensed preacher, Ralph, before the Second Crusade, suggests that distortion, or, at least, popularisation, of the pope's message continued to be a problem: Otto of Freising *Gesta Frederici seu rectius Chronica*, ed. G. Waitz, B. Simson and F.-J. Schmale (Darmstadt, 1965), p. 208.

<sup>108</sup> It is possible, however, that Baudri was writing c.1105, before Bohemond's arrival in France and was not, therefore, influenced by the Prince of Antioch's proposed crusade. See S. J. Biddlecombe, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil - A New Edition in Latin and an Analysis* (unpublished PhD thesis, Bristol, 2010). Nevertheless, the 1101 crusade - and perhaps its lack of success - as well as the continued need for defence of the Holy Land, may have been sufficient to demonstrate to Baudri the need for a narrative set within a greater theological framework.

<sup>109</sup> Bartolf of Nangis, *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem*, pp. 489-543.

<sup>110</sup> Ekkehard of Aura, *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken*, pp. 130-63, follows Daimbert of Pisa's letter from pp. 150-157 though not *verbatim*.

preoccupation with signs in the sky (mentioned three times in the short narrative), prophecies and visions, and the attainment of the earthly Jerusalem as a means to salvation.<sup>111</sup> The influence of the reform movement appears to have been the main impetus behind Guibert of Nogent's, Baudri of Bourgueil's and Robert the Monk's attempts to rewrite the crusade narrative in theologically sound terms. Yet in regions less affected by papal reform, we can see a different emphasis. Albert of Aachen and Sigebert of Gembloux, writing within two decades of the end of the crusade, expressed a crusade ideology that differed to some extent from that of the French Benedictine monks. Living within the German Empire, they did not come under the direct influence of reform papacy. Ekkehard of Aura had even claimed that, on account of the conflict between the papacy and the empire, almost all the German people were at first ignorant of the reasons for the expedition.<sup>112</sup> Sigebert's allegiance was to the Empire,<sup>113</sup> and Albert also displayed a sympathetic attitude towards the German Emperors in the Investiture Controversy; an attitude consequently shared by Godfrey of Bouillon, the main protagonist of Albert's narrative. Godfrey, as Albert noted, had taken part in the siege of Rome with Henry IV in 1084.<sup>114</sup> Consequently, neither Albert nor Sigebert gave the pope a central role in calling the crusade; Sigebert noted that Urban held councils through Burgundy and France, but did not link them to the crusade, and Albert credited the inception of the crusade to Peter the Hermit.<sup>115</sup> There appears to be no (consistent) theological restructuring in Albert's history, or a concern to place the crusade in the context of providential history; rather he presented a fairly conservative approach to crusade spirituality.<sup>116</sup> Unlike the French Benedictine authors, neither he nor Sigebert, for example, portrayed the crusade as a new work of God, possibly as a result of their

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<sup>111</sup> *Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsesso Dyrrachio*, pp. 356-62. For the three aforementioned Benedictine authors, the acquisition of the physical city could not replace the attainment of the heavenly Jerusalem, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, p. 147.

<sup>112</sup> Ekkehard of Aura, *Frotolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken*, p. 140.

<sup>113</sup> Classen, 'Res Gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse, Visions of Past and Future', p. 399.

<sup>114</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 354-55; 824-25; S. B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen Reappraised', *From Clermont to Jerusalem; The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), p. 59.

<sup>115</sup> Sigeberti Gemblacenses, *Chronica*, p. 367; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 2-9; Peter's prominence may have been a Germanic tradition. The *Annales Rosendenses*, for example, record Peter's preaching but make no mention of the pope: *Annales Rosendenses*, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS* vol. 16 (Hanover, 1859), pp. 101-2. This tradition may have encouraged the more positive view of the activities of the unlicensed anti-Jewish preacher Raldulf just before the Second Crusade, later strongly criticised by Bernard of Clairvaux: *Annales Rodenses*, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS*, vol. 16, p. 718; Otto of Freising *Gesta Frederici*, p. 208.

<sup>116</sup> C. Morris, 'The Aims and Spirituality of the Crusade as Seen Through the Eyes of Albert of Aix', *Reading Medieval Studies*, vol. 16 (1990), p. 110.

distance from reform movement.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps because he did not consider the crusade as a new enterprise or a new form of salvation, Albert did not seek to justify it with extensive biblical citations or classical quotations, or to draw comparisons with ancient history.<sup>118</sup> Less traditional, however, was his presentation of Godfrey as chosen of God, preordained to protect the Holy City.<sup>119</sup> Albert and Sigebert represent a different crusade ideology and spirituality from that of the northern French, one that was not particularly influenced by Reform. Church reform and new monasticism both had a significant impact on the way crusade ideology developed but its influence was not universal.

### **Martyrdom**

Albert of Aachen's more conservative approach to the crusade can also be seen in his view of martyrdom on the expedition. Although he appears to have accepted that those who died on the crusade were martyrs, considering the length of his history, there are relatively few references to it.<sup>120</sup> The idea of the dead as martyrs seems to have developed during the crusade itself. Through the letters the crusaders sent to the West, we see the idea only in embryonic form.<sup>121</sup> In their letter to all the faithful, the crusade leaders implied that the deceased crusaders had obtained martyrdom: 'three thousand rest in peace, who without any doubt glory in eternal life.'<sup>122</sup> Likewise, in his second letter to his wife, Stephen of Blois wrote that in battles during the siege of Antioch, 'they killed many of our Christian brothers, whose souls truly have obtained the joys of Paradise.'<sup>123</sup> The idea was not entirely new; clerics and knights alike would have been familiar at least with the image of saints assisting Christian knights on the battlefield; liturgical ceremonies such as the *Laudes regiae* invoked the aid of warrior-saints, and the sculpture of the appearance of St James on the field of Clavijo against the Muslims

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<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 105, 107, 109-110.

<sup>118</sup> Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen Reappraised', pp. 64-5.

<sup>119</sup> Morris, 'The Aims and Spirituality of the Crusade', pp. 110-11; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 446-51.

<sup>120</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 40-1, 48-9, 106-7, 214-15, 238-39, 308-9, 382-83, 458-61. Sigebert of Gembloux, in his short account, did not refer to martyrdom: Sigeberti Gemblacenses, *Chronica*, pp. 367-8.

<sup>121</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, pp. 115-6.

<sup>122</sup> *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, p. 154.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, p. 150, see also p. 142. However, Anselm of Ribemont, in both his letters, requested prayers for the dead - unnecessary if they had received the crown of martyrdom, pp. 145, 160.

in the cathedral at Compostella would have been conspicuous to pilgrims.<sup>124</sup> Warrior martyrs were also to be found in literature before the crusade. The *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, narrating the story of the 1087 Pisan campaign against Mahdia, for example, celebrated the martyrdom of *vicecomes* Hugh and others who died on the expedition.<sup>125</sup> Nevertheless, while the concept of a warrior receiving a martyrs' crown, sword in hand, was not entirely without precedent, it was not necessarily widely accepted.<sup>126</sup> It is interesting that the eyewitness narratives generally felt it necessary to confirm the status of martyred crusaders through visions, as if desiring to present evidence of divine sanction for their claim.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres described marks of the cross being found on pilgrims who had died. Raymond asserted that the corpses of six or seven crusaders killed near Marrat an-Numan 'had crosses on their right shoulder,' and further noted that one of these, barely surviving, 'yet lived seven or eight days without nourishment, all the time testifying that Jesus, to whose judgement he would surely go, was God, the creator of the cross which he bore on his shoulder.'<sup>128</sup> Fulcher, even more explicitly, wrote regarding pilgrims who had drowned near Brindisi, 'they found crosses actually imprinted in the flesh of some of them, between the shoulders. For it was fitting that this same symbol of victory, which they had worn on their clothes while living, should remain by the will of God as a token of faith upon those thus occupied in His service. At the same time it was also proper that such a miracle should show to those who witness it that the dead had now attained by the mercy of God the peace of eternal life.'<sup>129</sup> They thus interpreted this as a miraculous sign of God's favour, and implied that these individuals, as God's elect, had

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<sup>124</sup> J. B. MacGregor, 'The Ministry of Gerold d'Avranches: Warrior-Saints and Knightly Piety on the Eve of the First Crusade', *JMH*, vol. 29 (2003), pp. 219-37; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Anglo-Norman *Laudes regiae*', *Viator*, vol. 12 (1981), pp. 44-5, 73, 77; Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade', p. 48

<sup>125</sup> H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia Campaign of 1087', *EHR*, vol. 92 (1977), pp. 12, 26-27. It is interesting that martyrdom was not mentioned in *Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum*, written c.1120. Classen has suggested that the Pisan annals represented an entirely different literary tradition: Classen, 'Res Gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse, Visions of Past and Future', pp. 395-6. Cowdrey in fact points to the similarities between the *Carmen* and the *Gesta Francorum*: Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia Campaign', pp. 21-2.

<sup>126</sup> C. Morris, 'Martyrs on the Field of Battle Before and During the First Crusade', *Studies in Church History*, vol. 30 (1993), pp.93-104. It is interesting to note that although it appears warrior-saints were becoming more prominent in the decades before the crusade, the emphasis was still on the ultimate renunciation of violence; see MacGregor, 'The Ministry of Gerold d'Avranches: Warrior-Saints and Knightly Piety', pp. 219-37.

<sup>127</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, '*Liber*', p. 109; Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 169-70, 246-7; implied Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, p. 100.

<sup>128</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, '*Liber*', p. 102; translated as Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. Hill, p. 82,

<sup>129</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 169-70, translated as Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, Ryan, p. 76.

received a heavenly reward. Martyrdom could also be seen as the epitome of the concept of *imitatio Christi*; dying for Christ and the Christian brotherhood as He had died for all mankind.<sup>130</sup> Guibert, Baudri and Robert refined and emphasised the concept of warrior martyrdom and presented it as an intrinsic part of crusade ideology. Guibert of Nogent, for example, indicated that Pope Urban had offered martyrdom to those who died in battle on the crusade in his speech at Clermont. Guibert also highlighted the martyrdom of a knight, Matthew, on the crusade, to stress that the expedition provided the opportunity for laymen to bear witness to their faith.<sup>131</sup> Baudri of Bourgueil also referred to martyrdom as a reward for those who died on the crusade in his version of Pope Urban's speech, 'it should be beautiful for you to die in that city for Christ, in which Christ died for you ... the journey is short, the hardship is moderate which nevertheless will purchase for you an unfading crown.'<sup>132</sup> Robert the Monk, wrote that the restoration of Nicaea to Christian hands 'was provided by God because it was consecrated by the martyrdom of the many who were killed there.' Also, in a passage that he used to justify the crusade, Robert had Bohemond explain to Pirrus that the 'innumerable army of shining white soldiers' that helped the crusaders in battle were 'the ones who had suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ and fought against unbelievers across the earth.'<sup>133</sup> These authors were perhaps encouraged in their presentation of crusaders as martyrs by the reform papacy's recent advocacy of warrior martyrs, such as the Patarene leaders, who had supported their cause.<sup>134</sup> The idea of crusaders as martyrs, linked with the concept of *imitatio Christi*, came to be a crucial part of crusade ideology, guided, in part, by the politics of reform.

Later narratives were increasingly confident of dead crusaders' status as martyrs; a concept perhaps accepted and assimilated so quickly because it formed part of a shared culture of Western Europe and encapsulated ideas and aspirations held in

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<sup>130</sup> W. J. Purkis, 'Elite and Popular Perceptions of *Imitatio Christi* in Twelfth Century Crusade Spirituality', *Studies in Church History*, vol. 42 (2006), p. 56.

<sup>131</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 113, 198-9. However, it's interesting that Guibert's most detailed description of a crusade martyr reflects more the traditional form of martyrdom, that of accepting execution for refusing to renounce the faith, rather than dying in battle against enemies of the faith.

<sup>132</sup> Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, p. 15, see also pp. 30, 101.

<sup>133</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 759, 796; translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, pp. 107, 141-42.

<sup>134</sup> Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade', pp. 48-9; see also, H. E. J. Cowdrey 'The Papacy, The Patarenes and the Church of Milan', *TRHS*, vol. 18 (1968), pp. 25-48, especially pp. 35, 37, 47-8.

common by clergy and laity alike.<sup>135</sup> This view of crusaders as martyrs prevailed, but the expression of the crusade as a quasi-monastic movement became more muted in later narratives; the strong emphasis on monasticism in crusade spirituality was not necessarily a lasting theme.

Other influences, such as political considerations, family honour and ideals of chivalry (which will be discussed further below) began to determine how the crusade was remembered. Writing around 1120 Ralph of Caen and the anonymous continuator of Gilo of Paris focused more on the actions of the crusade leaders, rather than the crusaders as a whole. Ralph began his narrative stating ‘it is a noble thing to recount accurately the deeds of princes’; similarly the anonymous poet opened his work by indicating, ‘my mind moves me to describe the celebrated actions of the great-hearted leaders.’<sup>136</sup> They were writing primarily about elites. Likewise, William of Malmesbury, for whom crusade was primarily a knightly enterprise, highlighted qualities of chivalry and valour.<sup>137</sup> He wrote, for example, that Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders and Stephen of Blois were ‘all of them nobles of ancient lineage whose valour did not fall short of their ancestry,’ and referred to Godfrey as a ‘shining example of Christian chivalry (*nobilitatis*), in whom was reflected as from a splendid ceiling the radiance of all virtues.’<sup>138</sup> In William’s text, there is a sense of human, rather than divine, agency as a driving force. Although he acknowledged the role of the pope in the crusade, William claimed that it was on the advice of Bohemond that he had called the expedition.<sup>139</sup> William might here have been amalgamating the First Crusade with Bohemond’s crusade of 1106, but it underlines his emphasis on the secular leaders of the crusade. William’s account of the capture of Antioch further underlines his emphasis on human agency; Fulcher of Chartres, whose work William used as his main source, attributed

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<sup>135</sup> Cowdrey, ‘Martyrdom and the First Crusade’, p. 47; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>136</sup> Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 603, translated as Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi*, trans. Bachrach, p. 19. Gilo of Paris, *The Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>137</sup> R. M. Thomson, ‘William of Malmesbury, Historian of Crusade’, *Reading Medieval Studies*, vol. 23 (1997), pp. 126-7, 130-31; A. Grabois, ‘The Description of Jerusalem by William of Malmesbury: A Mirror of the Holy Land’s Presence in the Anglo-Norman Mind’, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, vol. 13 (1991), p. 155.

<sup>138</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 612-13, 650-1, see also pp. 608-9, 654-5, 656-661, 668-9, 680-83, 686-9, 692-3, 696-7, 700-703.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 592-5.

Pirrus' betrayal of the city to a divinely inspired vision.<sup>140</sup> For William, it was Bohemond's cunning and ingenuity, as well as use of extensive bribes, which led to the betrayal of Antioch.<sup>141</sup> The role of lay leaders generally began to gain more prominence in the narratives. William's near contemporary, Orderic Vitalis, did not stress the role of the crusade princes quite so much, following his source, Baudri of Bourgueil, on this point. However, there is some indication that chivalric ideas did influence his narrative. He explained, for example, in his prologue that he was going to include a narrative of the crusade in his work because he loved 'the brave champions of Christ and delighted in praising their deeds.' In his version of Pope Urban's speech at Clermont, he wrote that the pope had urged renowned lords to 'prove the valour of their knighthood against the pagans.'<sup>142</sup> Orderic also embellished Baudri's story of Duke Godfrey cutting Turk in half at the siege of Antioch, referring to Godfrey as valiant and adding that the Turk was huge and wore a golden hauberk. He also wrote of the 'anguish and terror' the deed inspired in those watching from the walls of the city.<sup>143</sup> Orderic's account of Baldwin of Bouillon's acquisition of Edessa - for which he did not use Baudri of Bourgueil - highlighted Baldwin's knightly qualities and his descent from Charlemagne, and also suggests the influence of *Chansons de geste* in his assertion of the secret love of the daughter of the governor of Edessa for Baldwin.<sup>144</sup> The focus on the actions of the leaders of the crusade became increasingly marked in the twelfth century crusade narratives.

### The Variety of Narrative Versions

#### **Literary Traditions**

Authors of crusade narratives were significantly influenced by literary traditions; I am not here discussing the sources upon which they based their texts, but the models they used to construct their works. They looked back to ancient writers and used the authority derived from the application of exegesis and typological interpretation of the

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<sup>140</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 231-2.

<sup>141</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 634--7.

<sup>142</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 6-7, 14-15.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 84-5; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, p. 50.

<sup>144</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 118-19, 126-7.



Bible in their interpretation of history. Robert the Monk explained that he was following the precedent of the historians of the Old and New Testament.<sup>145</sup> About a decade later, Ralph of Caen expressed similar sentiments; ‘in reading old things and writing new, antiquity may be able to satisfy our needs and we may be able to nourish to the fullest the requirements of our posterity.’<sup>146</sup> Ralph of Caen’s education, probably at the cathedral school at Caen, allowed him access to the works of the classical historians Livy, Caesar, Lucan and Sallust, which informed his ideas on the purpose of history.<sup>147</sup> Orderic Vitalis used the ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius and Bede, among others, as models for his work.<sup>148</sup> The majority of authors writing of the narratives of the crusade embraced the classical notion of history as a branch of grammar alongside rhetoric and logic, thereby approaching their work from an ancient literary tradition, which influenced both the style and content of the narratives. However, none of these authors slavishly followed ancient precedent, and more contemporary influences also impacted their works. Ralph’s use of prosimetric narrative, for example, may have been inspired by the early eleventh century Norman historian Dudo of St Quentin,<sup>149</sup> suggesting that literary influences could also be determined by locality. Hugh of Fleury, who included a short account of the crusade in his *Modernorum regum Francorum actus*, written c. 1114, may have been influenced in his work as a whole by the tradition of historical writing revived by Abbo, a late tenth-century abbot of Fleury, which was continued and developed by his pupil Aimoin.<sup>150</sup>

The conscious effort to mould texts on the literary traditions of antiquity, whether Biblical or Classical, sometimes led authors to impose ancient labels within the structure of their narratives, rather than refer to contemporary works. William of Malmesbury, for example, wrote that his inspiration came from Bede and that he aimed

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<sup>145</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 723.

<sup>146</sup> Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 603; translated as Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi*, trans. Bachrach, p. 19.

<sup>147</sup> Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi*, trans. Bachrach, pp. 4-6.

<sup>148</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 160-1. See also M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 169-180.

<sup>149</sup> Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi*, trans. Bachrach, pp. 8-9, n. 24.

<sup>150</sup> Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, pp. 172-3; See also R.-H. Bautier, ‘La Place de l’Abbaye de Fleury-Sur-Loire dans l’Historiographie Française du IXe au XIIe Siècle’, *Etudes Ligériennes d’Histoire et d’Archéologie Médiévales*, ed. R. Louis (Auxerre, 1975), pp. 25-33; Hugonis Floriacensis, *Modernorum regum Francorum actus*, pp. 376-95.

to ‘give a Roman polish to the rough annals of our native speech.’<sup>151</sup> In the introduction to his narrative of the crusade he explained that he would ‘subjoin selections from the works of ancient authors on the position and riches of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem’.<sup>152</sup> William used the works of Virgil, Horace and Sidonius for his descriptions of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem rather than contemporary accounts, such as Fulcher of Chartres’ text, upon which his account of the crusade was partly based.<sup>153</sup> Ralph of Caen described the massacre of the Muslim population of Jerusalem as ‘greater than the slaughter at Pharsalus under Caesar, or the Phrygian fields under the Greeks, of the fields of Latium under Marius and Sulla.’<sup>154</sup> The language of the Bible could be used in a similar manner; Raymond of Aguilers for example, following the massacre of the Muslim population of Jerusalem, described the blood reaching the knees and bridles of the horses, an allusion to the Book of Revelation.<sup>155</sup> Biblical imagery was commonly used in crusade narratives, particularly allusions to the people of the Old Testament. Robert the Monk, for example, described the Turk that Duke Godfrey cleaved in two at the battle of Antioch as another Goliath, implying Godfrey was like King David.<sup>156</sup> Gilo of Paris wrote that one of the qualities the king of Jerusalem ought to display was to follow ‘the example of Melchizedek, who is said to have offered fitting gifts to the faithful and victorious patriarch [Abraham].’<sup>157</sup> Moreover, the consistent image of Muslims as pagans or idolaters possibly aimed to remind an educated audience of Christianity’s ancient pagan enemies; the crusade and the victory at Jerusalem – foretold in scripture and confirmed by the signs in the sky - could then be presented as part of an on-going battle against paganism.<sup>158</sup> The appeal to

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<sup>151</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 592-3.

<sup>153</sup> Thomson, ‘William of Malmesbury, Historian of Crusade’, p. 131.

<sup>154</sup> Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 699; translated as Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi*, trans. Bachrach, p. 148.

<sup>155</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, ‘*Liber*’ p. 150. The imagery was also used by Daimbert of Pisa in his letter to the West (probably penned by Raymond of Aguilers) and copied by Ekkehard of Aura and Sigebert of Gembloux. It was also alluded to by Albert of Aachen. *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, p. 171; Ekkehard of Aura, *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken*, p. 154; Sigeberti Gemblacenses, *Chronica*, p. 368; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 430-1.

<sup>156</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 786-7, see also pp. 747, 779.

<sup>157</sup> Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, pp. 250-1. See also Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 2-3, n.2; Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 321-2; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pp. 132-3, 184-5.

<sup>158</sup> J. Tolan, *Saracens, Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), pp. 112, 120. See for example, Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 302-3; Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 695-6. See also Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 94-100;

antiquity and emphasis on continuity between past and present served a legitimising purpose within the text. Following ancient models and referring back to literary traditions lent authority to their works.

### **Twelfth Century Renaissance**

The insistence on ancient authority in historical literature suggests a lack of confidence in contemporary achievements and to some extent may seem to reflect a rather pessimistic attitude to the present. Guibert of Nogent commented that while the accomplishments of modern men were censured, past times were raised on high.<sup>159</sup> This tendency, however, appears to have been inherited from the eleventh century, and seems to have been changing with the advent of the Twelfth Century Renaissance. The renewal and reform of the Church in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries also heralded a more positive approach to the past and optimistic view of the present.<sup>160</sup> The achievement of the First Crusade was seen as something at least comparable to ancient glories. The eyewitness accounts compared contemporary achievements, somewhat cautiously, to God's people of the Old Testament. Fulcher of Chartres, for example, wrote, 'Although I dare not compare the above-mentioned labour of the Franks with the great achievements of the Israelites or Maccabees ... still I consider the deeds of the Franks scarcely less inferior since God's miracles often occurred among them.'<sup>161</sup> Later accounts, however, tended to be more confident and more laudatory, even going so far as to assert that this achievement of modern times surpassed ancient glories. Guibert of Nogent justified his decision to write on a contemporary topic by claiming that the glory of the victory of the expedition to Jerusalem was such that 'our times rejoice to be distinguished by such distinction which no previous times have gained.'<sup>162</sup> Guibert aimed to produce a work that demonstrated the continuation of sacred glories of ancient times while also celebrating present times.<sup>163</sup> The astounding success of the crusade helped to convince these authors that their society was not necessarily intrinsically

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<sup>159</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 85.

<sup>160</sup> Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life', pp. 38-9, 40, 62-3; Leclercq, 'The Renewal of Theology', pp. 84, 85.

<sup>161</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 116-17; translated as Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, trans. Ryan, p. 58.

<sup>162</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 86.

<sup>163</sup> Leclercq, 'Verse et prose', p. 104.

degenerate and that they had God's grace. The text of Gilo of Paris and the Charleville poet, written about 1120, is replete with comparisons between the crusaders and ancient heroes.<sup>164</sup> An anonymous poet, in an epilogue added to Gilo's verse history, however, went further and exclaimed, 'While Gilo tells of such great events, and with such praise extols the Christian nobles, heroes brave in every situation, let the praise of the ancients now yield to their praise; Argive Diomedes and Larissaeam Achilles, Ajax and Theseus, Polynices and Capaneus should yield before Hugh the Great and both Roberts, before the unconquered Duke Godfrey and the invincible prowess of Raymond; Bohemond is greater than the sons of Atreus.'<sup>165</sup> The near contemporary, William of Malmesbury, in a similar vein, wrote, 'let poets with their eulogies now give place, and fabled history no longer laud the heroes of Antiquity. Nothing to be compared with their [the crusaders'] glory has ever been begotten in any age.'<sup>166</sup> The more forward-looking, positive attitude towards the present prevalent in intellectual circles, and engendered by the twelfth century renaissance, further encouraged authors to praise the crusade as the greatest of achievements. Although most authors followed literary tradition in drawing comparisons with ancient times, as the twelfth century progressed they also began praising something new and contemporary. In light of the literary interest produced by the crusade, it seems that the textual representation of the enterprise contributed significantly to a shift in views of the past and to developments in the writing of history.

The influence of the schools emerging in the early twelfth century may have further encouraged and reinforced the reliance on ancient literary tradition in the production of histories. A scholastic education would have provided access to classical texts and their style of rhetoric. Guibert of Nogent hinted at the increasing importance of formal education in his letter to Bishop Lysiard where he wrote, 'I see villages, cities, and also towns, fervently studying grammar...' and in his preface took up the subject again, 'since we see a passion for grammar everywhere, because of the great number of schools accessible, and we know the discipline is now open to any common person, it would be dreadful not to write...'<sup>167</sup> Guibert's education belonged more to the eleventh

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<sup>164</sup> Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, pp. 2-3, 6-7, 46-7, 52-55, 96-7, 122-3, 160-1, 250-1.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 252-3.

<sup>166</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 654-5.

<sup>167</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 78, 80.

century than the twelfth, but his comments suggest that the intellectual changes of the twelfth century were beginning to make themselves felt.<sup>168</sup> The schools may have further influenced the way in which history was written through the encouragement of harmonisation of sources, prominent in the fields of theology and law.<sup>169</sup> The influence of the schools was evident, not only in clerical and monastic circles, but also in the circles of the lay nobility. As the eleventh century drew to a close there was a dissemination of eleventh century scholastic ideals of love and friendship to laity, even as the emphasis on these ideals began to fade from the new schools of the twelfth century. These ideas, as they began to be expressed in literature, gave rise to ideals of chivalry.<sup>170</sup> Intellectual influences on the lay aristocracy came not only from nascent chivalric notions, but also from association with the increasingly educated secular clergy employed in noble households. Both chivalric ideals and the association with the secular clergy encouraged the patronage of the nobility for the schools and their texts.<sup>171</sup> William of Malmesbury, in a letter dedicating his *Gesta regum Anglorum* to Robert of Gloucester, praised Robert for his patronage of scholastic endeavour, writing, ‘you think worthy of your notice men of letters who have been thrust into obscurity by jealous competitors of limited resources.’<sup>172</sup> Robert was evidently known as a patron of letters, for Geoffrey of Monmouth also dedicated his history to the Earl.<sup>173</sup> The new schools of the twelfth century renaissance thus influenced the shape and the production of texts.

Early crusade histories were representative of a new type of text. Free-standing histories of a single event were rare in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; histories tended to be of the deeds of kings, narrate the story of a people or fall into the category of the all embracing universal chronicle, such as William of Jumièges’ *Gesta ducum*

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<sup>168</sup> C. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels, Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 226-9. See also, J. Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent, Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, 2002), pp. 18-21, 27-30.

<sup>169</sup> Powell, ‘Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History’, pp. 140-1.

<sup>170</sup> Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, pp. 105-6, 193, 217-19, 242-3.

<sup>171</sup> G. Duby, ‘The Culture of the Knightly Class, Audience and Patronage’, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford, 1982), pp. 251, 255, 257.

<sup>172</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>173</sup> Blacker, *The Faces of Time*, p. 12; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. M. D. Reeve, trans. N. Wright (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 4-5.

*Normanorum* or Siegbert of Gembloux's *Chronica*.<sup>174</sup> These new histories developed not only as product of the search for meaning in the crusade, but also under the influence of schools and twelfth century renaissance. Society in the twelfth century was increasingly literate; the increased importance of documents can even be seen in the intellectual sphere, where the personality of a master was giving way to the authority of the text.<sup>175</sup> The increasing importance of documents led to the written word becoming a fixed memorial of the present.<sup>176</sup> This fixed state led to discontinuities between past and present becoming more apparent. From the twelfth century, the past was considered to be made up of discrete, individual moments (as opposed the continuous essence a predominantly oral culture had allowed), and continuities were now constructed.<sup>177</sup> The tendency to harmonise, prevalent in scholastic ideology, may have encouraged the construction of continuities, such as setting the text in a prophetic framework, in the writing of history.<sup>178</sup>

### **Purpose and Audience**

The process of re-writing the history of the First Crusade could have been influenced by the harmonising tendencies of the schools. Where more than one source was available, authors may have re-written the texts in order to achieve this aim. However, it is unlikely this was the primary aim of any of the authors. Those writing history were not doing so in order to study the past in its own right, but to make it relevant to the present. The circumstances and therefore needs of the present were ever-changing and texts were adapted to suit those needs.<sup>179</sup> It was in its service of the present that the past gained importance and meaning.<sup>180</sup> For example, Bohemond's arrival in France in 1106 and his recruitment campaign for his proposed expedition to strengthen his position in Antioch, may have had an impact on the way Guibert of Nogent, Robert the Monk and possibly

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<sup>174</sup> Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*', p. 180. Chibnall, in the introduction to her edition and translation of Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History*, commented that Baudri of Bourgueil's *Historia Jerosolimitana* - a free-standing history - provided Orderic with 'a model for a kind of history so new that it lay outside the scope of Eusebius, Bede and early Norman and papal historians.' *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 1, p.60.

<sup>175</sup> Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, pp. 189-91.

<sup>176</sup> Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 44-6, 53-6.

<sup>177</sup> Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, p. 288.

<sup>178</sup> Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History', p. 141; Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, pp. 286-8.

<sup>179</sup> Ward, 'The Monastic Historiographical Impulse', p. 74.

<sup>180</sup> Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, pp. 290-1, 294. The use of the past in the service of the present can also be clearly seen in the way political circumstances encroached on the narratives, see below.

Baudri of Bourgueil presented the First Crusade in their histories. Bohemond evidently made an impression as both Abbot Suger of St-Denis and Orderic Vitalis later recorded his activities in France.<sup>181</sup> The extant texts produced around this time, by Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent, were within the sphere of power of the king of France; particularly Robert, who was from Reims, the city in which the French monarchs were crowned. While there is no evidence that these works were commissioned from the French court, by marrying the king's daughter, Bohemond had allied himself with the French royal family.<sup>182</sup> Guibert argued that since Bohemond was from Normandy, which was a part of France, and had married the daughter of the French king, he could be considered to be French (*Francus*).<sup>183</sup> Moreover, in their presentation of the crusade these authors stressed the potential for further action and, to cater for their audience, also placed considerable emphasis on the role of the Franks on the crusade.<sup>184</sup>

In a similar manner the didactic purpose of historical texts aimed to influence the actions of the governing elites. Such aims were explicitly expressed in William of Malmesbury's dedicatory letters, and were implied in the emphasis placed on emulating the deeds of forefathers, particularly in the narratives of Robert the Monk and Gilo of Paris and his anonymous continuator. William, in his letter to Robert of Gloucester, wrote that the history was 'a work in which you can see yourself as in a mirror.'<sup>185</sup> Robert the Monk, in his version of Urban's speech, had the pope declare, 'may the deeds of your ancestors move you and spur your souls to manly courage,' and 'most valiant soldiers and descendants of victorious ancestors, do not fall short of, but be inspired by, the courage of your forefathers.'<sup>186</sup> Gilo's anonymous continuator opened the narrative by referencing deeds of the fathers, and went on to write, addressing his audience, 'so that mindful of the deeds of our fathers, and seeking to rival them, our vigour shall spring up to similar achievements though the desire burning in our

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<sup>181</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol.6, pp. 68-73; Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, ed. and trans. H. Waquet (Paris, 1964), pp. 146-9.

<sup>182</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, pp. 5-6.

<sup>183</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 106.

<sup>184</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 727-8, 741; Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 88-9, 108-9; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, pp. 34, 46-7, 91.

<sup>185</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>186</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 728; translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 80.

hearts.<sup>187</sup> That such ideas of the didactic purposes of history were shared by the laity is suggested in a letter prefacing a book containing the histories of Fulcher of Chartres, Walter the Chancellor and Raymond of Aguilers, given to Louis VII of France as a gift, by a knight, W. Grassegals, probably in 1137.<sup>188</sup> Although the letter was written in Latin, by a scribe, it must have conveyed at least Grassegals' general intentions. The letter encouraged the king to 'look in this book with the eye of reason as if in a mirror at the images of your ancestors... and you might follow their footsteps in the path of virtue.'<sup>189</sup> In other words, the deeds of the crusaders were a worthy model for the young king. The intended audience of these texts affected the aims of the narrative and maintained their focus on the present.

The majority of authors were churchmen; texts can therefore be expected to reflect their views and, even if we accept that the texts were accessible in some form to a lay audience, it can be questioned to what extent they were representative of wider opinions. Nevertheless, it must be considered that at least some of their information evidently came from laymen – Raymond of Aguilers' co-author was a knight, Pons of Balazun<sup>190</sup> – whose views and ideas likely infiltrated the text, although we cannot now know to what extent. Moreover, some of these works were commissioned by laymen or laywomen and would therefore have required their consent, or at least reflected their interests. Moreover the worlds inhabited by ecclesiastics and by the laity were not that far apart. Guibert of Nogent, for example, appears to have had some choice over whether to go into the church or become a knight, and at one point discontinued his studies and took up knightly training.<sup>191</sup> Guibert also knew a knight, Matthew, who was martyred on the crusade.<sup>192</sup> He cannot, therefore, have been ignorant of the interests and culture of the knightly class. William of Malmesbury wrote for a courtly audience, and

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<sup>187</sup> Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, pp. 2-5. See also Peter Tudebode's report of a speech of Bohemond in the midst of a battle during the siege of Antioch: Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, p. 72.

<sup>188</sup> See J. Rubenstein, 'Putting History to Use', pp. 131-68.

<sup>189</sup> *Praefatio Willelmi Grassegals militis ad Historias Belli Sacri*, Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 827, trans. Rubenstein, 'Putting History to Use', p. 134.

<sup>190</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, '*Liber*', pp. 35, 107.

<sup>191</sup> Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>192</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 198-9.



evidently expected their readership.<sup>193</sup> In his letter dedicating his work to Robert of Gloucester, he explicitly asked Earl Robert to read (*legere*) at least part of the text.<sup>194</sup> However, we cannot know if Robert actually ever read the history. It is very difficult to gauge audience and reception in the medieval period.<sup>195</sup> Readership of individual texts varied; popularity is often judged by number of extant manuscripts, and while this does give some indication to the demand for the text, it tells us little about who, other than the monks copying the text, actually read them. However, the value of a historical text did not necessarily depend entirely upon whether or how frequently it was read. A text could have significance without being read; at times, what mattered was the physical object. To those at court, the book might be an indication of culture, and the narrative a symbol of the importance of those whose history it recorded.<sup>196</sup> In this way a patron or recipient of a history could benefit from it without necessarily having to read it. Nevertheless, the care with which most narratives were constructed, and the concern expressed over anticipated criticisms, suggests that authors intended their narratives to be read, or at least the content of their work to be transmitted to a wider audience.<sup>197</sup> William of Malmesbury provides, an admittedly very small, clue as to how this might have been done. In introducing his narrative of the First Crusade he writes of the ancient authors whose descriptions of important cities he will use, indicating that ‘anyone ignorant of these writings who may happen on my work may have something ready to his hand with which he can enlighten other people.’<sup>198</sup> He evidently anticipated that his text might be transmitted orally and possibly in short sections. It seems evident that each author creating a new text found something in his model(s) that was lacking; early texts had sought to improve language and theology, subsequent texts were also influenced by politics and family traditions.

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<sup>193</sup> Thomson, ‘William of Malmesbury, Historian of Crusade’, pp. 130-1; J. Blacker, *The Faces of Time*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>194</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 12-13. Robert might have been literate in Latin, see, Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 216.

<sup>195</sup> See, Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 215-20.

<sup>196</sup> See, *Ibid*, pp. 185-7.

<sup>197</sup> Rider suggests that Galbert of Bruges may have intended his account of the murder of Charles of Good not only for the burghers of Bruges, who may have had some literacy in Latin, but also for ‘all the faithful’ whom he addressed in his prologue. Rider, *God’s Scribe*, pp. 74-76.

<sup>198</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 592-3.

The continuing development and increased scope of crusading during the first decades of the twelfth century seem to have had some impact on the narrative of the First Crusade. This is evident in William of Malmesbury's account of Urban's speech at Clermont, where he shows considerable concern over the expansion of Islam, and implies the validity of facing them in several theatres of war.<sup>199</sup> William's perspective may have been influenced by the First Lateran Council of 1123, which equated crusading activities in Spain with going to the Holy Land.<sup>200</sup> Orderic Vitalis transferred the idea of crusading to a new theatre of war in his account of Count Helias of Maine's defence of his patrimony against the threats of King William Rufus of England on the eve of the crusade. Orderic wrote that Helias had said, 'my desire was to fight against the infidel in the name of the Lord, but now it appears I have a battle nearer home against the enemies of Christ... I will not abandon the cross of our Saviour which I have taken up as a pilgrim, but will have it engraved on my shield and helmet and all my arms... Fortified by this symbol I will move against the enemies of peace and right, and defend Christian lands in battle.'<sup>201</sup> The increasing scope of the crusade idea in the early decades of the twelfth century could encourage authors to apply it more freely (and sometimes anachronistically) in their texts.

The production and dissemination of narratives of the crusade may also have encouraged the extension of the idea of crusading. In 1108 a Flemish clerk from the circle of the archbishop of Magdeburg wrote an appeal, purportedly from the archbishop, bishops and senior laymen of Magdeburg, arguing for a crusade against the Wends.<sup>202</sup> It is not clear whether the document was official or even if it was ever sent, but it does not seem to have resulted in any activity.<sup>203</sup> The salient point here is the adoption, within the document, of crusade ideas, and their translation to a new field of action. The author called upon the men of Saxony, France, Lorraine and Flanders to imitate the example set by the people of Gaul and prepare holy war. To emphasise his

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<sup>199</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 600-1, see also pp. 644-7; Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury, Historian of Crusade', pp. 128-9.

<sup>200</sup> For crusading in the Iberian peninsula in the 1120's see J. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Pennsylvania, 2003), pp. 36-41; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 127-138.

<sup>201</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 230-1.

<sup>202</sup> *Geschichtsquellen*, ed. F. Israël and W. Möllenburg (Magdeburg, 1937), pp. 249-52.

<sup>203</sup> F. Lotter, 'The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Region East of the Elbe', *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. Mackay (Oxford, 1989), p. 275.

point he referred to the regions of Eastern Germany as ‘our Jerusalem.’<sup>204</sup> It is possible that the narrative of Robert the Monk influenced expressions in letter. Phrases in the document share certain similarity with those used by Robert in his account of Urban’s sermon at Clermont.<sup>205</sup> Although it is not possible to know for certain whether the clerk had access to this text, Robert’s *Historia* appears not only to have been one of the most popular accounts of the crusade, but also seems to have been geographically widely disseminated; the extant manuscripts are preserved in libraries all over Europe.<sup>206</sup> It is a possibility that the letter from Magdeburg, advocating the extension of the crusade idea, was inspired by a narrative of the history of the First Crusade.

### **Culture and Identity**

Political and geographical considerations seem to have had strong influences on authors and influenced their portrayal of the crusade and its participants. Culture and background could have significant impact on the narrative and portrayal of the crusade. Raymond of Aguilers’ narrative, for example, which focused on the miracles and visions experienced on the crusade and determinedly emphasised the role of relics, was strongly influenced by the distinct religiosity of the Auvergne region. The religiosity of the area appears to have retained some pagan characteristics, noted even several decades later by Peter the Venerable,<sup>207</sup> and may have encouraged enthusiasm for more tangible objects of veneration.<sup>208</sup> Authors tended to emphasis the participation of those closest to their own geographical location and highlighted the heroic actions of the leader of that group. Guibert of Nogent, Baudri of Bourgueil, Robert the Monk and Hugh of Fleury portrayed the crusade as being primarily addressed to the French, suggesting that Pope Urban had called on them as a chosen people to undertake the expedition. Robert wrote that Urban had opened his sermon with the words, ‘Frenchmen (*gens Francorum*) and

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<sup>204</sup> *Geschichtsquellen*, p. 251; 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. Felten and N. Jaspert (Berlin, 1999), pp. 293-5. Constable provides a translation of the charter in an appendix, pp. 296-9.

<sup>205</sup> Lotter, ‘The Crusading Idea’, pp. 275-6; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 727-8. There are particular similarities regarding references to the atrocities said to have been perpetrated against the Christians, the ‘filthy’ practice of idolatry and the prospect of gaining rich land.

<sup>206</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, pp. 8-9.

<sup>207</sup> Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable (Cambridge, Mass, 1967), vol. 1, p. 414.

<sup>208</sup> C. Lauranson-Rosaz, *L’Auvergne et ses marges (Vezday, Gevaudan) du VIIIe au IX siècle, le fin de monde antique?* (Le Puy-en-Velay, 1987), pp. 264-5, 267-8, 270.

men from across the mountains; men chosen by and beloved by God as is clear from your many achievements; men set apart from all other nations as much by geography as by the Catholic faith and by the honour of the Holy Church - it is to you we address our sermon.<sup>209</sup> Robert the Monk also highlighted the deeds of Godfrey of Bouillon, but also drew strong links between him and Hugh the Great, brother of French king, perhaps attempting to increase Hugh's reputation by association.<sup>210</sup> Although Guibert, Baudri and Robert were all relatively favourable in their portrayal of Hugh the Great, Guibert and Robert tended to be more so than Baudri - whose connections with North-eastern France, and so the royal court, were not as strong.<sup>211</sup> Likewise, Bartolf of Nangis' location near the Île de France might have prompted him to note Hugh's return to France - before he had completed the crusade - without criticism. Although his source, Fulcher of Chartres, was not condemnatory either, it is interesting that it was at this point, and departing from his source, that Bartolf chose to add the appellation 'heroic' (*heroum*) to Hugh the Great.<sup>212</sup> Lambert of St-Omer's proximity to Flanders may have led him to twice add Robert of Flanders to those named in action at the siege of Jerusalem by Bartolf of Nangis, upon whose text Lambert had based his narrative.<sup>213</sup> For the author of the *Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum* it was the Italians, and especially the Pisans, who were the main protagonists. He began the account by stating he was writing about that which 'omnipotent God has deigned to accomplish through the Pisan people'.<sup>214</sup> He noted that Daimbert, who later became patriarch of Jerusalem, led the

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<sup>209</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 727, see also p. 741; Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 89, 106, 107-9; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, pp. 34, 47; Hugonis Floriacensis, *Modernorum regum Francorum actus*, p. 392.

<sup>210</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 731-2, 743, 761, 831; M. G. Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis XII', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 40 (1996), p. 41.

<sup>211</sup> Bull, 'Capetian Monarchy', p. 39.

<sup>212</sup> Bartolf of Nangis, *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem*, p. 506. Both Guibert and Baudri were somewhat critical of Hugh's failure to return to the crusade following his mission to Constantinople, though Guibert noted that Hugh was later martyred. Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 243; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, p. 79.

<sup>213</sup> Lambert of St-Omer, *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici liber floridus: codex autographicus bibliothecae universitatis Gandavensis*, ed. A. Derolez (Ghent, 1968), pp. 230-1; Compare Bartolf of Nangis, *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem*, p. 514. Lambert wrote that it was Fulcher of Chartres' text he was using, but it was in fact that of Bartolf. See A. Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus: A Key to the Encyclopedia of Lambert of St-Omer* (Turnhout, 1998), p. 117.

Detailed comparison between the text of Bartolf and that of Lambert is limited, as no definitive edition of Lambert's work exists. The work cited above is part edition part facsimile of the autograph manuscript only. Several pages from the history of the crusade have been lost from this manuscript, so the section between the fall of Nicaea to the siege of Jerusalem is missing.

<sup>214</sup> *Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum in captione Jerusalem*, p. 368.

Pisans, and then wrote of the sieges in which the Pisans had taken part. It was only towards the end of the brief account that the author wrote of the Frankish leaders and participants of the crusade.<sup>215</sup> Regional bias may also have led to the different emphasis displayed by Gilo of Paris and his anonymous continuator, despite ostensibly sharing a narrative. For Gilo, Bohemond was the hero of the piece; the Anonymous on the other hand, favoured Godfrey. It seems probable that the Anonymous was from Charleville-Meziers, where the manuscript containing his work originates, which is not far from Bouillon.<sup>216</sup>

We have seen how Albert of Aachen and Sigebert of Gembloux's geographical location and political inclinations affected their ideas of crusade spirituality and their depiction of the pope's role in the crusade. Political considerations alone could also influence the way the crusade was presented and the participants portrayed: Robert the Monk, for example, appears to have deliberately altered the facts regarding Hugh the Great's failure to return to the crusade after his diplomatic mission to Constantinople following the capture of Antioch. He claimed that death had prevented Hugh's return, but considering the proximity of Robert's abbey of St-Remi in Rheims to Capetian centres of power, it seems incredible that Robert did not know of Hugh's return to France and later participation in the 1101 crusade.<sup>217</sup> It seems this was a ploy by Robert to enhance Hugh's - and possibly also the Capetian monarchy's - reputation.<sup>218</sup> Civil war and unrest in England in the 1130s and 1140s further demonstrates how actively political circumstances could impact a text. William of Malmesbury was a partisan of the Empress Matilda and in the earliest version of his manuscript, which was dedicated to the Empress, he was very critical of Stephen of Blois' desertion of the crusade at the siege of Antioch. After describing the terrible conditions during the siege, he wrote 'then it was that Stephen count of Blois fled secretly, using lies to turn back new arrivals; and without doubt it is a great reproach to the man, that on the day after his departure the city agreed to surrender.'<sup>219</sup> William, in a later version of his work,

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<sup>215</sup> *Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum*, pp. 368-9.

<sup>216</sup> Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, pp. xiv-xvii.

<sup>217</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 837.

<sup>218</sup> Bull, 'Capetian Monarchy', pp. 40-42.

<sup>219</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 634-5.

omitted his rather scathing comments, writing simply, 'it was not long however, before the city agreed to surrender.'<sup>220</sup> Considering that Matilda's cousin and rival for the throne of England, Stephen, son of the crusader, was crowned king, William may have felt it wise to be more diplomatic. Political considerations may therefore have encouraged William to excise a passage that reflected badly on the father of the king from a later redaction of his narrative. In the early 1140s, with the civil war at its height, Brian Fitzcount of Wallingford, used (a version of) the history of the First Crusade to justify his support for the Empress Matilda. In response to a letter from Bishop Henry of Winchester urging him to change his allegiance from Matilda to King Stephen, Brian reminded the bishop of the importance of looking back, particularly to the commands of the Holy Church, which had previously instructed him to adhere to the daughter of King Henry. He compared his own stance to the 'worthy acts of our illustrious ancestors', including Bishop Henry's father, Stephen of Blois, who had acted upon the commands of the pope and conquered Jerusalem, and who had 'established there a good and legal king,' Godfrey of Bouillon.<sup>221</sup> Brian stressed not only the deeds of ancestors, but also the importance of following the commands of the Church and the pope, in his reference to the First Crusade, in order to defend his political position.

### **Shared Identity**

Crusade histories were not only concerned with remembering those with whom they had regional and political ties, but also with forging an identity for the crusaders as a whole. This was potentially problematic given the diversity of the different contingents on the crusade. William of Malmesbury wrote that 'there was no nation so remote and well-hidden as not to send some small part of itself,' and emphasised that the call for the crusade had 'affected all who in the remotest islands or among barbarian tribes had heard the call of Christ. The time had come for the Welshman to give up hunting in his forests, the Scotsman forsook his familiar fleas, the Dane broke off his long drawn-out potations, the Norwegian left his diet of raw fish.'<sup>222</sup> Nevertheless, William, as did most narratives, stressed the unity of the crusader host and was concerned to provide the

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<sup>220</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, vol. 2, pp. 318-19.

<sup>221</sup> H. W. C. Davis, 'Henry of Blois and Brian Fitz-Count', *EHR*, vol. 25 (1910), pp. 298-302; Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History', pp. 132-3, n.12.

<sup>222</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 606-7. See also Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 161-2; Sigeberti Gemblacenses, *Chronica*, p. 367.

crusaders with an over-arching identity. The idea of the crusaders as a chosen people, and the comparisons many of the chroniclers drew with the Israelites or Maccabees could be seen as an attempt to provide a religious identity for the crusaders and an ancient spiritual ancestry.<sup>223</sup> The increasing focus on the leadership might also have represented an effort to impose cohesion upon a disparate group. The leaders could be seen as representing the crusade host as a whole. As far as terminology was concerned, the use of the term *Franci* to describe the crusaders, while never losing its connection with central France, was at times utilised to create an impression of unity.<sup>224</sup> Moreover, Hodgson has suggested that Ralph of Caen, in his *Gesta Tancredi*, while writing of Tancred's South-Italian Norman ancestry with evident pride, was more concerned to demonstrate the progression of Tancred's character from Norman - displaying cunning, avarice, military prowess and largesse - to crusader - placing the cause of holy war above material gain.<sup>225</sup> Tancred by no means stopped being Norman, but his identity as a crusader, particularly from the siege of Jerusalem onwards, took precedence. The establishment of an identity for the crusaders was important in demonstrating the overall unity, or at least the ideal of a united force, within the narrative.

The figure of Charlemagne appears in most crusade narratives and seems to have played a role in providing a precedent (and therefore legitimacy) for the crusade. The legend of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Jerusalem appears to have been known at the time of the crusade, for the author of the *Gesta Francorum* wrote that the first contingents travelled 'by the road which Charlemagne, the heroic king of the Franks, had formerly caused to be built to Constantinople.'<sup>226</sup> Moreover, historians in the early twelfth century had begun to take an interest in the origins and destiny of nations. Orderic Vitalis, for example, as he began his narrative of the crusade, digressed into the

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<sup>223</sup> A. V. Murray, 'Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States: The Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer', *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. S. Forde, L. Johnson and A. V. Murray (Leeds, 1995), p. 69. Raymond d'Aguilers, 'Liber', p. 53; Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 116-17; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, pp. 16, 19, 28; Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 112-13, 240, 276-7; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 731, 747, 779; Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 633, 653; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 448-9; Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, pp. 160-1; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 638-9; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 4-7, 18-19.

<sup>224</sup> Bull, 'Overlapping and Competing Identities', pp. 201-7, 210-11.

<sup>225</sup> N. Hodgson, 'Reinventing Normans as Crusaders? Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, vol. 30 (2008), pp. 117-32.

<sup>226</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, p. 2. See J. Stuckey, 'Charlemagne as Crusader? Memory, Propaganda, and the Many Uses of Charlemagne's Legendary Expedition to Spain', *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages, Power, Faith, and Crusade*, ed. M. Gabriele and J. Stuckey (New York, 2008), pp. 137-139.

Trojan origins of the Normans, gave a brief account of how they came to France, brought the story up to date with the ancestry of Duke Robert of Normandy and through him reintroduced his subject of the crusade.<sup>227</sup> The theme of origins was to be found in Classical literature and it was to Classical heroes that medieval historians often turned to provide them with progenitors suitable to the stature of their nation.<sup>228</sup> Charlemagne, in a similar manner to the Israelites and Maccabees, could thus be used to provide the crusade with an 'origin'. This is reinforced by the fact Charlemagne featured prominently in monastic foundation legends; the epic figure lent the foundations a past, a specific identity and gave their relics authenticity.<sup>229</sup>

In the authors' quest for unity, Charlemagne may also have been used as a figure through which a common identity could be forged. Authors of crusade narratives in general, while recognising the divisions among the various contingents of the crusader army, attempted to create a common identity and convey a sense of unity for the crusaders as a whole. Mortality and shifting allegiances blurred the lines of identity as the crusade progressed.<sup>230</sup> The ubiquitous symbolism related to the figure of Charlemagne permitted him to be portrayed as a precedent for all crusaders.<sup>231</sup> It seems that this flexibility in establishing identity was important; Bull has suggested such an attribute was instrumental in adoption of term *Franci* to identify crusade army as a whole.<sup>232</sup> It is possible that the image of Charlemagne was used because many regions could not lay claim to an equivalently powerful historical identity and therefore appropriated a figure that, through his alleged pilgrimage to Jerusalem and war on the Moors of Spain, could be a predecessor for them all. Charlemagne was, moreover, also portrayed in contemporary literature as chosen by God,<sup>233</sup> a designation he shared with

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<sup>227</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 24-7.

<sup>228</sup> Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing 1', pp. 188-95. See also, Murray, 'Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States', pp. 65-70.

<sup>229</sup> A. G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past, Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (New York, 1995), pp. 150-55, 203-4. Charlemagne's role as a founder was also highlighted by Hugh of Fleury in his *Historia ecclesiastica: Hugonis Floriacensis, Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* vol. 9 (Hannover, 1851), p. 362.

<sup>230</sup> Bull, 'Overlapping and Competing Identities', p. 205.

<sup>231</sup> M. Gabriele, 'Asleep at the Wheel? Messianism, Apocalypticism and Charlemagne's Passivity in the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 47 (2003), p. 52.

<sup>232</sup> Bull, 'Overlapping and Competing Identities', p. 208.

<sup>233</sup> R. Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France, A Thousand Years of Mythology*, trans. C. Tihanyi (Indiana, 2003), pp. 49, 51-7.



the crusaders, in particular Godfrey of Bouillon, his descendant.<sup>234</sup> The formation or suggestion of such identity within the texts demonstrates, once again, the creativity with which these texts were produced.<sup>235</sup>

It seems, however, that Charlemagne was increasingly appropriated by the French monarchy and associated primarily with crusaders from the lands of France. The seeds of this can perhaps be seen in Robert the Monk's narrative. Robert referred to Charlemagne as an ancestor of the French in his version of Urban's sermon at Clermont, and wrote that Godfrey, Eustace and Baldwin followed the same route as Charlemagne, 'the incomparable king of the Franks' (*rex Francorum*), had taken to Constantinople.<sup>236</sup> The Capetian kings began to be associated with Charlemagne in eschatological and prophetic literature during the first half of the twelfth century, and they promoted this association more actively through astute political marriages and by the identification of the Oriflamme, the royal banner, with the flag of Charlemagne. The idea that Charlemagne was specifically a French king might have been made popular by works such as the *Chanson de Roland*, which referred to Charlemagne as the emperor of France.<sup>237</sup> In this context it is interesting to note that authors writing within the Empire barely mentioned Charlemagne in connection to the crusade, and when they did it was in a negative setting. Ekkehard of Aura, for example, writing about false prophets and hypocrites, referred to a fabricated tale that Charlemagne had risen from the dead at the time of the crusade.<sup>238</sup>

In the context of the crusade it seems difficult to separate the figure of Charlemagne from prophecies and apocalyptic ideas regarding the Last Emperor; eschatological expectations and Carolingian kingship intertwined with religious feeling

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<sup>234</sup> For Godfrey as chosen of God, see for example, Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 436-9, 448-51; *Gesta Francorum*, p. 92.

<sup>235</sup> Bull, 'Overlapping and Competing Identities', p. 211.

<sup>236</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 728, 732. For the possibility of Robert popularising the link between the French monarchy and Carolingian kingship, see Bull, 'Capetian Monarchy', p. 42-3. On subject of appropriating heroes, Guibert of Nogent claimed a French identity for Bohemond by virtue of his marriage to the daughter of King Philip I of France; Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 106.

<sup>237</sup> *The Song of Roland*, ed. and trans. G. Brault (Pennsylvania, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 2-3; Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France, A Thousand Years of Mythology*, pp. 12, 49-52, 57; Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, pp. 118, 112-5.

<sup>238</sup> Ekkehard of Aura, *Frotolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken*, p. 144. Albert of Aachen and Sigebert of Gembloux did not mention Charlemagne at all in connection with the crusade.

inspired by the crusade.<sup>239</sup> These ideas were not necessarily confined to the rank and file and lingering in the background - but such hopes, fears and expectations, linked to Godfrey of Bouillon as a descendant of Charlemagne (and therefore possible candidate for the apocalyptic figure of the Last Emperor), may have helped determine the kingship of Jerusalem (or at the very least tipped the balance).<sup>240</sup> Albert of Aachen related a series of visions prophesying and justifying Godfrey's ascendancy to the rulership of Jerusalem, visions containing imperial ideology and with apocalyptic overtones. The last vision in particular, in which a canon, Giselbert, saw Godfrey seated in the sun surrounded by birds, borrows imagery from the Book of Revelation.<sup>241</sup> Moreover, Gabriele has suggested that apocalyptic concerns surrounding the figure of Charlemagne permeate the text of the *Chanson de Roland*, a text produced roughly contemporaneously with the First Crusade.<sup>242</sup> At least one later author, Lambert of St-Omer, explicitly linked the crusade with apocalyptic ideas. In a section of his encyclopaedia detailing the Six Ages of the world, culminating with the coming of the Anti-Christ, Lambert entitled an illustration of the Six Ages 'the ages of the world up to King Godfrey,' suggesting the Anti-Christ was imminent. In the chapter preceding his narrative of the First Crusade, Lambert incorporated a prophesy of the Anti-Christ borrowed from Adso of Montier-en-Der. Its position in the work alone suggests a connection with the crusade. However, Lambert also altered Adso's text to read that the Last Emperor would come to Jerusalem, not to lay down his crown and sceptre, but to take them up. In light of his illustration of the Six Ages, Lambert doubtless had in mind the conquest of Jerusalem by the crusaders.<sup>243</sup> Apart from Lambert, and perhaps Raymond of Aguilers in his interest in visions, such ideas were relatively muted in the narratives, but perhaps they carried more importance than first appears.

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<sup>239</sup> J. Rubenstein, 'Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Giles: How Carolingian Kingship Trumped Millenerianism at the End of the First Crusade', *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith and Crusade*, ed. M. Gabriele and J. Stuckey (New York, 2008), p. 63.

<sup>240</sup> Rubenstein, 'Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Giles', pp. 63-66, 69-70.

<sup>241</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 436-439, 446-451.

<sup>242</sup> M. Gabriele, 'Asleep at the Wheel? Messianism, Apocalypticism and Charlemagne's Passivity', pp. 46-72.

<sup>243</sup> Lambert of St-Omer, *Liber floridus*, pp. 42, 220-3. See also A. Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, pp. 48, 112-13. For Adso of Montier-en-Der see B. McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality, Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-Der, Joachim of Fiore, the Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola* (New Jersey, 1979), pp. 81-96.

## Prophecies and Visions

The First Crusade emerged from calls for reform in the Church, much of which came from ecclesiastical authorities, but it also sparked radical ideas, some of which manifested themselves in the eremitical movement, a movement which engendered controversial figures such as Robert of Arbrissel and Peter the Hermit, whose appeal lay in the charismatic power of the individual.<sup>244</sup> The prophecies and visions that the crusade inspired, even at its inception, should be viewed in this context.<sup>245</sup> The heightened spirituality during the crusade, and perhaps occasional unhappiness with the leadership - first expressed by the *Gesta Francorum* regarding the oath given to the Emperor Alexius and further emphasised by Raymond of Aguilers after the siege of Antioch<sup>246</sup> - also encouraged presence of visionaries. These themes, were not, however, generally taken up by later authors. Visions revealed, at least to some extent the view of the poor- or at least the rank and file - those without political power.<sup>247</sup> The visions were a means by which a normally powerless group could hope to influence the policies of the leadership. Faced with a situation in which the quarrels of the leaders threatened to undermine the whole enterprise, the visionaries tended to stress the need for unity and the continuation of the march to Jerusalem.<sup>248</sup> The relic of the Holy Lance might have functioned in a similar way; Raymond of Aguilers wrote that at Marrat-an-Numan 'the knights and all the people', in frustration at the prevarication of the leaders, declared that if they would not continue the journey, Raymond of St-Gilles should 'hand over the Lance to the people, and they would go on to Jerusalem with the Lord himself as leader.'<sup>249</sup> Such recollections did not represent the edifying spectacle later chroniclers were keen to portray. Perhaps also the status of visionaries, usually described as poor, meant that these experiences were not considered theologically sound, or at least not to

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<sup>244</sup> J. France, 'Two Types of Vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew', *Crusades*, vol. 5 (2006), pp. 1-3, 6.

<sup>245</sup> For Albert of Aachen the crusade began with a vision, a divine revelation given to Peter the Hermit. Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>246</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, p. 12; Raymond d'Aguilers, '*Liber*', pp. 83-4, 88, 93-94.

<sup>247</sup> See Morris, 'Policy and Visions', pp. 34, 42. Rubenstein has argued that these visions were of a different eschatology to those related by Albert of Aachen, mentioned above. Rubenstein, 'Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Giles', pp. 66-69.

<sup>248</sup> Morris, 'Policy and Visions', pp. 34, 42-4. For the use of miracle stories as political tools see Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories', p. 28.

<sup>249</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, '*Liber*', p. 99.

be encouraged, and were therefore excised from later narratives.<sup>250</sup> Chroniclers in the first decades of the twelfth century, moreover, were increasingly focusing on the actions of the leaders. Although Raymond of Aguilers' version of events is not always well received today, this was not necessarily the case in Middle Ages.<sup>251</sup> In the book that Grassegals gave to King Louis containing the works of Fulcher of Chartres, Walter the Chancellor and Raymond of Aguilers, the copyist evidently preferred Raymond's version of events, as he made a note before Fulcher's chapter on the Holy Lance stating that Raymond's account was better and more truthful.<sup>252</sup> Moreover, there is some indication Raymond's work was known to Odo of Deuil, who may have been responsible for the crusading window at St Denis, because it was Raymond's preferred spelling of Kerbogha (*Corboras*) that was used in the window.<sup>253</sup> Raymond's account was also used (though not extensively) by the anonymous author of an account of the siege and capture of Jerusalem from the abbey of Ripoll in Catalonia. The account also echoes Raymond's focus on the Provençal army and his concern over the correct behaviour required of the crusaders to gain God's aid.<sup>254</sup> Moreover, one of the verses of the hymn *Hierusalem letare*, immediately following the narrative, referred to the Holy Lance, thereby proclaiming its authenticity.<sup>255</sup> The reason that most Western authors of crusade narratives might have been happy to include a limited account of the visions may lie in the two types of vision France identified on the crusade. One type was conservative and respectful of church hierarchy - illustrated by the priest Stephen of Valence, the other, as represented by the (unedited) visions of Peter Bartholomew, was much more critical and radical in tone.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> France has pointed out that visionaries could pose problems for the church and threaten its authority. France, 'Two Types of Vision', p.1.

<sup>251</sup> Morris has noted that Raymond's interest in visions has given him a 'bad press': Morris, 'Policy and visions', p. 39.

<sup>252</sup> Rubenstein, 'Putting History to Use', pp. 153-4.

<sup>253</sup> E. A. R. Brown and M. W. Cothren, 'The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: *Praeteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum est Exhibitio*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 49 (1986), p. 18.

<sup>254</sup> J. France, 'The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem in the Ripoll Manuscript', *Bibliothèque Nationale (Latin) 5132*, *EHR*, vol. 103 (1988), pp. 640-57.

<sup>255</sup> J. France, 'An Unknown Account of the Capture of Jerusalem', *EHR*, vol. 87 (1972), pp. 782-3; France, 'The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem', p. 655.

<sup>256</sup> France, 'Two Types of Vision', p. 8. To this could be added the visions related by Albert of Aachen describing the ascendancy of Godfrey of Bouillon. However, since they were interpreted to have been safely 'fulfilled', it may be possible to consider them with the conservative visions of Stephen of Valence.

It is hardly surprising that the Holy Lance was generally accepted in the West considering that its authenticity was proclaimed by three out of the four eyewitness narratives, and also by the letter of Anselm of Ribemont, the letter of the crusade leaders after the battle at Antioch, the letter of the people of Lucca and the letter of Daimbert of Pisa.<sup>257</sup> There does seem, however, to have been an awareness that the Lance had not been unquestionably accepted; Guibert of Nogent knew of Fulcher of Chartres' work, but chose not to follow it;<sup>258</sup> Albert of Aachen noted the relic was later discredited but did not say so when writing about its discovery.<sup>259</sup> William of Malmesbury, though using Fulcher of Chartres' text, did not comment on the Lance at all as he had written of a different legend surrounding the relic, not related to the crusade. That he thus chose to excise the episode, rather than follow Fulcher in declaring it an invention, suggests a reticence towards highlighting controversy on the crusade. Similarly, Lambert of St-Omer did not refer to the Holy Lance in the main part of his narrative, but noted the discovery of the lance and the trial by fire at the end of his account of the crusade and early years of the Latin East. Although he was of the opinion that the lance was not a true relic (noting, uniquely, that the real one was at Constantinople), he wrote that it had initially been accepted as a sign of victory, and further noted - in agreement with Raymond of Aguilers - that Peter Bartholomew (whom he did not name) died twelve days after passing through the flames.<sup>260</sup> The eyewitness accounts did not shy away from writing of the almost crippling divisions in the army and quarrels of princes. Subsequent narratives, however, while not completely obscuring these tensions, nevertheless preferred to stress that the crusading armies had been overall united by common purpose and common identity (with the possible exception of Ralph of Caen). Ironically it was perhaps this very issue that the visions, which had begun with the revelation of the Holy Lance, had sought to address.

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<sup>257</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 59-60, 65; Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, pp. 101, 107-8; Raymond d'Aguilers, 'Liber', for example, pp. 68-72, 74-5, 81-2; *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren*, pp. 159, 163, 166, 169-70.

<sup>258</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 332-3.

<sup>259</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 316-17, 320-1, 330-1, 378-9.

<sup>260</sup> Lambert of St-Omer, *Liber floridus*, p. 259.

## Literary Devices

### **The Role of Women**

Women seem to have played an important role (though rarely acknowledged) in shaping and preserving memories, both through patronage of texts and through family ties. Hugh of Fleury and William of Malmesbury, for example, both dedicated texts to the Empress Matilda.<sup>261</sup> William explained, in a letter to the Empress, that the work originally had been inspired by a conversation with her mother, Queen Matilda, who had initially requested information on the family history of her kinsman, St Aldhelm.<sup>262</sup> In light of William's lengthy and carefully constructed account of the First Crusade, it is noteworthy that Queen Matilda, who commissioned the text, was related by marriage to Robert of Normandy, and through her sister's marriage also to the family of Godfrey of Bouillon.<sup>263</sup> Elizabeth van Houts has suggested that noble women played an important role in the preservation of ancestral memory and the transmission of genealogical information, both orally and through the commissioning of texts.<sup>264</sup> While authors rarely acknowledged the contribution of women to their histories they nevertheless appear to have had a significant role in commemoration. The role of women in preserving memories is further stressed by the emphasis Hugh and William placed on family and predecessors in their dedications. Hugh, by sketching a genealogy of Matilda's ancestors, highlighted her own place in the history he was presenting to her.<sup>265</sup> Although William also emphasised family ties in his letter of dedication to Earl Robert, the stress was on emulation, but in the letter to Matilda it was on the preservation of knowledge. He wrote that Queen Matilda, having been given a list of English kings but desiring more information, 'induced us to contemplate a full history of her predecessors... one that would (as she put it) make them better known.' William explained that, although the project had been laid aside at her death, he took it up again 'for it both seemed and was quite wrong that the memory of those great men should

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<sup>261</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 2-3, 6-7; Hugonis Floriacensis, *Modernorum regum Francorum actus*, p. 376. Hugh also dedicated another of his works, his *Historia ecclesiastica*, to another prominent noble woman, Adela of Blois: Hugonis Floriacensis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, pp. 337-8, 349.

<sup>262</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>263</sup> van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe*, p. 74; see also, J. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington, 1947), pp. 19-26.

<sup>264</sup> van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe*, pp. 68-71, 77.

<sup>265</sup> Hugonis Floriacensis, *Modernorum regum Francorum actus*, pp. 376-7.

remain buried and their deeds die with them.<sup>266</sup> It seems that the implication was that the memory would be preserved not only through the book but also through Matilda.

The role of women within the texts of crusade narratives produced in the first quarter of the twelfth century was limited, but it was still remembered. The eyewitness accounts, while acknowledging the presence, and at times the role, of women on the crusade, rarely referred to individual women. Women were generally mentioned as a group, in for example, scenes of departure crusaders leaving behind their wives, women bringing water to knights in battle, cheering military prowess, or as prostitutes and objects of moral pollution.<sup>267</sup> Women never had a strong presence in the texts; not only were authors interested in highlighting the military aspects of the crusade which encouraged them to downplay the role of women, but the Church also did not wish to encourage women (and non-combatants in general) to participate in the expedition.<sup>268</sup> In Robert the Monk's account of Pope Urban's sermon at Clermont, he had said, '... neither should a woman set out under any circumstances without her husband, brother or other legitimate guarantor. That is because such pilgrims are more of a hindrance than a help, a burden rather than of any practical use.'<sup>269</sup> Nevertheless, several of the subsequent lengthier narratives made greater mention of women, both as individuals and as a group. Robert the Monk noted that the women on the crusade dragged the bodies of the dead back to the tents at the battle at Dorylaeum, and wrote of the plight of mothers unable to feed their children during the siege of Antioch.<sup>270</sup> Guibert of Nogent mentioned the role of women at the siege of Arqa, and wrote very favourably of Ida of Bouillon and Adela of Blois, who, although not crusaders themselves, were connected with important figures in the crusade.<sup>271</sup> Ralph of Caen likewise mentioned of Ida of Bouillon (though he did not name her), as well as Tancred's mother, Emma. He also

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<sup>266</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 8-9; William did refer to following examples of predecessors in his letter to Matilda, but only in general; he did not explicitly state that she should do so, as he did when writing to Robert, pp. 10-13.

<sup>267</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 19, 29, 41; Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, pp. 52, 76; Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 163, 223.

<sup>268</sup> N. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 44-5.

<sup>269</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 729; translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, pp. 81-2.

<sup>270</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 761, 815.

<sup>271</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 129, 132, 264.

wrote of how Tancred saved a starving old woman.<sup>272</sup> Albert of Aachen seems to have had some interest in the participation of women on the crusade and wrote with some sympathy of the plight of female captives.<sup>273</sup> He also wrote of their participation in the siege of Jerusalem.<sup>274</sup> The aid of women during the siege of Jerusalem was also noted in the account of the capture of Jerusalem in the Ripoll Manuscript.<sup>275</sup> William of Malmesbury, possibly on account of his emphasis on the crusade as a knightly enterprise, did not write about the role of women in the crusade, but did mention women tangentially related to the story.<sup>276</sup>

The perception and portrayal of women in the narratives might have been coloured by the didactic aims of the authors as well as classical and biblical literary traditions.<sup>277</sup> Robert the Monk dedicated a chapter to the grief of the wife of the knight Walo when he was killed at the siege of Antioch, as did Gilo of Paris, who mentioned her by name.<sup>278</sup> The length of the episode suggests its significance. However, while other authors mentioned the death of Walo in relation to the end of a truce at the siege of Antioch, they did not report the grief of his wife;<sup>279</sup> it was not essential to the narrative. It is possible that Gilo, and particularly Robert, were using this story as a literary device to stress the redemptive value of the crusade and the martyrdom of those who died on the expedition.<sup>280</sup> Robert wrote that Walo's wife cried in her grief, "King of Heaven, three in one, have compassion on Walo / Give him eternal life, you who are the one God. / Did Walo deserve to die without striking a blow? / You, sprung from a Virgin mother, cleanse Walo of his sins, / Whom you lifted out of the changing fortunes of

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<sup>272</sup> Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 605, 607, 615.

<sup>273</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 126-9, 130-1, see also pp. 210-11, 224-5, 344-5.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 408-9, 430-1.

<sup>275</sup> France, 'The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem', p. 645.

<sup>276</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 608-9 began a departure scene but then stated wives went with their husbands and families; pp. 612-13 refers to Matilda of Tuscany's aid of Pope Urban II against the anti-pope, Wibert; pp. 656-7 on Ida of Bouillon and the family of Godfrey of Bouillon; see also pp. 622-3, 696-7, 704--5.

<sup>277</sup> Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land*, p. 12.

<sup>278</sup> Humberga, daughter of Hugh of Le Puiset: Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, pp. 126-9; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 795-6.

<sup>279</sup> *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren*, p. 159; Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 332.

<sup>280</sup> Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land*, pp. 230-5.



war / And have now allowed to be martyred.”<sup>281</sup> Moreover, the description of her grief in the narratives of these two authors was heavily influenced by the classical poet, Ovid.<sup>282</sup> The stylised depiction (and her namelessness in Robert’s account) transformed her into a conventional character rather than marking her out as an individual, and further suggests that women could be used as vehicles for the author in the text.<sup>283</sup>

In an account of a military enterprise from a predominantly masculine literary world it is to be expected that references to women would be rare. When women were represented it was therefore a conscious choice and, as the use of Walo’s wife suggests, could be significant. The utilisation of women as vehicles in the narrative to emphasise the author’s message is further underlined by the use of departure scenes as way of depicting the crusade as a masculine enterprise; women represented the physical world and the crusade a spiritual one. Guibert of Nogent, in particular, seems to have used female symbolism to demonstrate the good or bad ordering of Christian society.<sup>284</sup> He described how, after the crusaders’ victory over Kerbogha outside Antioch, the women Kerbogha had with him fled, abandoning everything. On the other hand, Christian women aided their men in battle, bringing them water and offering support and advice.<sup>285</sup> Raymond of Aguilers and the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, who were both at Antioch, made no mention of women in Kerbogha’s army, suggesting that Guibert was illustrating a point rather than representing a real situation. Gender was an important social construct encapsulating specific values and concepts and as such it could be used to order a text and imbue events with further meaning. At times authors of

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<sup>281</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 795; translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 140.

<sup>282</sup> Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, p. 127 n.6; Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land*, p. 321-2, who also notes the similarities between Robert and Gilo’s description of the grief of Walo’s wife and Ralph of Caen’s account of Tancred’s grief at his brother’s death at Dorylaeum. Radulfo Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 624-5.

<sup>283</sup> However, it should be noted that this type of characterisation was not restricted to women; classical (and biblical) models were also used to portray men, and they were often made to fit specific stereotypes. See W. Ginsburg, *The Cast of Character: The Representation of Personality in Ancient and Medieval Literature* (Toronto, 1983), pp. 72-4, 76, 78, 79. However, they do not appear to have been used as a vehicle for the author in the same way as women in the text.

<sup>284</sup> S. Lambert, ‘Crusading or Spinning’, *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. S. B. Edgington and S. Lambert (Cardiff, 2001) pp. 8-9. Galbert of Bruges may also have used women in this way, particularly those connected to the villains of his story, the Erembalds. In episodes of doubtful veracity, women associated with the Erembalds are used to highlight the servile origins of the family and reveal their evil nature, corrupting the moral order of society. See N. Partner, ‘Galbert’s Hidden Women, Social Presence and Narrative Concealment’, *Galbert of Bruges and the Historiography of Medieval Flanders*, ed. J. Rider and A. V. Murray (Washington, 2009), pp. 119-124.

<sup>285</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 154, 225. Albert of Aachen seems to have been making a similar point, but used the idea in the inverse, when he wrote of the women, young boys and infants abandoned by the ‘gentile peoples’ who were running away from the battle at Antioch: *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 336-7.

narratives appear to have used the image of women as victims to highlight the extent of suffering endured by the crusader army. To emphasise the plight of the crusaders besieged within Antioch, for example, Robert the Monk wrote that ‘mothers starving with hunger latched their children to their breast, but the babies found nothing there and lay shaking with eyes closed for want of milk.’<sup>286</sup> Albert of Aachen, using similar imagery, described the despair of the crusaders caused by lack of water, ‘in that same trial of thirst men and women endured wretched tortures ... very many pregnant women, their throats dried up, their wombs withered, and all the veins of the body drained by the indescribable heat of the sun ... gave birth and abandoned their own young in the middle of the highway in the view of everyone.’<sup>287</sup> The plight of the women or non-combatants of the enemy, on the other hand, was used to illustrate a complete victory. Guibert of Nogent, after reminding his audience of the previous sufferings endured by the crusaders at the siege of Antioch, wrote that when the crusaders finally entered, those in the city were ‘killed indiscriminate of different sexes ... and since those exhausted with age were not spared, it cannot be doubted with how much ferocity the youth fit enough for war were destroyed.’<sup>288</sup> Robert the Monk, further associating victory with vengeance, recorded that, at Albara, those who refused Christianity were killed, ‘so many boys and girls were deprived of what should have been a long life. This was the judgement of God: the city had belonged to Christians and had been taken from them with the same macabre behaviour.’<sup>289</sup> Hay has suggested that accounts of total massacres were often a literary motif rather than accurate descriptions of what took place with eyewitnesses generally giving a more moderate description than those further removed from the scene.<sup>290</sup> This further underlines the idea of the use of women in the narrative as a literary device.

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<sup>286</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 815; translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 157.

<sup>287</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 138-41.

<sup>288</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 207.

<sup>289</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 840, translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 179.

<sup>290</sup> D. Hay, ‘Gender Bias and Religious Intolerance in Accounts of “Massacres” of the First Crusade’, *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. M Gervers and J. Powell (New York, 2001), pp. 3-10.

## Stories and 'Fiction' in History

Just as women could be used as vehicles in the text, and prophecies and visions could have particular meaning and significance, so too fictional passages within the narrative could have specific purpose. William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta regum Anglorum*, used fictional episodes within his work as 'mirrors' of the text, reflecting his preoccupation with the writing of history as a whole.<sup>291</sup> These stories were not directly related to the crusade. Through these fictions, however, he questioned and threw into doubt the validity of the text and his own authority as a historian. It was a question he left unresolved. These fictional asides subtly illustrated that reported events could not correspond exactly to what actually happened; there was always a process of selection and transferral.<sup>292</sup> Other authors of crusade narratives were perhaps not so self-aware, or did not entertain such sophisticated ideas about the construction of their narratives, but they also used fiction in a similar way, to 'mirror', in a sense, their own preoccupations and justifications regarding the subject of their narrative. For example, the character of Kerbogha's mother, who first appeared in the *Gesta Francorum*, seems to have been used as a mouthpiece of the author.<sup>293</sup> The Anonymous' idea of predestination is contained in the conversation between Kerbogha and his mother, and the crusade is justified as God's vengeance.<sup>294</sup> The story was used to reflect the author's views and concerns. Robert the Monk used the tale to emphasise that the Franks were God's chosen people, as the Israelites had been. And where the author of the *Gesta Francorum* had Kerbogha ask his mother whether Bohemond and Tancred were gods, Robert added Hugh and Godfrey to this piece in order to highlight the prestige of his favoured protagonists.<sup>295</sup> Guibert of Nogent used the dialogue between Kerbogha and his mother to stress not only that God was fighting for the Christians, but also that the crusaders were fighting for the faith. He wrote that Kerbogha's mother explained to her son that he did not despise the Franks because they were foreigners or gentiles, or for their obscure armour or poor way of life, but rather because he dreaded the Christian name. He also had Kerbogha's mother highlight that it was because Bohemond and Tancred

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<sup>291</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 284-95.

<sup>292</sup> M. Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth Century English Historical Writing* (Chapel Hill, 1996), pp. 101, 107.

<sup>293</sup> N. Hodgson, 'The Role of Kerbogha's Mother in the *Gesta Francorum*', pp. 163-72.

<sup>294</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 53-4, 55.

<sup>295</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 812-13.

fought for the faith that they enjoyed God's favour.<sup>296</sup> Baudri of Bourgueil was, perhaps, more reticent in this regard, his version was slightly shorter and he placed less emphasis on Kerbogha's mother's prophecies and arcane knowledge.<sup>297</sup> Orderic Vitalis, following Baudri of Bourgueil, also included the story of Kerbogha's mother. However, he considerably shortened the account. Orderic retained the aspects of the episode which showed Kerbogha's mother to be different from a Christian mother; she was very critical of her son, for example, and, unlike Baudri's version, there was no sense of any affection between them.<sup>298</sup> In Orderic's account, Kerbogha's mother did not proclaim the supremacy of the Christian God, or explain that Christ fought on behalf of the crusaders. In Orderic's narrative the story lost its original purpose; it no longer underlined the divine nature of the expedition. It is possible that as crusading became more normative and set firmly in a theological framework there was less of a need to use such a literary device to justify the expedition. Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres chose not to include this fictional episode in their narratives. Raymond may have been more concerned to emphasise the importance of the visions and the Holy Lance. Fulcher, while not sharing Raymond's belief in either the visionaries or the Lance, seems to have preferred Raymond's shorter and simpler account of Kerbogha playing chess before the battle. Although not as full of ideology as the *Gesta's* story, Raymond used his anecdote to stress the faith and determination of the crusaders as they emerged from Antioch to give battle. He wrote that the Turkish nobleman, Mirdalin, told Kerbogha that the Christians would die before fleeing, and 'if all the pagan world rushed against them, they would not budge a foot.'<sup>299</sup> Fulcher, in a similar vein, adapted the story to further highlight the military prowess of the Franks as they advanced out of the city.<sup>300</sup> Fictional episodes could be used, to a greater or lesser extent, to illustrate the ideas and opinions of the author in an imaginative and creative manner.

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<sup>296</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 214, 215.

<sup>297</sup> Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, pp. 62-4.

<sup>298</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 96-7

<sup>299</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, 'Liber', p. 80; translated as Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. Hill, p. 62.

<sup>300</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 253-4.

## Conclusion

The narrative, and the meaning, of the crusade developed considerably in the first decades of the twelfth century. Most of the narratives composed within the first decade of the conclusion of the crusade, particularly those written in French monastic circles, aimed to refine its theological significance and to bring the narrative into harmony with the ideals of the reform papacy. They emphasised the ideal of *imitatio Christi* and the martyrdom of the crusaders and imbued the crusade with a monastic patina. This image of the crusade was not, however, universally accepted. Those authors living within the Empire, and beyond the influence of the reform papacy, defined the crusade in their own terms and placed little emphasis on the role of the curia. As the twelfth century progressed, the emphasis on the monastic attributes of the crusade began to fade, and the narratives began to focus on the leaders of the enterprise. This was a trend that would continue, and intensify, in the latter half of the century. The narratives were influenced both by classical literary traditions and the new ideas engendered by the schools of the twelfth century renaissance. While looking back to ancient traditions for legitimacy, the authors also held a positive view of the present. Their histories, moreover, were written very much with the present in mind, not only in terms of their audience, but also with regards to the political circumstances in which they were creating their works. The narrative texts were concerned not only with their own political and cultural identities, but also with forging an identity for the crusaders as a whole in order to establish unity. They called upon the Israelites and Maccabees, or the figure of Charlemagne, to provide the crusade with a progenitor and thus create a shared identity. The figure of Charlemagne, however, was inextricably linked to apocalyptic ideas, which had also surfaced in the spiritually charged atmosphere of the crusade. These were themes many authors preferred to avoid because they appeared to reveal divisions in the crusader ranks rather than promote the unity the writers wished to convey. In a final note, although women did not appear prominently in the narratives, their presence in the text was often used as a device to stress a point the author wished to make, a technique that again demonstrates the creativity with which these narratives were constructed.

## REMEMBERING THE FIRST CRUSADE c.1135 - 1200

More than three decades after the Christian armies of the First Crusade had captured Jerusalem in 1099, that astounding event for western Christendom still inspired the writings of medieval authors. Nor did this interest show much sign of abating. A significant number of histories of the First Crusade were written in the period 1135-1200, in spite of the large number of narratives that had been composed before them, and in spite of the awareness of most authors of these earlier accounts. Written works were certainly not the only, and probably not the primary, form of commemoration in the Middle Ages. The First Crusade was also remembered in liturgy, in epitaphs, in pilgrim accounts, in art and in song. While these forms of remembrance may have been more immediate and accessible to the laity, writing history was still considered important. Caffaro of Genoa, himself a layman, opened his account of the First Crusade by calling attention to the wisdom of those who had written histories before him and the usefulness of his own writing: ‘Since from the origin of the world almost all [things] which were or have been done on earth, were written down and related by learned and wise men, therefore it seems good and useful that through the present writing of Caffaro it is learnt in what manner and in which time the cities of Jerusalem and Antioch, along with other oriental cities and coastal places, were liberated from the servitude of the Turks and Saracens.’<sup>1</sup> Caffaro wrote his *De liberatione civitatem Orientis* some fifty years after his experiences on the First Crusade. He was not alone in narrating an account of the crusade half a century and more after the event. The story was told and re-told many times, and several authors chose to base their narrative on earlier ones, sometimes lifting whole passages word for word. This analysis seeks to trace how, why, and under what circumstances the story was re-told and what writers chose to change in the re-telling, as well as the ideas and concepts these authors were trying to communicate and their meaning for contemporaries.

This chapter examines crusade narratives in the broader context of medieval literature. The effect literary traditions had on the production of these histories is

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<sup>1</sup> Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatem Orientis, Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. L. Belgrano (Genoa, 1890), vol.1, p. 99.

discussed and, in turn, the impact of the crusade on contemporary works of other genres. The production of this literature leads to the problem of readership and the reception of texts, questions that will be discussed alongside the influences of culture and identity and the creation and characterisation of heroes. Finally, some suggestions be made for ‘silences’ within the texts, that is, aspects of the history of the crusade that subsequent authors chose to omit from their narrative.

### **Form and Content**

The success of the First Crusade encouraged the production of texts that narrated only the history of this singular event in Christian history. Such tightly focused texts were rare in the early twelfth century; in contrast, chronicles spanning many decades - such as the works of Henry of Huntingdon and William of Newburgh, or those detailing the deeds of kings, like Abbot Suger’s *Vita Ludovici grossi regis* - were more common.<sup>2</sup> The later part of the century saw a change, perhaps as a consequence of the dynamic intellectual climate of the twelfth century; crusade narratives came to be included within larger chronicles as opposed to a stand-alone narrative.<sup>3</sup> This could be attributed to the influence of encyclopaedias, a form of writing that gained popularity in the twelfth century, and the attempt to include everything possible in a book. Encyclopaedias were created with the idea that people had the potential and the ability to learn and understand all there was to know, and there was little left in the world to be investigated. The concept that everything could be comprehended and recorded, however, did not last long, and attempts to write such works declined by the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> However, this form of literature may have encouraged chroniclers to write a more all-encompassing history. Moreover, with the exception of Caffaro, the authors of these texts were no longer eyewitnesses of the expedition. This may have encouraged a feeling that the story now needed to be set in context and amidst other great deeds.

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<sup>2</sup> Rubenstein, ‘What is the *Gesta Francorum*’, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> There are no fewer than twelve extant ‘stand alone’ narratives of the First Crusade of significant length written before 1130 including the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, the works of Peter Tudebode, Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent, Baudri of Bourgueil, Bartolf of Nangis, Albert of Aachen, Gilo of Paris and Ralph of Caen – and this is by no means a comprehensive list. Post 1130 the list becomes much more sparse; we find the anonymous *Historia belli sacri*, the *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena* and Caffaro’s *De liberatione civitatum Orientis* among the stand alone texts of any significant length. The narratives of the First Crusade by William of Malmesbury, Orderic Vitalis, Otto of Freising, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Tyre and William of Newburgh are all contained within larger chronicles that do not take the First Crusade as their starting point.

<sup>4</sup> R. Swanson, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 114-15.

Henry of Huntingdon finished his chronicle, the *Historia Anglorum*, approximately fifty years after the conclusion of the First Crusade. On inserting the narrative into his chronicle, he wrote ‘on account of the magnitude of this event, I beg the reader’s indulgence for a digression, for it would be impossible to keep silent about the wonderful and mighty works of God’, and went on to praise the illustriousness of the army and warlike qualities of its leaders.<sup>5</sup> He digressed only in that the crusade did not occur in England, the centre stage of his history, but the story of the crusade fit perfectly into Henry’s ideas of the role of history and his themes of highlighting virtues to be emulated, evil to be avoided and the just judgement of God.<sup>6</sup>

The majority of these later accounts are shorter in length than the earlier works and many are, to some extent, derivative. Nevertheless, they cannot be dismissed as simply copies or abbreviations of another text. The fact that the authors bothered to re-write the account as a narrative, that they often used more than one source and added their own particular nuances, suggests not only that they continued to feel this piece of history was important and relevant but also that it *needed* to be revised and updated.<sup>7</sup> The author of the anonymous *Historia belli sacri*, for instance, writing in the late 1130’s, based most of his work on Peter Tudebode’s *Historia*. He also seems to have used Raymond of Aguilers’ text in, for example, his description of the count of Toulouse’s illness following the battle at Dorylaeum and Saint Gilles’ promise to him that he would not die.<sup>8</sup> The anonymous author also noted Roger of Barneville’s fate at Antioch, an episode that was recorded by Raymond of Aguilers, Robert the Monk and Gilo of Paris but not Peter Tudebode.<sup>9</sup> After writing of the election of a bishop for the city of Ramla, the author of the *Historia Belli Sacri* gave an intriguing and unique account of the exchanges between the crusaders and the Egyptians; he then turned to the

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<sup>5</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 422-25.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 2-5.

<sup>7</sup> It is pointless (and anachronistic) to talk about plagiarism in the medieval period; copying, abbreviating or modifying a source appears to have been standard practise and may have even been considered as the right way to go about writing history, especially if the account copied was thought to be eyewitness testimony. Isidore of Seville, highly respected among the authors of antiquity, had emphasised the importance of eyewitness testimony. See, Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, pp. 280-1. However, for different views on the perceptions of eyewitness accounts see Lapina, ‘The Problem of Eyewitnesses’, pp. 117-139, and Harari, ‘Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade’, pp. 77-99.

<sup>8</sup> *Historia Belli Sacri*, p. 184; Raymond d’Aguilers, ‘*Liber*’, p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> *Historia Belli Sacri*, p. 198; Raymond d’Aguilers, ‘*Liber*’ p. 66; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 800, Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, pp. 176-9.



narrative of Ralph of Caen to continue his story, though he did not follow it word for word.<sup>10</sup> Henry of Huntingdon based his narrative primarily on the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, but also seems to have been at least acquainted with Baudri of Bourgueil's *Historia Ierosolimitana* (or a version of it), the *Gesta Tancredi* of Ralph of Caen and possibly also William of Malmesbury's narrative of the First Crusade.<sup>11</sup> Ralph of Diceto, writing in the second half of the twelfth century, appears to have used Henry of Huntingdon's work and Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronica* for his narrative of the First Crusade in his *Abbreviationes chronica*.<sup>12</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois was evidently familiar with the account of Baudri of Bourgueil, but he was also aware of the existence of other texts and described a vernacular verse work, no longer extant, by a soldier named Gregory of Bechada.<sup>13</sup> William of Tyre, while copying less directly than many of his contemporaries, based most of his narrative of the First Crusade on the first six books of Albert of Aachen's *Historia*, but also seems to have used the works of Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres and possibly also the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>14</sup> The use of more than one source indicates that authors constructed their narratives with care, and further suggests that some of these texts were circulating reasonably widely. While respecting eyewitness testimony, they also adapted the narrative to suit their own current ideology and present circumstances.

### **Development of Theological Ideas: Cistercians and the Second Crusade**

Just as the reform movement and new monasticism had had an impact on the crusade texts of the early twelfth century, so too prevalent or emerging theological ideas and the development of crusade ideology influenced narratives of the mid-late twelfth century. Abbot Suger's *Vita Ludovici grossi regis*, for example, appears to have reflected the theology and ideology associated with an anonymous fifth-century theologian whom the monks of Saint-Denis believed to be their patron saint. The Dionysian model informed Suger's concept of a perfectly ordered hierarchical society striving towards God, an

<sup>10</sup> *Historia Belli Sacri*, pp. 215 ff. See also France, 'The use of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*', pp. 37-8.

<sup>11</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. xcvi-xcvii. See also Greenway's helpful notes throughout Henry's narrative of the crusade, pp. 422-43.

<sup>12</sup> Radulfi de Diceto, *Abbreviationes chronicorum, Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1876), vol.1, pp. 221-3, 231-3.

<sup>13</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica Gaufridi cœnobitæ monasterii D. Martialis Lemovicensis*, ed. P. Labbe, *novae bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum tomus primus et secundus opera ac studio* (Paris, 1657), p. 296.

<sup>14</sup> Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East*, pp. 45-6.

image which lay at the centre of his text, and may have been meant, not only as an example to the reader, but also as an aid to edification, bringing his audience closer to God.<sup>15</sup> This ideology strongly impacted both the form and content of Suger's work, but does not seem to have been prominent in other historical texts. Becoming more dominant by the mid-twelfth century, were the ideals of the Cistercian order. The link between the soul, memory and the divine, most commonly commented upon within Cistercian intellectual circles, may have further encouraged the preservation of memory through the historical record. This concept also advocated the remembrance of ancestors, a theme so apparent in the (Cistercian dominated) preaching of the Second Crusade.<sup>16</sup> The idea of emulating ancestors largely replaced *imitatio Christi* as a central motif in Cistercian crusade ideology; the image of crusaders as imitators of Christ appears neither in *Quantum praedecessores* nor in the letters of Bernard of Clairvaux. For the Cistercians, unlike the Benedictine monks who had lauded the First Crusade as a new form of salvation equivalent to a monastic vocation, it was only within the cloister that true *imitatio Christi* could be achieved.<sup>17</sup> Authors of narratives did not actually abandon the idea of *imitatio Christi*, indeed, the invocation of the First Crusade may have helped strengthen the idea in less intellectual minds, but the Cistercian ideology which downplayed the idea of crusaders as imitators of Christ while stressing the imitation of ancestors may well have helped promote the portrayal of the First Crusaders as heroes.

The emphasis that most mid-to-late twelfth century narratives of the First Crusade placed on the crusading activities of ancestors was, therefore, likely shaped by the preaching of the Second Crusade, in particular the widely circulated crusading bull *Quantum praedecessores*. Not only did Pope Eugenius III begin his call for the Second Crusade by invoking Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade, he also declared 'it is recognised as a great sign of nobility and uprightness, if that which the activity of your fathers acquired is vigorously defended by their good sons', and reminded his audience that the eastern Church had been freed from tyranny 'by so much outpouring of your

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<sup>15</sup> G. Spiegel, 'History as Enlightenment: Suger and the *Mos Anagogicus*', *Abbot Suger and Saint Denis: A Symposium*, ed. P. Gerson (New York, 1986) pp. 154-158.

<sup>16</sup> E. Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order, Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150-1220* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 36-7. Will (*voluntas*) and knowledge (*intelligentia*) were also connected with the divine in the soul in Cistercian ideology, along with memory (*memoria*).

<sup>17</sup> Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 87, 91-5, 98, 111, 114-16.

father's blood.'<sup>18</sup> Eugenius also made reference to the Maccabees as an ancient, biblical, precedent or ancestry for the crusaders: 'let the good Mathathias be an example to you, who, for the paternal laws to be preserved, with his sons and relatives did not hesitate at all to expose himself to death and to relinquish everything he possessed in the world; and at length with the help of divine aid and with much labour he and his offspring triumphed powerfully over their enemies.'<sup>19</sup> This was a reference perhaps borrowed from histories of the First Crusade; Eugenius had opened his bull stating that he had learned 'from reports of men of old and... the deeds which have been written.'<sup>20</sup> Reflecting a similar concern with predecessors, though in a less dramatic manner, the *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena*, written possibly to celebrate King Baldwin III's majority, included in the prologue a genealogy of the kings of Jerusalem, emphasising, in case there was any doubt, their illustrious crusading ancestry.<sup>21</sup> In a slightly different way, but with similar aims, Lambert of Ardres wrote to try to correct or revive a memory he feared might be forgotten. He lamented the fact that the heroism of Arnold II, lord of Ardres, on the First Crusade had not been included in the *Chanson d'Antioche* and he therefore wished to make this known. He wrote that 'Arnold, who was in strength and skill in every way, a noble hero, refused to give two scarlet stockings to this same wretch [the singer of the *Chanson d'Antioche*], who deserves to be known by no name. So he made no mention of Arnold in his song... But oh, the praiseworthy knighthood of Arnold! It ought to be made public everywhere on earth!'<sup>22</sup> It is likely Lambert wished to provide a prestigious crusading ancestry for the lords of Ardres and Guines and thereby felt the need to offer an explanation for Arnold's exclusion from the *Chanson*. Theological ideas current in the mid-twelfth century therefore altered to some extent the expressions used to present the First Crusade - or at least the crusaders. The evident success of such ideas and expressions suggests that they

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<sup>18</sup> Eugenius III, *Quantum praedecessores*, ed. R. Grosse, 'Überlegungen zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. von 1145/46 mit einer Neuedition von JL8876', *Francia*, vol. 18 (1991), pp. 90, 91. Bernard of Clairvaux echoed such sentiments in his letter to the clergy and people of Speyer and Eastern *Francia*: Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', *Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rohais (Rome, 1957-77), vol. 8, Letter 363, p. 313.

<sup>19</sup> Eugenius III, *Quantum praedecessores*, p. 91.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p. 90. See for example, Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 116-17; Raymond d'Aguilers, 'Liber', p. 53; Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 112-13, 240; Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, pp. 160-1.

<sup>21</sup> *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena*, *RHC Occ.*, vol. 5, pp. 139-40.

<sup>22</sup> Lamberti Ardensis, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, ed. J. Heller, *MGH* vol. 24 (Hannover, 1876), pp. 626-627; translated as Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. L. Shopkow (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 164-66.

had struck a chord, not only with the ecclesiastics writing the histories, but with the laity as well. History and ancestry were evidently important; Lambert of Ardres had written earlier in his text of how histories were recounted at the courts of Ardres and Guines. He explained that Arnold of Guines kept older men with him, such as ‘a certain old soldier named Robert of Coutances, who instructed him and pleased his ears on the subject of the Roman Emperors and on Charlemagne, Roland and Oliver, and King Arthur of Britain; and Philip of Montgardin, who told him to his ears’ delight of the land of Jerusalem and of the siege of Antioch and of the Arabs and Babylonians and deeds done overseas; and his relative named Walter of Le Clud, who diligently informed him of the deeds and fables of the English... of the deeds of the family of Ardres...’<sup>23</sup> Authors such as Lambert also had didactic intentions, wishing to point to the way in which the descendants of those mentioned in their histories should act.

### **Literary Traditions**

Crusade narratives cannot be considered in isolation, but must be viewed as part of a larger corpus of literature burgeoning in the twelfth century. After all, these texts were produced in the same sphere as the great majority of medieval literature – the clerical and monastic worlds. Established literary traditions also unavoidably influenced the form, style and content of crusade narratives. As we have noted, intellectual currents in the mid-late twelfth century seem to have encouraged, in general, the production of texts encompassing the story within a broader chronicle as opposed to a stand-alone narrative. Throughout the twelfth century most authors embraced the classical notion of history as a branch of grammar alongside rhetoric and logic, thereby modelling their works on literary traditions of antiquity – both biblical and classical – which influenced the style and content of their works. Authors of crusade narratives of the mid-late twelfth century, as had their early twelfth century predecessors, frequently made classical allusions; Henry of Huntingdon asserted that the crusade leaders were greater than the warriors that had destroyed Troy or Thebes: ‘Let Troy stand back, let Thebes

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<sup>23</sup> Lamberti Ardensis, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, p. 607; translated as Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Shopkow, pp. 129-30. Orderic Vitalis, writing some fifty years earlier, told of a clerk, Gerold of Avranches, who ‘did his best to convert the men of the court to a better way of life by showing them examples of their forebears’ and ‘he made a great collection of tales of the combats of holy knights, drawn from the Old Testament and more recent records of Christian achievements, for them to imitate. He told them vivid stories of the conflicts of Demetrius and George, of Theodore and Sebastian, of the Theban legion and Maurice, its leader, and of Eustace, supreme commander of the army and his champions, who won the crown of martyrdom in heaven.’ *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 3, pp. 216-17. While Gerold’s aims were different, it is evident that stories of forefathers and histories were recounted in the courts of regional lords.

stand back, that they may be excused from naming the leaders and princes of their destruction'.<sup>24</sup> Writers also sometimes based their descriptions of cities on those of classical writers – rather than using more contemporary reports. This continued reverence for antiquity could also be seen in pilgrim accounts. The text that Wilkinson entitles *The Work on Geography*, for instance, used the *Liber locorum* of St Jerome as its main source.<sup>25</sup> Otto of Freising, who wrote his *Chronica sive duabus civitatibus* in 1147, used the language of the Bible more than that of classical antiquity. He began his account by noting that at that time 'nation rose against nation', he referred to the prophecy that ancient Babylon would be 'deserted and inaccessible' and compared the taking of Jerusalem by the Christians to the taking of Jericho by the Israelites.<sup>26</sup> Writers set their texts firmly in a Christian or theological framework. Even the secular author Caffaro of Genoa emphasised that those who undertook the enterprise were in the service of God and those that gave their lives for it were martyrs comparable to the Maccabees.<sup>27</sup> The narratives and ideas of these authors were moulded by contemporary literary traditions. Like all literary works, they were very much products of their time. This is not to say that these authors could not be innovative or creative, but rather that they were subject to current intellectual, social and political influences and must therefore be considered within these contexts.

Writers of crusade narratives in the second half of the twelfth century had not only classical and biblical traditions to fall back on but also the work of previous authors. As noted earlier, almost all later writers borrowed to a greater or lesser degree from earlier works. Traditions were established not only in the act of crusading but in the literature of the crusade as well. Cowdrey has suggested that there are parallels between the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum* outlining the 1087 Mahdia campaign and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, particularly in their identification of Christ as leader of the army, the aid of saints, and the portrayal of the faithful fallen as martyrs.<sup>28</sup> While the *Carmen* did not describe a crusade, it did

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<sup>24</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 424-5.

<sup>25</sup> *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, ed. J. Wilkinson (London, 1998), p. 14.

<sup>26</sup> Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis, *Chronica sive duabus civitatibus*, pp. 310, 312, 314; translated as Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, trans. Mierow, pp. 405, 407, 409.

<sup>27</sup> Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatem Orientis*, pp. 100, 101, 103.

<sup>28</sup> Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia Campaign', pp. 21-2, 25, 26, 27. See also *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 1, 4, 17, 40, 69, 70, 85.

foreshadow crusading ideology, and perhaps reflects a tradition of writing about such expeditions. Borrowing and adapting material from previous authors also helped create specific literary traditions within crusade narratives. One such tradition was the authenticity of the Holy Lance. The *Historia belli sacri*, for example, while evidently having access to the narratives of both Raymond of Aguilers and Ralph of Caen, two out of the very few authors who detail the controversy and judicial trial over the relic (albeit from very different points of view), evaded the issue altogether. The *Historia* noted only that the lance was accepted with much joy while the crusaders were besieged in Antioch and that it was carried into battle in the contingent of the bishop of Le Puy.<sup>29</sup> Caffaro wrote that the angels of the Lord, who came to aid the crusaders in the battle against Kerbogha, bowed before the lance.<sup>30</sup> And Lambert of Ardres proudly recorded that among the relics that Arnold brought back with him from the East was a piece of the Holy Lance.<sup>31</sup> William of Tyre was one of the few authors of the mid-to-late twelfth century to record the controversy, but still indicated the positive effect it had on morale and he also noted that the bishop of Le Puy carried it into battle.<sup>32</sup> However, he offered no real conclusion as to whether the lance was a genuine relic or not, simply concluding his chapter on the issue: ‘thus the matter over which the controversy had arisen was not conclusively settled but, on the contrary, was left still more uncertain.’<sup>33</sup> William’s ambivalence may have been a result of his Levantine perspective as well as the diverse views of his sources; nevertheless, it is possible to see, in the example of the Holy Lance, an emerging literary tradition portraying the lance as a genuine relic. Authors, in borrowing and adapting earlier texts, extended their literary importance and established narrative traditions.

Another tradition, although not taken up by all writers, which began to gain greater currency in the late twelfth century, was that of Peter the Hermit’s role in instigating the crusade. The account was borrowed and adapted by William of Tyre from

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<sup>29</sup> *Historia belli sacri*, pp. 201-2, 205.

<sup>30</sup> Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatem Orientis*, p. 109.

<sup>31</sup> Lamberti Ardensis, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, p. 626; translated as Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Shopkow, p. 164.

<sup>32</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 325, 326, 330.

<sup>33</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 366-7; translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Babcock and Krey, vol.1, pp. 324-5.

Albert of Aachen's narrative.<sup>34</sup> The author of the *Historia belli sacri*, writing in Monte Cassino, also knew the story, although he does not seem to have used Albert's text. His version also contained several differences. The anonymous, for example, had Christ command Peter to go straight to the pope, rather than first obtain a commission from the patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps Monte Cassino's relative proximity to Rome influenced the author to feature the pope more prominently in the account. It is interesting that Caffaro's version of how the crusade began also bears some resemblance to the story of Peter the Hermit, although he substituted the pilgrimage of Peter with one made by Godfrey of Boulogne, and named the pilgrim who received the dream vision as Bartholomew.<sup>36</sup> It is possible this story was inspired through contact with the Empire, where the story of Peter the Hermit's pilgrimage seems to have been the most prominent; Caffaro had been sent in 1154, the year before he wrote his *De liberatione civitatem orientis*, to negotiate with Frederick Barbarossa at the Imperial Diet at Roncaglia.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, for the secular-minded Caffaro it was fitting that laymen should have been the instigators of the crusade. Literary traditions might therefore be adapted to suit regional ideas and sensibilities.

New ideas circulating in intellectual and social circles in the mid-twelfth century had specific influences on the way the crusade was remembered. The twelfth century saw ideals of chivalry gain increasing currency and this was reflected in the literature of the time. Rider, for example, has noted the similarities of the judicial duel related by Galbert of Bruges, between Guy of Steenvorde and Iron Herman, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the single combat between King Arthur and the Roman governor, Frolo. Both described the disembowelling of an opponents' horse, a battle at close quarters, the main protagonist struck in the face and at a disadvantage, and the

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<sup>34</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 124-7, 129; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 4-9.

<sup>35</sup> *Historia belli sacri*, pp. 169-70.

<sup>36</sup> Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatem Orientis*, pp. 99-101.

<sup>37</sup> Face, 'Secular History in Twelfth-Century Italy', pp. 177-9; S. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill, 1996), pp. 71-2.

hero finally summoning all his strength to defeat his opponent against the odds.<sup>38</sup> Grounding such descriptions on contemporary ideas of behaviour and basing them on narrative models and depicting, perhaps, what should have happened rather than what actually took place, gave credibility to the account by conforming to expectations.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps deferring to such narrative traditions, and also influenced by emerging ideals of chivalry, accounts of the crusade from the mid-twelfth century onwards tended to emphasise the role of the leaders of the crusade. They portrayed them in a much more heroic manner than the earlier texts had done. While the author of the *Gesta Francorum* had stated somewhat cynically ‘perhaps, however, we were fated to be misled often by our leaders,’<sup>40</sup> and Raymond of Aguilers had noted the frequent dissension between the leaders,<sup>41</sup> forty years later, Henry of Huntingdon declared that ‘all with one mind sought totally unknown places’ and that ‘the rays of the sun did not, from its first creation, shine on so great and so illustrious an army, so fearful and so numerous a crowd, with so many and such warlike leaders.’ He mentioned only in passing the dispute between Raymond of St-Gilles and Bohemond over possession of Antioch.<sup>42</sup> While he had generally been quick to praise the leaders, Robert the Monk, writing within the first decade of the conclusion of the crusade, had also been more openly critical; he had twice noted the conflict between Bohemond and Raymond over Antioch and expressed the damaging effect these had had: ‘the whole Christian army was deeply demoralised by the disagreements amongst the princes.’<sup>43</sup> For Otto of Freising, on the other hand, the crusading host was ‘united into one body.’<sup>44</sup> Otto may have been influenced by the

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<sup>38</sup> Rider, *God's Scribe*, pp. 105-8; Galbertus Brugensis, *De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandiarum*, ed. J. Rider (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 109-110, translated as Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder of Charles the Good Count of Flanders*, trans. J. B. Ross (New York, 1960), pp 212-13; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 206-9. Robert the Monk's description of Golfier's desperate battle on the walls of Jerusalem is at least reminiscent of such a literary description; while not retaining the elements of the disembowelment of a horse or being struck in the face, the account depicts a hero exhausted and at disadvantage, and, similar to Galbert's portrayal of Guy gaining strength from the earth, Golfier 'now found a second wind' (*novas iterum resumpserat vires*) and managed to prevail. Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 848, translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 185.

<sup>39</sup> Rider, *God's Scribe*, p. 108.

<sup>40</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, p. 12.

<sup>41</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, '*Liber*', pp. 83-4, 88, 93-4, 98-9, 100, 124; Although the eyewitness accounts did praise acts of prowess on the part of various knights and champion the cause of the leader of their respective contingents, they were also more vocal in their criticism.

<sup>42</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 422-23, 424-25, 440-41.

<sup>43</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 843-4, 849-850; translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, pp. 180, 186. See also Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 262.

<sup>44</sup> Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis, *Chronica sive duabus civitatibus*, p. 311; Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, trans. Mierow, p. 406.



optimistic atmosphere just prior to the Second Crusade. Expressing similar sentiments, Caffaro wrote that ‘so great was the grace of God that during the whole journey there was concord and humility.’<sup>45</sup> These authors emphasised the actions of the knights while the roles of the foot soldiers, pilgrims and women (admittedly never very prominent) faded ever more into the background, although the narrative of William of Tyre, written in the Levant, was something of an exception to this practice.<sup>46</sup>

The author of the *Historia belli sacri*, who appears to have based most of his text on that of Peter Tudebode, tended to use laudatory epithets more frequently than his model when referring to the crusade leadership and particularly Bohemond.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, whereas Raymond of Aguilers had seemed somewhat reticent in comparing the crusaders to the Maccabees, Caffaro did so explicitly, proclaiming that the Genoese who were killed on their way to meet the main crusading armies at Antioch ‘took up their martyrs crown and the angels placed these martyrs of God in the celestial seat, as companions of the Maccabees’.<sup>48</sup> The author of the *Historia belli sacri* went further, implying that the crusaders were in fact more virtuous than the Maccabees, ‘who had fought for the law of their fathers, and their own heritage, these ones [the crusaders] however, went forth and fought powerfully not for themselves or anything of theirs, but for the kingdom of heaven.’<sup>49</sup> The increasing tendency to focus on the leaders, the individual hero, at the expense of the crusaders as a group, fits well not only with the increasing prominence of chivalric ideals but also with contemporary intellectual currents of humanistic thought and the theological emphasis on an individual’s responsibility for their own salvation.<sup>50</sup> It should be noted, however, that not all First Crusaders were remembered in a positive way. Abbot Suger of St Denis, for example,

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<sup>45</sup> Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatem Orientis*, p. 101.

<sup>46</sup> Discussed further below.

<sup>47</sup> *Historia belli sacri*, e.g. p. 191: Bohemond, stressing the praise already given, is referred to as *doctissimus* and *sapientissimus*. Tancred is called *honorabilis miles* and *fortissimus Christi athleta*, and Bohemond *vir sapiens* and *doctissimus* several times in connection with his dealings with Pirrus and the taking of Antioch, p. 194-96. Of the leaders of the battle lines emerging from Antioch to face Kerbogha, Bohemond is singled out as *vir sapiens* and those with him as *pulcherrima militia*, p. 205.

<sup>48</sup> Raymond d’ Aguilers, ‘*Liber*’ p. 53; Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatem Orientis*, p. 103.

<sup>49</sup> *Historia belli sacri*, p. 173.

<sup>50</sup> Leclercq, ‘The Renewal of Theology’, pp. 84-5; see also, S. Vaughn and J. Rubenstein, ‘Introduction: Teaching and Learning From the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries’, *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200*, ed. S. Vaughn and J. Rubenstein (Turnhout, 2006), p. 3. K. Pratt, ‘The Cistercians and the *Queste del Saint Graal*’, *Reading Medieval Studies*, vol. 21 (1995), p. 79.

writing his *Deeds of Louis the Fat* in the 1140's, wrote disparagingly of the crusader Guy Trousseau, because of his 'unusual behaviour at Antioch when, in fear of Corbaran, he escaped over the wall and deserted God's host besieged within.'<sup>51</sup> The deserters at Antioch were another aspect of the crusade more frequently forgotten than remembered in later chronicles. It was likely the strong didactic aims of his work and Suger's desire to increase the king's prestige at all costs that led him to record it.

Subsequent crusades appear to have produced few heroes and little in the way of narrative traditions in comparison to the First Crusade. It is possible that the failure of later crusades to some extent precluded their participants from becoming heroes in the same plane as the First Crusaders. Richard the Lionheart with some of his fellow crusaders, such as James of Avesnes, may have come close.<sup>52</sup> They were heroes in the eyes of Ambroise and the author of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*. The writer of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, for example, described James of Avesnes as 'a man endowed with triple perfection: a Nestor in council, an Achilles in arms, better than Attilius Regulus at keeping his word.' He emphasised King Richard's prowess in a similar manner, claiming that the king had 'the valour of Hector, the heroism of Achilles; he was not inferior to Alexander, nor less valiant than Roland. No, he easily surpassed in many respects the most praiseworthy figures of our times.'<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, both these texts decried the fact that the majority of the participants of the Third Crusade did not meet the standards of the First Crusaders: 'they were not like the pilgrims who were once on the expedition to Antioch, which our people powerfully captured in a famous victory which is still related in the deeds of Bohemond and Tancred and Godfrey of Bouillon and other most outstanding chiefs, who triumphed in so many glorious victories, whose feats even now are like food in the mouth of the narrator. Because they

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<sup>51</sup> Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis, *Vita Ludovici grossi regis*, ed. and trans. H. Waquet (Paris, 1964), p. 36; translated as Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. R. Cusimano and J. Moorhead (Washington, 1992), p. 40. See also Guibert of Nogent; he had stated that he had not written the names of several of the young Franks who had scaled the walls of Jerusalem because on their return they had turned to shameful and evil deeds, Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 278.

<sup>52</sup> M. Ailes, 'Heroes of War: Ambroise's Heroes of the Third Crusade', *Writing War Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. C. Saunders, F. Le Saux and N. Thomas (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 29-48.

<sup>53</sup> *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1864), vol. 1, pp. 65, 143; translated as *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 74-5, 145. The edition and translation used here appear to represent a compilation of manuscripts: see discussion by Nicholson in the introduction to her translation. Nevertheless, along with Ambroise's work, this text still serves to highlight the heroic status the First Crusaders had achieved by the end of the twelfth century.

performed their service freely and whole heartedly for God, God rewarded their labours and exalted their magnificent feats so that they would be remembered forever and all their descendants would be praised with ample reverence.<sup>54</sup> The leaders of the First Crusade had been transformed into heroes whose deeds it was difficult to surpass.

The characters of the heroes created by the authors of crusade narratives were not necessarily accurate representations of the individuals described. Medieval historians focused primarily on the deeds of the protagonists, rather than descriptions of personality.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, for history to fulfil its edificatory and didactic purposes heroes tended to be painted to suit ideals, and all personages tended to fall into one of the discrete categories of either good or evil.<sup>56</sup> Considering that most of these histories were written by churchmen, we may ask whether these ideals were simply constructs of the clergy. It is possible, for example, that literary heroes such as Galahad emerged under Cistercian influence and Cistercians seemed to show some interest in reforming the knighthood.<sup>57</sup> However, the monastic and secular worlds did not exist in isolation from each other. Urban II's call for crusade and Bernard of Clairvaux's preaching of the Second Crusade, for example, would not have been so successful if they had not understood the mentality of those they were trying to recruit. The previous expedition to Jerusalem was referred to in the preaching of the Second Crusade and in his letter to the archbishops of eastern Francia and Bavaria, Bernard warned them not to follow the example of Peter the Hermit of whom they had often heard mention.<sup>58</sup> His warning would have made no sense to an audience unfamiliar with the events and characters of the First Crusade. Moreover, many of the higher clergy would have come from the same aristocratic families as knights and secular lords. Otto of Freising, for example, was half-brother to King Conrad III and the maternal uncle of Frederick I Barbarossa; they shared a common culture and background. Furthermore, as will be discussed further

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<sup>54</sup> *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, vol. 1, p. 396; translated as *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Nicholson, p. 346. See also Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. and trans. M. Ailes and M. Barber (Woodbridge, 2003), vol. 1, p. 172, vol. 2, p. 174.

<sup>55</sup> B. Huppé, 'The Concept of the Hero in the Early Middle Ages', *Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. N. Burns and C. Reagan (Albany, 1975), pp. 2, 4, 23.

<sup>56</sup> Blacker, *Faces of Time*, pp. 53-56.

<sup>57</sup> R. Barber, 'Chivalry, Cistercianism and the Grail', *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, ed. C. Dover (Cambridge, 2003), p. 7; R. Bolgar, 'Hero or Anti-Hero? The Genesis and Development of the *Miles Christianus*', *Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. N. Burns and C. Reagan (Albany, 1975), pp.121, 123.

<sup>58</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', *Opera*, ed. J. Leclerc and H. Rohais (Rome. 1957-77), vol. 8, Letter 363, p. 17.

below, the laity seems to have had some influence on the production of historical texts and, therefore, at least consented to, if not positively shaped, their content.

Literary traditions significantly influenced the shape of the crusade narrative; however, crusade texts also had a marked impact on medieval literature. Several passages in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, for example, have definite resonances with expressions used in crusade histories. The archbishop Dubricius absolved Arthur's army before a battle with the pagan Saxons, announcing: 'If any of you falls in this battle, let his death, providing he does not shrink from it, be the repentance and cleansing of all his sins.'<sup>59</sup> Heng has also argued that the cannibalistic giant Arthur encountered at Mont Saint Michael represented the cannibalism said to have taken place on the First Crusade, and its location – a pilgrimage site named after a patron saint of warriors – further stresses the connection with crusading.<sup>60</sup> The *pseudo-Turpin* chronicle, an account of Charlemagne's purported campaigns in Spain, probably written around 1140, used language at least reminiscent of crusading to describe the emperor's expeditions, and may have aimed to establish a tradition of crusading in the Iberian peninsula and associate this with the cult of St James.<sup>61</sup> An anonymous Angevin chronicle, the *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum*, written in the mid-twelfth century, adapted sections of Baudri of Bourgueil's *Historia Jerosolimitana* to describe a (supposedly) tenth century battle between the French forces of Geoffrey Grey mantle, count of Anjou, and Hugh Capet, against those of the Normans and Flemings near Soissons. The anonymous author borrowed primarily from Baudri's account of the siege of Antioch, substituting the names of men and people and leaving the action virtually unchanged.<sup>62</sup> The chronicler

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<sup>59</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 198-99. This is even clearer in L. Thorpe's translation of A. Griscom's edition of Cambridge Univ. Libr. Ms 1706 (which, as far as I can tell from their schema, M. Reeve and N. Wright did not use) where Dubricius cries out that Arthur's army has been marked with the cross of the Christian faith: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1987), pp. 34, 216.

<sup>60</sup> G. Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York, 2003), pp. 35-7, 41; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 224-27. Not all Heng's comments on crusade literature are accurate, but her point regarding the influence it may have had on Geoffrey's writing is still valid.

<sup>61</sup> Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 151, 153-60.

<sup>62</sup> N. Wright, 'Epic and Romance in the Chronicles of Anjou.' *Anglo-Norman Studies*, vol. 26 (2004), pp. 177, 180-2; *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum, Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913), pp. 42-3, see also pp. 40-1; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, pp. 46-7, see also pp. 34, 45, 53-4, 83, 108.

thereby invested the conflict with the character of a crusade.<sup>63</sup> In a similar manner, the *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, completed in the late 1130's, gave the Pisan campaign against Mahdia in 1087 the aura of a crusade.<sup>64</sup> The author presented the expedition as a papal initiative, and described how the pope, having held council with the bishops and cardinals, was 'gathering from almost all the people of Italy an army of Christians, and delivering to them the banner of saint Peter the apostle, under remission of all sins, he directed them against the Saracens staying in Africa.'<sup>65</sup> While the campaign undoubtedly enjoyed the backing of the papacy, the main contemporary source for the expedition, the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, said nothing about remission of sins, and in fact presented the expedition as primarily a Pisan initiative.<sup>66</sup> The crusade, and crusade texts, transformed the way in which this pre-crusade conflict was later portrayed. It is also possible that works such as the *Queste del Saint Graal*, and perhaps other texts in the *Lancelot-Grail* cycle, emerged under Cistercian influence, and were shaped by crusade literature. The story centres on the saintly knight Galahad who bears white arms with a red cross like those of the knights Templar, and his story culminates in the East.<sup>67</sup> Considering the strong ties between the Cistercians and the military orders, beginning with Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude militiae novae* and *ad milites Templi*, the influence of crusading on these texts becomes all the more evident.

Crusade narratives of the latter half of the twelfth century also appear to have exerted influence on hagiographical texts. In stressing the piety, as well as the heroism of the participants of the crusade, along with the martyrdom of those who gave their lives for it, these narratives encouraged the presentation of more militant saints, now willing literally to take up the sword in the name of Christ rather than set it aside in more traditional martyrdom. A soldier saint like Martin of Tours, for example, began his literary life - in the hands of the fifth century author Sulpicius Severus - as a pacifist, an anti-hero in that he did not take up the sword; in redactions of his *Vita* following the First Crusade, however, he won the victory, not by eschewing battle, but with sword

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<sup>63</sup> Wright, 'Epic and Romance', pp. 183-4.

<sup>64</sup> Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia Campaign of 1087', *EHR*, vol. 92 (1977), p. 17.

<sup>65</sup> *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, ed. W. Wattenbach, *MGH SS*, vol. 7 (Hanover, 1846), p. 751.

<sup>66</sup> Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia Campaign', pp. 17-18, 21-2, 24, 25.

<sup>67</sup> The actual authorship of these texts is much debated. Pratt, 'The Cistercians and the *Queste del Saint Graal*', pp. 69-96; Barber, 'Chivalry, Cistercianism and the Grail', pp. 3-12.

drawn.<sup>68</sup> Crusade narratives did not create the bellicose saint nor did they extinguish the ideal of Christian non-violence, but promoted a reconciliation of ideals of sanctity with ideals of warfare. Soldier saints in crusade narratives actively aided the army in battle, and the crusaders themselves were depicted as holy warriors, *milites Christi*.<sup>69</sup> The greater acceptance of a true Christian warrior or the reconciliation of military and spiritual virtues had begun with crusade narratives of the early twelfth century, but became more evident and started to influence texts of other genres in the latter part of the century. Such influence can also be seen in pilgrim accounts. The *Work on Geography*, written around 1137, and the accounts of the pilgrims John of Würzburg and Theoderic, composed in the 1170's, noted the epitaphs of Duke Godfrey, his brother Baldwin or other famous crusaders in their descriptions of the holy places, in effect elevating them to the same status of the shrines and saints they had travelled to revere. John of Würzburg and Theoderic also recorded the consecration of the church of the Holy Sepulchre on the fifteenth of July, the date on which the city fell to the crusaders in 1099.<sup>70</sup> The triumph of the crusade was here remembered both in ritual and in literature.

### **Purpose and Audience**

The production - and also copying and acquisition - of texts was very uneven, varying greatly from monastery to monastery, or cathedral to cathedral. It was possibly driven by the interest or ambition of an individual, as appears to have been the case in Malmesbury. Most of the extant books from this abbey appear to be connected with the historian William of Malmesbury, and it seems to have been under his initiative they were procured and copied.<sup>71</sup> It should be noted, however, that historical works were not the most commonly produced books, nor the most popular (or at least not the most

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<sup>68</sup> His *Vita* underwent several revisions and his eventual incarnation as a warrior saint was not necessarily straight forward. See J. E. Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors, Warfare and Sanctity in the Literature of Early England* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 21-5, 250, 274-282. See also MacGregor, 'The Ministry of Gerold d'Avanches: Warrior-Saints and Knightly Piety', pp. 219-27.

<sup>69</sup> For example: *Gesta Francorum*, p. 69; *Historia belli sacri*, p. 205; *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena*, pp. 170, 171-2; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 438-9; Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatem Orientis*, p. 109, Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 415.

<sup>70</sup> *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 123-25, 154, 156; translated as *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, ed. J. Wilkinson (London, 1998), pp. 210-11, 263-65, 284-85, 286-87.

<sup>71</sup> R. M. Thomson, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Production', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. N. Morgan and R. M. Thomson (Cambridge, 2008), vol. 2, pp. 143, 145-7.

copied) genre in the twelfth century.<sup>72</sup> The thirty and fifty existing manuscripts of Henry of Huntingdon and Otto of Freising's texts respectively, attests to the relative popularity of these particular works,<sup>73</sup> but no other text under discussion in this chapter exists in over a dozen manuscripts. Theological works and sermons tended to command more significant interest, or at least were more frequently copied. The *De misera humanae conditionis* of Pope Innocent III, for example, survives in several hundred manuscripts, his sermons in over sixty, and Guibert of Tournai's *Sermones ad status* exist in approximately seventy manuscripts.<sup>74</sup> William of Tyre's *Historia*, by way of comparison, has ten manuscripts (though there are more than fifty of the Old French continuations in the thirteenth century), and Lambert of Ardres eleven, though these are mostly of late provenance.<sup>75</sup> There are 4 manuscripts of Ralph of Diceto's *Abbreviationes chronicorum*, the *Historia belli sacri* and *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena* exist in only one each.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, throughout the twelfth century, books and their text in general would have been largely invisible to the majority of the population, but were none the less important for that. They may have been perceived as objects of sanctity, like relics, unseen, enclosed within monasteries; for most of society they were valued for their physical presence more than their contents.<sup>77</sup> The knight and First Crusader surnamed Grassegals appears not to have read the volume of histories of the First Crusade that he gifted to Louis VII of France,<sup>78</sup> but he evidently appreciated the value of the book as an object. The dedication suggests that he intended the king to be made aware of its contents.<sup>79</sup> The text of books was not

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 153-6; Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History', pp. 127-9.

<sup>73</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. lxi, cxvii-cxliv; Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, trans. Mierow, p. 45.

<sup>74</sup> Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History', p. 128 n.2; C. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 77.

<sup>75</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 3-31; Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Shopkow, p. 34.

<sup>76</sup> Radulfi de Diceto, *Abbreviationes chronicorum*, pp. lxxxvii-xcvi; *Préface, RHC Occ.*, vol. 3, pp. xiii, xvii; *Préface, RHC Occ.*, vol. 5, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

<sup>77</sup> C. de Hamel, 'Books and Society', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. N. Morgan and R. M. Thomson (Cambridge, 2008), vol. 2, pp. 4-5. de Hamel also suggests that even monks in the twelfth century, with access to libraries, did not, for the most part, necessarily read extensively, pp. 6-7. For the value of books as objects rather than texts see, Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 184-7.

<sup>78</sup> J. Rubenstein, 'Putting History to Use', p. 137.

<sup>79</sup> *Praefatio Willelmi Grassegals militis ad Historias Belli Sacri*, p. 827.

unimportant, authors would not have produced so carefully structured narratives if that were the case, but the audience was a limited one.

The participation of the lay nobility in the production of histories - through patronage, commissioning texts for social or political advantage, or having works dedicated to them - suggests that they were a significant and important part of the intended audience of these texts. Considering the strong family ties between crusaders from one generation to the next, it is likely that many of the texts written in the later part of the twelfth century were intended for the descendants of the First Crusaders.<sup>80</sup> Or, in the case of Geoffrey of Vigeois, we have the descendant of a First Crusader writing of the deeds of his forbearer, and, possibly, also a local hero.<sup>81</sup> It is difficult to know, however, how these texts were communicated to a lay audience that are generally assumed to have been largely illiterate and unable to understand Latin. The decision to write in Latin was probably inspired by a desire to reach an audience not limited to the country of origin, to demonstrate learning through rhetorical flourishes and because, throughout the twelfth century, that was the language of truth. Geoffrey of Vigeois evidently felt he had to justify Gregory of Bechada's choice of writing in the vernacular rather than in Latin. He stressed that Gregory had not attempted the work without the order of the bishop Eustorge and the council of Gaubert the Norman, so that the work would not be rendered worthless because of the use of the vernacular.<sup>82</sup> This had begun to change by the thirteenth century, but in the twelfth Latin was the language of learning. Nevertheless, Henry of Huntingdon wrote that he was producing 'an abbreviated history in a single volume so that past events may not be unknown to future generations,' and explained, in a letter to archdeacon Walter inserted into his *Historia Anglorum*, 'I shall not debate by means of rhetoric, or consider the manner of philosophy, what is thundered forth in every page of holy scripture and exercises the great minds of all the philosophers. Rather I shall speak with utter simplicity, so that it may be clear to the many (I mean to the less educated).'<sup>83</sup> He evidently desired his history to reach a relatively wide audience.

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<sup>80</sup> Paul, 'Crusade, Memory and Regional Politics', pp. 129, 138.

<sup>81</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica Gaufredi*, pp. 293, 296. See also, *Canso d'Antioca: An Occitan Epic Chronicle of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. Sweetenham and L. Paterson (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 5-6.

<sup>82</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica Gaufredi*, p. 296.

<sup>83</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. lvii, 584-5, 772-3.



The apprehension articulated by some authors, such as William of Malmesbury and William of Tyre, about offending their audience further indicates that they intended their works to be communicated to prospective patrons.<sup>84</sup> William of Tyre wrote of the pitfalls awaiting the unwary historian, ‘for either he will kindle the anger of many persons against him while he is in pursuit of actual facts of achievements; or, in hope of rousing less resentment, he will be silent about the course of events, wherein, obviously, he is not without fault.’ He later expressed his concern that in his pursuit of truth ‘descendants of these monarchs, while perusing this work, may find this treatment difficult to brook and be angry with the chronicler beyond his just deserts.’<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, William of Malmesbury’s remark in his letter to Robert of Gloucester prefacing his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* that ‘men of lower degree adopt as their own the virtues of those above them, reverencing the footprints of qualities they cannot hope to follow’, suggests that he at least intended his history to be conveyed in some form to a lay audience.<sup>86</sup> There was, moreover, the potential for multiple audiences to appreciate these texts. Freeman has argued that the Cistercian monk Aelred of Rievaulx deliberately wrote his history of the Battle of the Standard (1138), composed between 1155 and 1157, to appeal to both the Anglo-Norman nobility and his Cistercian community. Aelred appealed to a Cistercian audience by giving a foundation history of Rievaulx and the Cistercian order in general and referring to the desert ideal. He introduced Walter of Espec’s character through the monasteries Walter had founded and used this to shift his focus and eulogise the military prowess of the Normans.<sup>87</sup> It is possible that this was also the case for many crusade histories, their subject matter rendering them suitable for both a lay and monastic audience.

The comments of the Anglo-Norman chronicler Gaimar, at the conclusion of his *Estoire des Engleis*, suggest that by the mid-twelfth century the lay nobility were requesting the translation of historical works, and that these works were shared and

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<sup>84</sup> Blacker, *The Faces of Time*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>85</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 97, 98; translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Babcock and Krey, vol.1, pp. 53, 54.

<sup>86</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, vol. 1, pp. 10-11; Blacker, *The Faces of Time*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>87</sup> E. Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order*, pp. 37-42; Aelredi abbatis Rievallensis, *Relatio de standardo*, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (London, 1885), vol. 3, pp. 183-5.

borrowed, giving them a wider circulation than a single manuscript survival might imply. Gaimar wrote that ‘the noble lady Constance had this history adapted into French. Gaimar took March and April and a whole twelve months before finishing this adaptation of [the history of] the kings [of Britain]. He obtained a large number of copies of books - English books, by dint of learned reading, and books both in the French vernacular and in Latin - before finally managing to bring his work to a conclusion. If his lady had not helped him, he would never have completed it. She sent to Helmsley for Walter Espec’s book. Robert earl of Gloucester had had this historical narrative translated in accordance with the books belonging to the Welsh that they had in their possession on the subject of the kings of Britain. Walter Espec requested this historical narrative, earl Robert sent it to him, and then Walter Espec lent it to Ralf fitz Gilbert; lady Constance borrowed it from her husband, whom she loved dearly.’<sup>88</sup> Gaimar’s comments also indicate an active interest in history and its production. Aelred of Rievaulx in his *Relatio de standardo*, likewise presented Walter of Espec as a man interested in history. Aelred attributed a speech to Walter before the battle in which he claimed he would rather ‘pay attention to reading histories, or even, as is my custom, lend my ear attentively to the recounting of the deeds of our ancestors.’<sup>89</sup> Aelred also had Walter expound the value of history and exhort his listeners to take heed, ‘it is not useless for brave young men, if they listen to an old man... who, through the vicissitudes of time, the changes of kings, and the many events of war, has learned from the past, and to assess the present, and make a conjecture about the present from the past, the future from the present.’<sup>90</sup> By placing this piece on the merits of history as a battle oration, he was presenting it as a collective exercise in the public sphere.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, it was possibly the interest of nobility in these histories that stimulated an increased focus on the leaders of the crusade and their portrayal as heroes.

The enthusiasm of the nobility for histories and genealogies helped to encourage both the presentation of the First Crusaders in a heroic manner and the emulation of their deeds. An interesting example of this is the book containing the eyewitness

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<sup>88</sup> Geffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis*, ed. and trans. I. Short (Oxford, 2009), pp. 348-9.

<sup>89</sup> Aelredi abbatis Rievallensis, *Relatio de standardo*, p. 185.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, p. 185.

<sup>91</sup> E. Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order*, pp. 32-4.

accounts of Fulcher of Chartres, Walter the Chancellor and Raymond of Aguilers, that the First Crusader, Grassegals, presented to Louis VII of France, probably at the time of his accession to the throne in 1137.<sup>92</sup> Through the dedicatory letter the knight expressed his opinion of the value and purpose of history, 'it escapes almost no one's notice that the countless eminent deeds and sayings of our ancestors need to be committed with a worthy pen to an honourable memory,' and stressed that the aim of the book he was presenting to the king was 'to avoid altogether passing over in silence so distinguished a miracle of our lord and redeemer Jesus Christ.' He encouraged the king to follow in the footsteps of his ancestors whose deeds were recorded in the book, and further urged that 'the book not be removed from your presence or from your heirs', so that you might always have these signposts to lead you to an ideal of similar goodness.'<sup>93</sup> This suggests that history was considered a valuable resource. It seems moreover, that the king took these exhortations to heart; it is at least possible that these histories had a considerable impact on Louis VII's actions on the Second Crusade. Rubenstein has suggested that, apart from encouraging the king to take the cross, these histories, and particularly that of Raymond of Aguilers', influenced Louis' view of the crusade and encouraged him to regard himself primarily as a pilgrim, with a duty to the poor and an obligation to reach Jerusalem. The narratives of Fulcher of Chartres and Walter the Chancellor, with their criticisms of the declining morals of the Latin East and distrust of all Muslims, may have informed the disastrous decision to attack Damascus.<sup>94</sup> Odo of Deuil evidently believed that Louis VII had the First Crusade in mind during his expedition; he wrote that the king had replied to the nobles' request that they sail to Antioch saying that while they should send the defenceless mob ahead on ships, they themselves ought to 'follow the route of our fathers, whose incomparable valour endowed them with renown on earth and glory in heaven.'<sup>95</sup> Moreover, if we consider the bull of Pope Eugenius III for the Second Crusade, it suggests that not only the pope and the king but also the knights - to whom the main appeal was directed - were expected to have some knowledge of

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<sup>92</sup> J. Rubenstein, 'Putting History to Use', p. 152.

<sup>93</sup> *Praefatio Willelmi Grassegals militis ad Historias Belli Sacri*, p. 827, trans. Rubenstein, 'Putting History to Use', p. 134.

<sup>94</sup> Rubenstein, 'Putting History to Use', pp. 152-9.

<sup>95</sup> Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948), pp. 130-1. See also M. Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis XII', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 40 (1996), pp. 43-46.

history and the deeds of their fathers.<sup>96</sup> The emphasis on the imitation of the ancestors in the letter by Grassegals indicates that the prestige the First Crusaders had acquired had certainly not diminished over forty years. Moreover, the establishment of family traditions of crusading suggests that the emphasis histories gave to the emulation of the great deeds of forefathers was taken seriously.

### **Culture, Identity and Politics**

It is clear that remembering the past, and indeed, having a past, was important in the Middle Ages. Geoffrey of Monmouth's imaginative narrative, and its popularity,<sup>97</sup> illustrates the point: it was better to create a past than have none at all. It also appears that Geoffrey thought it important to laud the heroes of the past, possibly to serve as examples to future generations.<sup>98</sup> Many later historians, including Roger of Wendover, took his history and its heroes as fact, with William of Newburgh being a rare dissenting voice.<sup>99</sup> In the prologue to his work William of Tyre, while not setting out to create heroes, claimed to be inspired by love of his country and made it clear he intended future generations to read and learn from his history, writing that 'an insistent love of my country urges me on ... and with that authority which belongs to her imperiously commands that those things which have been accomplished by her during the course of almost a century be not buried in silence and allowed to fall into oblivion. On the contrary, she bids me preserve them for the benefit of posterity by the diligent use of my pen.'<sup>100</sup> The emphasis on genealogy at the beginning of the *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena* suggests that the author also had posterity in mind. It is difficult to ascertain, however, exactly how significant an audience these works would have enjoyed.

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<sup>96</sup> J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade, Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (London, 2007), pp. 17-36.

<sup>97</sup> Judging by the large number of extant manuscripts. The latest editors of his work, Reeve and Wright, cite 219 mss: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. vii – viii n. 5, xxxii – 1.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>99</sup> Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, vol. 1 part 1, p. vi; William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs*, ed. and trans. P. G. Walsh and M. J. Kennedy (Westminster, 1986), p. 29-37. William's rather lengthy invective against Geoffrey further suggests his contemporaries took Geoffrey's work seriously. J. Dunbabin, in his discussion on the *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*, noted that the author borrowed extensively from Geoffrey of Monmouth and even embellished his work to give the lordship of Amboise a sixth century origin. J. Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past for the French Aristocracy', *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. P. Magdalino (London, 1992), p. 9.

<sup>100</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 98-99, translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Babcock and Krey, vol.1, p. 55.

Questions regarding audience and reception of texts are difficult to answer, but they could be linked to issues of culture and identity. It is possible that ideals of chivalry encouraged the lay aristocracy to patronise texts; a knight had to display wisdom and foresight as well as military prowess.<sup>101</sup> The *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*, written c.1153, was produced at a time of political crisis for the lords of Amboise, threatening their sense of identity; it was evidently meant for a local audience and had as one of its aims the reaffirmation of their identity.<sup>102</sup> The pilgrim John of Würzburg was also concerned with identity. He was keen to identify the Germans who had gone on the First Crusade, highlight their valour and differentiate them from the French troops that had taken part in the expedition. John of Würzburg claimed that ‘the noble duke of blessed memory, Godfrey, who was the prince and master of that sacred expedition, [was] born of the German race (*stirpe Alemannorum oriundi*),’ and lamented that ‘the siege of the city is not ascribed to him with any German (*Alemannis*) troops, who were not least in the labours and actions of that expedition, but only to the Franks (*Francis*). Hence also these detractors of our race deleted the epigraph of the famous Wicher, approved by many a famous deed, because they could not deny he was a German’.<sup>103</sup> He not only wanted his countrymen to be remembered, but was also claiming for Godfrey of Bouillon - the quintessential crusade hero - a specifically German identity, and he evidently felt his audience would also consider this important. Epitaphs may have been written with similar intentions; Eustace of Boulogne’s epitaph commemorated, for a familial and local audience, his participation in the First Crusade. The epitaph lauded his military prowess and piety, ‘the arms of this man made the Persian empire tremble... the East was still pale, stunned by the slaughter of its men; while it fears to be oppressed again by the enemy falling upon them. Jerusalem the capital having been captured by this duke, he raised to the stars the battle standards, the royal relics of Christ, deserving to be venerated.’<sup>104</sup> Although he had ended his life at the Cluniac monastery of Rumilly not far from Boulogne, the epitaph of Eustace of Boulogne began by stressing that France (*Gallia*) had prospered through him and, continuing to underline his connection

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<sup>101</sup> G. Duby, ‘The Culture of the Knightly Class, Audience and Patronage’, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford, 1982), p. 255.

<sup>102</sup> Paul, ‘Crusade, Memory and Regional Politics’, p. 136.

<sup>103</sup> *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, pp. 124-126; translated as *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, trans. Wilkinson, pp. 264-5.

<sup>104</sup> *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. M. Marrier and A. Quercetanus (Matistone, 1915), col. 1352.

with France, went on to emphasise that Eustace had believed (*credit*) in Cluny, thus proclaiming a French – and Cluniac – identity for this crusading hero from Boulogne.<sup>105</sup> Eustace himself, on his return from Jerusalem, had promoted his and his family's achievements on the crusade. He had coins minted in Boulogne depicting a lion above the walls of Jerusalem, which may have been intended to resemble those issued in the crusader kingdom; a tangible reminder of what he had helped to conquer and his brother now ruled.<sup>106</sup> Most of these texts (and objects) would have had a local audience in mind, their aim to influence a memory for political ends, and increase regional or familial prestige.

Caffaro, by beginning his annals with Genoa's involvement in crusading and events in the East from 1100, established the crusade - as well as Genoa's acquisitions in the Holy Land - as part of the city's identity.<sup>107</sup> The annals were read before a public assembly of citizens and before the consuls of the commune; the latter ordered his work to be placed in the city archives. Caffaro's annals would have been considered an official public record.<sup>108</sup> In this way his work differed from most northern European texts, because this region produced no official histories until the thirteenth century. Perhaps this accounts for the small number of manuscripts of Caffaro's work - in spite of his evident importance as a political figure - and the fact that there are no other extant Genoese narratives of the crusade; a standard version had already been written. On the other hand, in England, for example, with no official history, Henry of Huntingdon, Ralph of Diceto and William of Newburgh followed William of Malmesbury in producing new narratives of the First Crusade, and these were followed by Ralph Niger, Roger of Hoveden, Ralph of Coggeshall and Roger of Wendover in the thirteenth century.

Texts could also be shaped by specific political influences and sympathies and also by patronage. Henry of Huntingdon, for instance, did not mention Eustace of

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<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> H. J. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies, Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England c. 879-1160* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 251, 259.

<sup>107</sup> Caffaro, *Annales Ianvenses, Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. L. Belgrano (Genoa, 1890), vol.1, pp. 5-14.

<sup>108</sup> J. Dotson, 'The Genoese Civil Annals: Caffaro and His Continuators', pp. 57-8. See also, Face, 'Secular History in Twelfth-Century Italy', p. 171.

Boulogne again after stating that he had departed on the crusade, possibly because Eustace was the father of Queen Matilda and father-in law to Stephen of Blois, rivals of the Empress Matilda for the throne of England. Henry, as had William of Malmesbury, favoured the Empress's cause. Their near-contemporary, Orderic Vitalis, preferred Stephen's claim, and duly offered more praise for Eustace. He mentioned Eustace's participation in all the major battles of the crusade and noted, for example, that at the siege of Jerusalem, 'Duke Godfrey and his brother Eustace fought most valiantly and the rest followed them.'<sup>109</sup> This selectivity was, of course, not exclusive to crusade narratives, but such influences played a part in how the crusade was remembered, if not widely then at least locally and within families. The author of the *Chanson d'Antioche* may also have been influenced by political considerations; it is possible he was writing for the Saint-Pol family. Similarly the *Chanson de Jerusalem* and *Les Chetifs* may have been composed or utilised by the De Courcy family and Raymond of Antioch or the Caumont family respectively.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, Paul has shown how the *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum* was utilised and Baudri of Bourgueil's text on the First Crusade adapted, in the mid twelfth century, for the lords of Amboise, in order to highlight the participation in the crusade by the lords of this region and to underline their heroism. The *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum* described the death of Aimery of Courron (co-lord of Amboise with his cousin Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire) at Nicaea, and drew attention to the valour of Hugh of Chaumont 'having suffered in many engagements with the others, stayed in the army of God for two years. He was therefore in every battle and in the siege of Antioch, just as other men, he endured many misfortunes.' The text also stressed his good reputation by pointing out Hugh had been given custody of Bohemond's gate at Antioch.<sup>111</sup> The *Gesta* also used the opportunity to disparage the current political enemies of the lords of Amboise; the courage of Hugh of Chaumont was juxtaposed against the cowardice of Stephen of Blois who, 'with unrestrained terror, thoroughly frightened, dismissed his companions, secretly abandoned the siege of Antioch and quickly began to flee', whereas Hugh 'knew never

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<sup>109</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol.5, pp. 168-9, see also, pp. 34-5, 60-3, 110-11, 174-75, 176-7, 178-9; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 422-23; H. J. Tanner, 'In His Brother's Shadow: The Crusading Career and Reputation of Count Eustace III of Boulogne', *The Crusades: Other Experiences, Alternative Perspectives*, ed. K. I. Semaan (New York, 2003), pp. 84, 88.

<sup>110</sup> D. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100-1300)* (Geneve, 1988), p. 117, n. 20.

<sup>111</sup> *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum, Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913), pp. 100-1

to run away'.<sup>112</sup> At the time the *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum* was being written during the 1150's, the lords of Amboise were in conflict with the count of Blois, as part of the enmity between the counts of Blois and Anjou. The lords of Amboise generally recognised the counts of Anjou as overlords, although the relationship was not always a good one. Further highlighting the political influences apparent in the text, the author chose to present the crusade as an occasion of rapprochement between the lords of Amboise and Anjou and, although he did not ignore the friction between them, he focused on their alliance.<sup>113</sup> These texts, often written for specific families and moulded by their patronage, were part of a wider interest in family histories in the mid-twelfth century, which was particularly evident in France.

Shifting political alliances may likewise have lain behind the depiction of Robert of Normandy in the crusading window of the abbey of St Denis. If, as Brown and Cothren have suggested, the window was commissioned in 1158 during the abbacy of Odo of Deuil, the recently established peace between the kings of England and France at this time, and a proposed joint crusading venture, would have made it appropriate to commemorate a crusading ancestor of the English king in a prominent French abbey.<sup>114</sup> Political problems could also have influenced Caffaro's *De liberatione Civitatum Orientis*. The text might initially have been produced as a legal document to be presented to Pope Hadrian IV in the disputes between the Genoese and Baldwin III of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli, over the city's rights and privileges in the Latin East.<sup>115</sup> This may also account for Caffaro's unique story of Godfrey of Boulogne's pre-crusade pilgrimage to Jerusalem, on which, Caffaro was careful to note, he had embarked on a Genoese ship. Caffaro emphasised that Genoa was therefore involved in the crusade from its inception and by this means sought to strengthen his case. He also recorded when and how concessions were made to the Genoese; he wrote, for example, that when Bohemond was assigned Antioch as

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<sup>112</sup> *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*, p. 101; Paul, 'Crusade, Memory and Regional Politics', pp. 127-141.

<sup>113</sup> *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*, pp. 100, 115-16, 120; Paul, 'Crusade, Memory and Regional Politics', pp. 136-8.

<sup>114</sup> Brown and Cothren, 'The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis', pp. 16, 26, 30-1.

<sup>115</sup> Face, 'Secular History in Twelfth-Century Italy', p. 172; Caffaro presented the Genoese view of the case in his *Annales*: Caffaro, *Annales Ianvenses*, pp. 43-5. See also B. Z. Kedar, 'Genoa's Golden Inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: A Case for the Defence', *I Comuni Italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 331-3.



promised, he ‘then conceded to them [the Genoese] a privilege in Antioch, as is written in the register [of the commune of Genoa], in the year 1098 and the month of July.’<sup>116</sup> His history was more than just a way of immortalising Genoa’s achievements; it also served a political purpose. The particular circumstances surrounding the creation of a narrative could therefore have significant impact on who was remembered, how they were depicted and the way in which the story evolved. The authors of these texts were aware of the need to make the past relevant to the present, and if they embellished, exaggerated, or even invented, it was to make their story more compelling and for the good of their contemporaries.<sup>117</sup> The story of the First Crusade was, like much of medieval history, malleable and subject to a variety of contemporary influences including current intellectual, social and political ideas and ideals.

As noted above, accounts of the First Crusade written after 1130 tended to emphasise the unity of the crusading host and consider all the leaders as heroes. Nevertheless, authors often highlighted further the prestige of the prince closest to their own geographic location, likely considering that local readers would be interested in the deeds of those associated with their own community. Henry of Huntingdon, in the prologue to his work, strongly linked history with culture and identity, expressing the view that ‘the knowledge of past events has further virtues, especially in that it distinguishes rational creatures from brutes, for brutes, whether men or beasts, do not know - nor, indeed, do they wish to know - about their origins, their race and the events and happenings in their native land.’<sup>118</sup> He evidently felt that his audience would be interested primarily in the past of their own people.<sup>119</sup> Thus, while he did not grant Robert of Normandy a much greater role than his primary source, the *Gesta Francorum*, Henry did give Robert first place in his list of those that set out to liberate Jerusalem. In his description of the positions of the leaders at the siege of Nicaea, Robert is again mentioned first. Also, Robert’s exhortation to the soldiers at Dorylaeum is not found in

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<sup>116</sup> Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatem Orientis*, p. 109. See also pp.113-14.

<sup>117</sup> J. Dunbabin, ‘Discovering a Past for the French Aristocracy’, pp. 1-2, 7-11.

<sup>118</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>119</sup> On the complexities of an ‘Anglo-Norman’ identity see J. Gillingham, ‘Henry of Huntingdon and the Twelfth-Century Revival of the English Nation’, *The English in the Twelfth Century, Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values*, ed. J. Gillingham (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 123-144.

the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>120</sup> Ralph of Diceto, although his origins are unknown, as archdeacon of Middlesex and later dean of St Paul's, also gave prominence to Robert of Normandy. He too had Robert give a rallying speech to the soldiers at Dorylaeum, which resembles - and may have been taken from - Henry of Huntingdon's account.<sup>121</sup> Although Ralph also lauded the military prowess of Bohemond and Godfrey of Bouillon at a battle just before the siege of Antioch, he also, like Henry of Huntingdon, highlighted Robert's role describing how the duke 'with his sword split the head of a certain great man, teeth and neck and shoulders, down to the breast.'<sup>122</sup> In his brief account, Robert of Normandy was the only crusader named by William of Newburgh.<sup>123</sup> Otto of Freising gave greatest prominence to Duke Godfrey, and, after his initial list of those that took the cross, he rarely mentioned any other leader by name.<sup>124</sup> The author of the *Historia belli sacri*, writing in Monte Casino, tended to add laudatory epithets particularly to Bohemond and Tancred.<sup>125</sup> Caffaro's civic pride led him to emphasise Genoa's role in the crusade, his focus was on the city rather than individuals. For Caffaro it was the Genoese crusaders as a whole who were the real heroes; he twice stated that it was the siege engines made from the wood of Genoese ships that had enabled the conquest of Jerusalem. He first described how, unable to anchor the ships at Jaffa, the Genoese brothers William and Primo Embriaco 'destroyed the ships and had all the wood carried to Jerusalem to be used in the construction of siege engines to take the city... The Genoese built the engines and everything necessary to make the assault on Jerusalem and thus the crusaders took it in forty days.' Then, noting the riches that the two Genoese brothers took from the 'prince of Babilonia' after the battle of Ascalon, Caffaro reminded his audience that 'these were the men who had carried the two galleys to Jaffa and had made siege engines from the wood, with which Jerusalem had been conquered.'<sup>126</sup> These authors were interested in establishing identity, in creating and claiming certain crusade heroes as particularly their own.

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<sup>120</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 422-23, 424-25, 426-29.

<sup>121</sup> Radulfi de Diceto, *Abbreviationes chronicorum*, p. 222.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*, p. 223. See also Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 432-3.

<sup>123</sup> William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>124</sup> Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis, *Chronica sive duabus civitatibus*, pp. 310-315; Otto of Freising, trans. Mierow, pp. 405-410.

<sup>125</sup> *Historia belli sacri*, pp. 191, 193, 195, 205, 206, 217, to give a few examples.

<sup>126</sup> Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatem Orientis*, pp. 110, 111.

The author of the *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena*, on the other hand, while following Robert the Monk in favouring Godfrey and Hugh the Great nevertheless omitted the praise of Godfrey that Robert had included in his initial list of the leaders of the crusade. Moreover, he tended not to add more laudatory epithets to those used by his source. William of Tyre was similarly not as enthusiastic in his praise of a single crusader prince as some of his contemporaries. While the Franks of the Latin East seem to have regarded themselves as a people distinct from those of western Europe,<sup>127</sup> it is possible that William and the author of the *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena*, felt that there was no need to highlight the heroics of a people from a particular geographical location. They may have felt that those of the Latin East were, in a sense, descended from a variety of the national groups that had participated in the crusade. William in particular, given his wish to encourage support for the Frankish settlers, may also have desired to show that the Latin East was the patrimony of all Christians and the story of its inception therefore relevant to all Christians.

### **Silences**

While most authors were unstinting in their praise of the leaders of the First Crusade, the failures of subsequent crusades and the losses in the Holy Land may have created an atmosphere of disillusion, something that extended to the production of narrative histories. The period between 1160 and 1180 saw no significant narratives of the First Crusade produced in Western Europe. A more striking silence, however, comes from the Latin East. There are few extant narratives of the First Crusade written in the Latin East and, after 1130, only the *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena* and William of Tyre's text. William's status and the scale of his activity may have discouraged others from attempting their own histories. Nevertheless, if we consider the enthusiasm with which monasteries produced foundation myths and the emphasis placed on the origin of nations in the works of authors such as Orderic Vitalis and Geoffrey of Monmouth in the 1130's, this silence is surprising. It seems that the Latin East lacked the intellectual stimulation that was prevalent in Europe in the twelfth century. The intellectual activity of Jerusalem's clergy was narrowly focused on the sacred, on relics and liturgical

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<sup>127</sup> A. V. Murray, 'How Norman was the Principality of Antioch? Prolegomena to a Study of the Origins of the Nobility of a Crusader State', *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics. The Prosography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 359.

concerns.<sup>128</sup> It is likely that William of Tyre travelled to Western Europe to pursue a higher education because it was not possible to do so in the Levant. Moreover King Amalric's patronage of William appears to have been an exception; not many of the kings or nobles of the Levant appear to have been interested in patronising historical works.<sup>129</sup> It is possible that they felt it was unnecessary, especially as far as the First Crusade was concerned, because it was commemorated yearly in liturgy, or simply that European texts by Albert of Aachen, Fulcher of Chartres and Robert the Monk circulated in sufficient numbers to discourage the production of further narratives.<sup>130</sup>

One particularly striking feature of historical writing concerned the personnel on the crusade. While the leaders of the crusade gained prominence as heroes in many crusade narratives, during the second half of the twelfth century, authors became increasingly silent over the role of the women and the poor who took part in the expedition. The *Historia belli sacri*, probably completed before 1140, gave a prominent role to Peter the Hermit and mentioned the work of women in bringing water to the soldiers during the battle at Dorylaeum. He also related the secret applause of the Christian women watching the fate of the Turks from the walls of Antioch, and described how the women of the city, on seeing the Franks enter, ran out with images and crosses in their hands singing *Kyrie eleison*.<sup>131</sup> The author of the *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena*, completing his work in 1147, following Robert the Monk, did mention women on the crusade but interestingly, did not give them as active a role as his main source had done. For example, in describing the grief of Walo's wife when he was killed during the crusaders' siege of Antioch, the anonymous truncated the last part of her speech, as given by Robert, in which she cried: 'How happy I would have been if I could at least have closed his eyes at his last breath, washed his wounds with my tears ... and put his sweet body in the tomb.' The

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<sup>128</sup> B. Kedar, 'Intellectual Activities in a Holy City: Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century', *Sacred Space. Shrine, City, Land*, ed. B. Kedar and R. Werblowsky (New York, 1998), pp. 130-32.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 133, 135.

<sup>130</sup> The *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena* is based on the texts of Robert the Monk and Fulcher of Chartres, William of Tyre also used Fulcher's history as well as that of Albert of Aachen and was probably familiar with Raymond of Aguilers's account of the crusade. It is interesting to note, however, that William was educated in Europe in the middle decades of the twelfth century. See R. W. Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the Schools of Chartres', *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford, 1982), pp. 130-31, 133.

<sup>131</sup> *Historia belli sacri*, pp.169, 174-75, 182, 193, 197.

Anonymous recorded her lament in terms of her concern for her husband, but left out her declaration of what she wished she could do.<sup>132</sup> Writing approximately ten years later, neither Henry of Huntingdon, Otto of Freising, or Caffaro mentioned the role of women or the march of Peter the Hermit's contingent to Constantinople and their subsequent fate. Caffaro referred to Peter the Hermit as a visionary and in his capacity as an ambassador to Kerbogha, but not as a crusade leader. Perhaps, particularly after the failure of the Second Crusade, it was felt that non-combatants were especially undesirable on such an expedition.<sup>133</sup> Odo of Deuil, a participant in the campaign, had lamented: 'would that he [Pope Eugenius III] had instructed the infantry in the same way and, keeping the weak at home, had equipped the strong with the sword instead of the wallet and the bow instead of the staff; for the weak and helpless are always a burden to their comrades and a source of prey to their enemies.'<sup>134</sup> Considering that the First Crusade was held up as a shining example, it was probably thought better not to highlight the role non-combatants and the poor had played in this expedition.

It is also possible that courtly literature and ideals of chivalry encouraged the disappearance of women and poorer pilgrims from the narrative tradition. Geoffrey of Monmouth, for example, noted in his description of a fictional battle between King Arthur's Britons and the Romans that several of the eminent nobles who were killed, 'if they had been at the head of kingdoms, would have won undying renown for their bravery.'<sup>135</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, perhaps influenced by chivalric ideals, in contrast to his sources, did not name the pilgrim who claimed to have received the revelation of the Holy Lance, he wrote 'St Andrew the apostle appeared to *someone (cuidam)*, showing forth the lance...'<sup>136</sup> The lower status of the visionary meant that, as an individual, he could be forgotten. Chivalric ideals represented in *chansons de geste* dictated that

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<sup>132</sup> Roberti Monachi, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 795-6, translated as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 140; *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena*, p. 160. Also, in his account of Urban's speech, in which the Anonymous primarily followed Robert, he skipped Robert's note on Muslim atrocities against women. He also did not record the active role of the women in bringing water and dragging the bodies of the dead back to the tents at Dorylaeum as Robert had done, preferring to borrow from Fulcher of Chartres' account at this point. *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena*, pp. 141-2, 149; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 728, 761.

<sup>133</sup> William of Newburgh, for instance, placed some of the blame for the failure of the Second Crusade on the presence of Eleanor of Aquitaine and the wives of other nobles, who had followed the king's bad example in taking their wives on crusade. William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs*, pp. 128-29.

<sup>134</sup> Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe Ludovici VII in Orientem*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>135</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 242-245.

<sup>136</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 438-39. My emphasis.

dreams and visions, as a privileged means of communication with the divine, were received only by those of high status and sometimes their associated women.<sup>137</sup> The visionaries of the First Crusade as described in the eyewitness accounts did not fit into this category.<sup>138</sup> This same reason may also go some way to explain the silence over the controversy surrounding the Holy Lance. According to Raymond of Aguilers, this was an episode replete with further visions, usually by those of lower status, and highlighted the presence and participation of the poor on the crusade. The controversy also reflected badly on the leadership, highlighting the tensions and divisions among them.<sup>139</sup> This version did not fit with the portrayal of the crusade leaders as heroes and the crusade as a chivalric enterprise. William of Tyre, on the other hand, perhaps because he was not immersed in the chivalric culture of Western Europe, did not ignore either the presence of women or the role of the poor on the First Crusade. He referred, for example, to Peter, the visionary who discovered the Holy Lance, as a ‘poor and unlearned man’ and wrote of others who had had visions of angels and of the holy apostles. He also praised the actions of the women at the siege of Jerusalem, who, ‘regardless of sex and natural weakness, dared to assume arms and fought manfully far beyond their strength.’<sup>140</sup> Moreover, it seems that recording an accurate history was important to him. As his main source, Albert of Aachen’s *Historia*, had described at length the march of Peter the Hermit’s contingent and had also taken an interest in the participation of women in the crusade, William, as a good historian, could not simply ignore it.<sup>141</sup> William, might, however, be considered the exception that proves the rule.

## Conclusion

Strong interest in the history of the First Crusade continued throughout the twelfth century. The production of a significant number of new narratives indicates that authors

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<sup>137</sup> L. S. Davidson, ‘Dreams, History and the Hero in the Chansons de Geste’, *The Epic in History*, ed. L. S. Davidson, S. N. Mukherjee and Z. Zlater (Sydney, 1994), pp. 126, 128-29; E. Mickel, ‘The Latin Visions of Calabre and Ida and the Origins of the Initial Branches of the Old French Crusade Cycle’, *Neophilologus*, vol. 88 (2004), p. 186.

<sup>138</sup> France has argued convincingly that not all the visionaries were of particularly lowly status and likely had a wide base of support: J. France ‘Two Types of Vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew’, *Crusades*, vol. 5 (2006), pp. 1-20. Nevertheless the terminology, particularly in the work of Raymond of Aguilers, has led modern historians, and possibly also encouraged medieval writers, to associate the visions with the poor.

<sup>139</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, ‘Liber’, pp. 112-124; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. Hill, pp. 93-103.

<sup>140</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 325, 403; translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Babcock and Krey, vol.1, pp. 281, 362. See also Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 124-27, 142-55, 217-18, 315-16, 324-326, 344, 356-57, 407.

<sup>141</sup> See Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 9-45, 127-9, 131, 210-11, 224-5, 344-5, 408-9, 430-1.

believed the history required revision and needed updating. Crusade narratives from the mid-late twelfth century were subject to influences not only from literary traditions, which now included earlier histories of the crusade, but also from changing intellectual, social and political ideas and ideals. The influence of Cistercian theology and the preaching of the Second Crusade placed emphasis on the emulation of ancestors. Contemporary humanistic thought and the theology of individual salvation also encouraged the focus on individual leaders of the crusade, as did chivalric ideals. Political considerations and patronage often helped to shape the text and to dictate the main protagonists. Histories could also attempt to influence memory in order to gain political advantage. Crusade narratives, however, also had a significant impact on medieval literature, including encouraging passages reminiscent of crusading in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* and possibly inspiring texts such as the *Queste del Saint Graal*. Having and remembering the past were evidently important in the medieval period and texts sometimes aimed to reaffirm a threatened culture or identity. The influence of local culture, as well as of social ideals and the lay nobility in patronage, suggests that crusade histories were meant to be communicated to the laity. They were not intended to remain purely in clerical circles but to be transmitted in some form at least to aristocratic families who appear to have had some influence upon their content. The writing of histories of the First Crusade was not, however, consistent throughout this period. Possibly as a result of the disillusion created by the failure of the Second Crusade, no significant narratives were produced in Western Europe between 1160 and 1180. In comparison with Europe, very few texts were written in the Levant at all, likely a consequence of the narrow focus of the intellectual activities of much of its clergy. There were also silences within the histories themselves. With the exception of the history of William of Tyre, the increasing emphasis on the deeds and heroics of the leadership eclipsed the roles of the women and the poor; they all but disappeared from the narrative. The leaders became legends.

## REMEMBERING THE FIRST CRUSADE 1200 - 1250

As the thirteenth century dawned, several significant changes took place in the realms of politics and religion, which, in turn, affected literary culture. This was particularly the case in France. Philip Augustus began an aggressive campaign to increase the power of the monarchy and the centralisation of the government, often to the detriment of the French and Flemish aristocracy.<sup>1</sup> Pope Innocent III oversaw an increase in the power and influence of the pope and, through the Fourth Lateran council, officiated over changes in theology and the regulation of belief. This period, in addition, witnessed the emergence of the mendicant orders. The early part of the thirteenth century also saw a number of major crusades, three of which were called by Innocent III. The Fourth Crusade, first proclaimed by the pope in 1198, finally departed in 1202, was ultimately diverted to Constantinople. The Albigensian Crusade, fought against heretics in south of France, began in 1209 and lasted until 1229. Innocent also called the Fifth Crusade in 1213, reaching Egypt in 1218 it initially succeeding in capturing Damietta, but came to grief at al-Mansura in 1221 as the crusaders attempted to advance towards Cairo. A similar fate befell the Seventh Crusade (1248-54), led by Louis IX of France. The crusade of Frederick II in 1229 regained Jerusalem until 1244. There were also a number of smaller crusades, as well as expeditions without explicit papal endorsement, such as Children's Crusade in 1212. The number of crusades and the response to these expeditions is evidence that crusading fervour and interest in the Holy Land was still very much alive.<sup>2</sup> Most of these crusades produced narratives detailing their progress, but earlier crusades were not forgotten and were often recalled as exemplars. It should be noted, however, that in broad terms, fewer accounts of the First Crusade were written at this time than had been the case in the twelfth century.

Prose crusade narratives in the thirteenth century began to be written not only on Latin but also in the vernacular. The production of vernacular literature and the shift in the way history was perceived in this literature likewise impacted upon the presentation of the First Crusade in Latin narratives. As the culture and education of authors and,

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<sup>1</sup> J. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), pp. 80-81, 122-24, 260-72.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bird, 'Reform or Crusade? Anti-Usury and Crusade Preaching During the Pontificate of Innocent III', *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. J. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), p. 181, 182.



most significantly, the purpose for which they produced their texts, changed, the thirteenth century marked a break from the twelfth century literary traditions and the general emphasis on ever more heroic leaders.

This chapter explores the effect of the rise of vernacular literature on the Latin histories of the First Crusade as well as the new interest in 'travel' literature, or works describing far away lands and people. Here will also be considered the impact William of Tyre's *Historia* had on later accounts. This section further analyses the ways in which the papacy of Innocent III and the rise of the mendicant orders changed how the First Crusade was perceived and portrayed. Finally it briefly considers why histories of the Fifth and Seventh Crusades no longer referred to the First Crusade as a precedent.

### The Development of Theological Ideas

#### **The Papacy of Innocent III**

The establishment of universities, especially those at Paris and Bologna, helped shape a new intellectual climate in the thirteenth century. Lothar of Segni, who was to become pope Innocent III, studied at the Paris schools, and among his colleagues was Robert of Courson, later made cardinal by Innocent III, who was responsible for the first statutes of the university of Paris.<sup>3</sup> The new academic culture as well as the theological advances instituted by Innocent III were, to some extent, reflected in the writing of narrative histories of the First Crusade. It is possible that Innocent III's portrayal of the crusade as an imitation of Christ's sacrifice on the cross (albeit not equal to it), and his focus on the sign of the cross can be seen expressed in thirteenth century narratives of the First Crusade. In his call for the Fifth Crusade in 1213, he declared that '[Christ] also cries out with his own voice and says, if any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me', and warned his audience that 'those who fight faithfully for him will be crowned in happiness by him, but those who refuse to pay him the servant's service that they owe him in a crisis of such great urgency will justly deserve to suffer a sentence of damnation on the last day of severe judgement.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> J. Sayers, *Innocent III, Leader of Europe 1198-1216* (London, 1994), pp. 17-18.

<sup>4</sup> G. Tangle, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III* (Weimar, 1929), pp. 88-97; translated as Innocent III 'Quia maior', L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London, 1981), pp. 119-24.

Innocent also represented the crusade as a means of repaying Christ's sacrifice on the cross.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps reflecting this emphasis on the cross of Christ, Roger of Hoveden described a fire burning in the shape of a cross in the sky in his account of the First Crusaders' siege of Nicaea. In his short account, Roger, who wrote c.1201, mentioned the cross or the sign of the cross three times.<sup>6</sup> Oliver of Paderborn followed Fulcher of Chartres in noting a miracle regarding the appearance of the sign of the cross on the shoulders of a group of crusaders who drowned near Brindisi.<sup>7</sup> Roger of Wendover gave an account of Christ's appearance in a vision to a pilgrim at Antioch, which was not recorded by William of Tyre.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, in most of the narratives of any length, usually borrowing from William of Tyre's text, Christ appeared to Peter the Hermit – instigating the expedition. But these appearances of Christ or the sign of the cross within the narratives do not necessarily represent a special emphasis on Christ - or the imitation of Christ – over and above that of earlier chronicles. Furthermore, given the rather literal imitation of Christ represented through the stigmata that Francis of Assisi was said to have received through an angelic vision on Mount La Verna in 1224, we might expect a stronger reflection of such *imitatio Christi* in the narratives written after this date; especially so if we consider the emphasis placed on this ideology and the instances of similar stigmatics (whether genuine or not) recorded in the narratives of the early twelfth century.<sup>9</sup> However, the concept of *imitatio Christi* does not seem to have been especially marked. Although Roger of Wendover, who completed his chronicle in 1235, based much of his account on that of William of Tyre, he did not include William's statement after his account of Urban's speech at Clermont that the crusaders, bearing the cross on their shoulders, 'did this in imitation of Him who hastened thither for our redemption... this command also of the Lord seemed to be fulfilled to the letter: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."'”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> For Innocent III's crusade spirituality, see C. Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade', *Innocent III and his World*, ed. J. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 351-60.

<sup>6</sup> Rogeri de Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1868), vol. 1, pp. 152, 153, 154.

<sup>7</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia regum terre sancte*, p. 84. Neither William of Malmesbury nor William of Tyre, both of whom had also used Fulcher's text to construct their own, had written about this incident.

<sup>8</sup> Rogeri de Wendover, *Chronica*, ed. H. Coxe (London, 1842), vol. 2 pp. 116-118.

<sup>9</sup> For parallels between the ideology of *imitatio Christi* and the stigmata displayed on the First Crusade and that of Francis of Assisi, see Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 36-9.

<sup>10</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp.137-8; translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Babcock and Krey, p. 95.

It seems that the idea of literal imitation of Christ and Innocent III's christo-centric theology of the crusade made only a slight impression on the way in which the First Crusade was remembered. It is possible that this aspect of Innocent's crusade ideology did not appear as prominently in the narratives as we might expect because these ideas had been expressed in some form before; Innocent gave them renewed focus and further depth. It was a matter of emphasis rather than the expression of a new concept.

More evidently reflected in the narrative histories was Innocent's determination to exert papal leadership over the crusade. Although Peter the Hermit's role in initiating the crusade was highlighted in a number of texts, it was always combined, in the thirteenth century narratives, with the sanction and authority of Pope Urban II. All the accounts mentioned the Council of Clermont and the preaching of the pope.<sup>11</sup> In a similar manner, Innocent's attempt to involve everyone possible in the crusade movement, apparent in his extension of the indulgence to include not only those who journeyed to the Holy Land but also those who contributed financially, also impacted on the language used to remember the First Crusade. In his encyclical for the Fourth Crusade, *Post miserabile*, for example, Innocent wrote, 'to those, however, who shall not go there [the Holy Land] in person but who only at their own expense, according to their means and rank, send qualified men there... we grant full pardon of their sins. We also wish people who suitably attend to the relief of this land out of their goods to participate in this remission in relation to the size of their subsidy and especially in proportion to their depth of devotion.'<sup>12</sup> Roger of Wendover reflected this attitude in his account of Pope Urban's speech at Clermont; he diverged from the words he had borrowed from William of Malmesbury to add that the remission of sins 'shall extend also to those who shall contribute according to their substance to promote this

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<sup>11</sup> Of those that also give some prominence to Peter the Hermit: Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, pp. 162-5; Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia regum terre sancte*, pp. 83-4; Rogeri de Wendover, *Chronica*, vol. 2, pp. 58-61, 64-5; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica Alberici monachi trium fontium*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS* vol. 23, (Hanover, 1874), pp. 803, 804.

<sup>12</sup> *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. O. Hageneder & A. Haideacher (Graz, 1964), p. 503; translated A. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* (Brill, 2000), pp. 16-17. In his crusading bull for the Fifth Crusade, *Ad liberandam*, Innocent expressed his belief that God expected all men to participate in the crusade and further ordered the participation of all the clergy by payment of a twentieth of the ecclesiastical income for three years to aid the Holy Land, *Conciliarum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigio (Bologna, 1972), pp. 268-69.

expedition, or shall lend their council or assistance to advance its success.’<sup>13</sup> This was a striking deviation from the earlier accounts and certainly represents Innocent III’s influence on the memory of the First Crusade. Innocent’s desire for the participation of all society in the crusade movement was thereby projected onto the First Crusade. The new emphasis on the participation of all society in the crusade might further explain the decline in the perceived importance of individual leaders in the narrative tradition. It may also reflect a socio-economic factor emerging in the thirteenth century; the increasing use of mercenaries to fight wars meant that participation in warfare was no longer the prerogative of the nobility.<sup>14</sup> Both religious culture and changing social values encouraged authors to remember the participation of a broader spectrum of society on the First Crusade.

### **The Mendicant Orders**

The revitalised concept of *vita apostolica* and new ideals of apostolic poverty that emerged in the late twelfth century manifested themselves in diverse religious movements, including the mendicant orders.<sup>15</sup> Taking Bird’s ideas on the dynamics between Jacques de Vitry’s sermons and his histories further, the role of these orders as preachers of the crusade were likely to have influenced the prominence of Peter the Hermit within thirteenth century narratives of the First Crusade. While he was happy to write of Peter the Hermit’s preaching in his *Historia Orientalis*, his sermons suggest that with the proliferation of religious orders, Jacques was concerned with the proper role of these groups within the church and did not encourage hermits to preach. Jacques relegated this role primarily to the mendicant orders. However, with their emphasis on the *vita apostolica*, the doctrines of the mendicants were at least reminiscent of the ideals that had inspired the eremitical movement linked to the Gregorian reform at the end of the eleventh century.<sup>16</sup> The papacy’s acceptance and validation of new orders,

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<sup>13</sup> Rogeri de Wendover, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 61; translated as Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, vol. 1 part 1, p. 377. The implication, by contrast, in the versions of both William of Malmesbury and William of Tyre, is that only those who went on the crusade and suffered its hardships could gain remission of sins: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 598-607; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 131-135; See also, Maier, ‘Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross’, pp. 352-55.

<sup>14</sup> G. Spiegel, ‘Forging the Past: The Language of Historical Truth in the Middle Ages’, *The History Teacher*, vol. 17 (1984), pp. 275, 282 n.37.

<sup>15</sup> J. Bird, ‘The Religious’s Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World: Jacques de Vitry’s *Sermones ad status* and *Historia Occidentalis*’, *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden, 1998), pp. 212, 220.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 210-12, 219-25. Bird points out that Jacques de Vitry was not encouraging hermits to preach, on the contrary, but his account of Peter the Hermit likely expressed his admiration of the espousal of true apostolic poverty.

and the opening of religious life to include the laity, may have further led authors to feel it was appropriate to give Peter the Hermit a significant part in the history of the First Crusade.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, as the rejection of material wealth, espoused by such figures as Francis of Assisi, became accepted as an ideal form of life, this concept may also have encouraged authors to highlight, not just the role of Peter the Hermit, but also the presence of poorer pilgrims on the crusade. Jacques de Vitry wrote that the bishop of Le Puy was the first to take the cross ‘with as many other nobles as humbler men,’ highlighting that it was not only knights that took part in the expedition.<sup>18</sup> Although William of Tyre, on whose text Jacques de Vitry had based his account, had also noted the participation of a wide range of society, he had qualified this, writing, ‘yet the Lord was not with all in this cause, and discretion, the mother of virtues, was not always the actuating motive for these vows.’<sup>19</sup> Twelfth century texts had tended to play down the participation of the ‘humbler’ men or non-combatants; the damaging role of such figures on the Second Crusade may have contributed to this. While thirteenth century authors were not attempting to encourage contingents of unarmed poor to join the crusade in order to fight, or promoting the unlicensed preaching of hermits, their expressions rather grew out of changing social ideas and ideals of the thirteenth century.

Although dead crusaders were occasionally referred to as martyrs in thirteenth century narratives of the First Crusade, there was remarkably little emphasis on the idea. It is possible that as crusading became institutionalised there was no longer a need to emphasise such beliefs in order to inspire participation. However, Smith has suggested that ecclesiastical authors were deliberately ambiguous on this issue, especially because the Church was taking increasing control over who was named a saint and martyr.<sup>20</sup> The heresies arising in France and Italy at this time seem to have generated a concern within the Curia to ensure that no false prophet could be elevated to the level of a saint.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, martyred Franciscan and Dominican friars – in their efforts to convert

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<sup>17</sup> See *ibid*, pp. 223-7.

<sup>18</sup> ‘*cum multis aliis tam nobilibus, quam inferioribus viris*’, Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, pp. 164-5.

<sup>19</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 136; translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Babcock and Krey, p. 93.

<sup>20</sup> C. Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 99, 100, 102.

<sup>21</sup> M. Goodich, ‘Vision, Dream and Canonisation Policy Under Pope Innocent III’, *Innocent III and his World*, ed. J. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 156-7.

unbelievers – may also have encouraged a return to the more traditional view of martyrs as dying for the faith without physical resistance. The first Franciscans to be martyred were five friars who preached aggressively first in Seville and then in Morocco in 1219-20.<sup>22</sup> Francis of Assisi, in a chapter of the *Regula non bullata* referring to preaching to the Saracens, reminded his Franciscan brothers that they had given their bodies to Christ and lauded the virtues of martyrdom, listing a number of biblical texts in support of it.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, one of Francis' early biographers, Thomas of Celano, writing in 1228-9, claimed that Francis, 'burning with great desire for sacred martyrdom, wished to cross the sea to the region of Syria to preach the Christian faith and repentance to the Saracens and other infidels,'<sup>24</sup> thereby implying Francis had himself actively sought martyrdom while preaching to the Muslims.<sup>25</sup> Whether such intention was real or literary *topoi*, the articulation of this story regarding so prominent a figure might have caused a shift in the portrayal of martyrdom and how it should be achieved. Emerging theological concerns and ideas resulted in alterations to the expressions used to discuss the dead in the narratives of the First Crusade.

The idea of the crusade as an act of vengeance is strangely absent from thirteenth century texts on the First Crusade. Although the concept had not featured prominently in histories of the First Crusade written in the early twelfth century, it began - inconsistently - to appear more frequently in the latter part of the century.<sup>26</sup> The omission of the rhetoric of vengeance from thirteenth century narratives is nevertheless an interesting one considering Innocent III's frequent use of the idea of the crusade as an act of vengeance, and the increasing appearance of this concept regarding contemporary crusades in the late twelfth century.<sup>27</sup> Pope Innocent, in the opening of his

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<sup>22</sup> On Franciscans and martyrdom, see E. R. Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission* (Kentucky, 1973), pp. 41-53; B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission, European Approaches Towards the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 124-6, 135.

<sup>23</sup> He referred, among other texts, to Mark 8:35 *Qui perdidit animam suam propter me salvam faciet eam in vitam aeternam*; and Luke 12:4/Matt 10:28 *Dico autem vobis amicis meis, non timeamini ab his. Et nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus et post hoc non habent amplius quid faciant*: Francis of Assisi, *Regula non bullata*, D. Flood, *La Naissance d'un Charisme, une Lecture de la Première Règle de Saint François* (Paris, 1973), pp. 120-1; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 124.

The *Regula* was first written in 1221; modified and approved by Pope Honorius III in 1223.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas de Celano, *S. Francesci Vita et Tractus de Miraculis*, ed. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (Florence, 1926), p. 59.

<sup>25</sup> C. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades, Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 9-13.

<sup>26</sup> S. Throop, 'Vengeance and the Crusades', *Crusades*, vol. 5 (2006), pp. 23-31.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 32-35.

call for a crusade in 1198, *Post miserabile*, for instance, encouraged Christians ‘to fight Christ’s battle and to avenge the injury done to the Crucified One.’<sup>28</sup> It is possible that authors simply felt that it was not necessary to depict the First Crusade as an act of vengeance when it had succeeded in its goal. Roger of Hoveden, for example, implied that the Third Crusade was undertaken to avenge injuries against Christ and the Cross, reporting that King Richard had written to the abbot of Clairvaux, stating ‘the friends of the cross of Christ... rushed forth determined to avenge the injuries of the Holy Cross.’<sup>29</sup> He did not, however, refer to the First Crusade in such terms. It might have been felt that referring to a contemporary crusade in terms of vengeance was appropriate in order to justify current expeditions or encourage participation, but for the First Crusade, this was no longer necessary. Perhaps the absence of this type of rhetoric in the thirteenth century histories of the First Crusade was an impact of the attempts of peaceful conversion attempted by the nascent mendicant orders, which often went hand-in-hand with the thirteenth century crusades.<sup>30</sup> Kedar has proposed that it was Oliver of Paderborn, at the time of the Fifth Crusade, who first explicitly portrayed crusade and mission as two sides of the same coin; Oliver argued in his letter to Sultan al-Kamil that it was the Saracens’ refusal to allow Christian preachers in their lands that made the crusade the only viable recourse for Christians.<sup>31</sup> However, it is also possible that just as the lauding of heroes and their deeds appears to have been increasingly relegated to *chansons* and epic writings, the motif of vengeance, long a staple of the *chansons*, was also considered more suited to such literature.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, p. 499; translated Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Roger de Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 130; see also vol. 1, p. 151-2.

<sup>30</sup> Maier has pointed out that this did not necessarily mean that there was any conflict between the aims and ideas of mission and crusade; the founders of both main orders, Francis of Assisi and Dominic Guzman were involved to some extent in crusading - Francis in the Fifth Crusade and Dominic in the Albigensian crusade - and neither were opposed to the respective enterprise. Moreover, the Dominican order later became prominently involved in crusade preaching. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades, Mendicant Friars and the Cross*, pp. 8-19. See also, Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 127-8, 130-1.

<sup>31</sup> Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 132-3; Oliver of Paderborn, *Epistola salutaris regi Babilonis conscripta*, ed. H. Hoogeweg, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, Spättern Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina* (Tübingen, 1894), pp. 299-300.

<sup>32</sup> On the connection between the epic hero and acts of vengeance see Huppé, ‘The Concept of the Hero in the Early Middle Ages’, pp. 4-5.

## Literature

### **The History of William of Tyre**

Whereas the *Gesta Francorum* formed the basis of most early twelfth century histories of the First Crusade, William of Tyre's account of the crusade formed the basis of many of the early thirteenth century narratives. The popularity of William's history is evidenced by the large number of extant manuscripts of translations and continuations made of his work throughout the thirteenth century (and beyond).<sup>33</sup> William's text may have helped generate a new literary tradition with regards to the First Crusade. It is possible that, although taken further, the narrative of William of Tyre inspired the more even-handed assessment of the leaders of the First Crusade evident in thirteenth century texts. William was more critical than most of his contemporaries and has been praised by modern historians for his literary and historical insight.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps largely thanks to William of Tyre's narrative, Peter the Hermit emerged as a major figure in the history of the First Crusade. Oliver of Paderborn, although using Fulcher of Chartres as his main source, may have had access to William of Tyre's text, and he does seem to have given greater prominence to Peter the Hermit than Fulcher of Chartres – as William of Tyre had done. While Fulcher introduced him somewhat dismissively as 'a certain (*quidam*) Peter the Hermit', Oliver introduced him by referring to his exhortation of the faithful.<sup>35</sup> Roger of Wendover, perhaps recognising the less prominent role given to Peter the Hermit in most twelfth century narratives, stated that he was relating the account of the divine revelation made to Peter 'for those ignorant of it'.<sup>36</sup> Jacques de Vitry and Alberic of Trois-Fontaines both began their accounts of the First Crusade with the pilgrimage of Peter the Hermit and granted him a relatively prominent role throughout their

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<sup>33</sup> P. W. Edbury, 'The French Translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*: The Manuscript Tradition', *Crusades*, vol. 6 (2007), pp. 69, 95-97.

<sup>34</sup> Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East*, for example, pp. 27, 51,

<sup>35</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 158; Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia regum terre sancte*, p. 84.

<sup>36</sup> Rogeri de Wendover, *Chronica*, vol. 2 p. 63. Roger seems to have used the accounts of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon; his version of Urban II's speech at Clermont is taken primarily from William of Malmesbury, pp. 58-61 (albeit abbreviated), and he borrows a passage from Henry of Huntingdon to highlight the role of Robert of Normandy at the battle of Dorylaeum, p. 87. (See William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, pp. 598-607; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 426-29.) William did not associate Peter the Hermit with the nobles that took the cross, mentioning him only later in connection with the death of pilgrims at Nicaea, pp. 610-613, and briefly as ambassador when the crusaders were besieged in Antioch, pp. 636-37. Henry of Huntingdon did not mention Peter the Hermit at all.



narratives.<sup>37</sup> Peter the Hermit's general prominence in the early thirteenth century narratives was thus further encouraged by an earlier literary tradition.

While William of Tyre's narrative was influential in the thirteenth century, it was not taken *verbatim* and it was not the only source used by authors to construct their narratives. Jacques de Vitry considerably abbreviated William's account. Oliver of Paderborn based his narrative primarily on that of Fulcher of Chartres rather than relying on William of Tyre's work. Roger of Wendover at times preferred to use the narratives of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon to construct his text. Furthermore, William's text was adapted and modified and new accounts of the First Crusade were still written, highlighting once again, that the way history was written, and events and peoples remembered, was subject to present circumstances. Thirteenth century authors, did not, for example, share William's ambivalence over the veracity of the relic of the Holy Lance. Roger of Wendover, whose account most closely followed that of William of Tyre, noted the controversy that had surrounded the relic but it is clear he felt it was genuine. Whereas William had not condemned either opinion regarding the relic, Roger asserted that those who denied the veracity of the lance 'maliciously contended that it was a stratagem of the count of Toulouse,' and claimed that Peter Bartholomew 'passed unhurt through the midst of the fire' during the ordeal to prove the lance genuine, though admitted he died soon after.<sup>38</sup> Oliver of Paderborn alone omitted any mention of the Lance.

### **The Rise of the Vernacular**

Historical works had been produced in the vernacular in England since the 1140s. It was not, however, until the beginning of the thirteenth century that this practice became more widespread and histories began to be written in vernacular prose rather than verse. The vernacular was used with increasing frequency during the thirteenth century and became established as a literary language in its own right; it was no longer necessary to defend writing in the vernacular as Geoffrey of Vigeois had done for Gregory of Bechada, or to justify it through the claim of translation from a Latin authority in the

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<sup>37</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, pp. 160-5, 170-1; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, pp. 803, 804, 805, 807, 809.

<sup>38</sup> Rogeri de Wendover, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 129; translated as Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, vol. 1 part 1, p. 425; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 366-7.

manner of Gaimar.<sup>39</sup> As the vernacular changed from meaning primarily oral to a written language, it began to rival the authority of Latin as the language of the learned.<sup>40</sup>

Vernacular historiography was a new genre forged by distinct social pressures and it appears to have been strongly tied with contemporary political issues. Spiegel has argued that the crisis within the French nobility, particularly in Flanders, created by the centralising policies of Philip Augustus, produced a demand for new histories; epic and romance were no longer sufficient. The veracity of rhymed historical works was questioned; at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Nicolas of Senlis asserted in the prelude to his translation of the *pseudo-Turpin* chronicle that although many people might have heard the story of Charlemagne's campaigns in Spain, 'what these singers and jongleurs sing and tell is nothing but a lie. No rhymed tale is true.'<sup>41</sup> The truth could only be told in prose. The threatened aristocracy now required a new ideological platform from which to view their past and to strengthen their future.<sup>42</sup> The desires of this aristocracy, represented in part by the production of vernacular prose translations of the *pseudo-Turpin* chronicle, helped to initiate vernacular prose historiography as a genre. It was the aristocracy, particularly the Franco-Flemish aristocracy, who patronised vernacular histories and therefore exerted the greatest influence on the form and content of these works.<sup>43</sup> As the genre developed, vernacular histories began to rely less on the authority given by Latin texts and the focus changed from translations of ancient histories to the representation of more recent events. The lay aristocracy continued to be the main patrons of such works, primarily produced for political ends.<sup>44</sup> This focus on politics and the lay nobility, however, was not necessarily reflected in contemporary Latin texts. The mendicant orders, for example, in seeking to preach and convert, and the papacy in taking greater control of crusading, also created a demand for

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<sup>39</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica Gaufredi*, pp. 293, 296; Geffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis*, pp. 348-9.

<sup>40</sup> G. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth Century France* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 66.

<sup>41</sup> Cited in Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 55.

<sup>42</sup> G. Spiegel, 'Forging the Past: The Language of Historical Truth in the Middle Ages', pp. 272-277.

<sup>43</sup> Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p.14. For the production of translations of the *pseudo-Turpin* chronicle, see pp. 89-98.

<sup>44</sup> Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 214-16. See also D. Tyson, 'Patronage of French Vernacular History Writers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Romania*, vol. 100 (1979), p. 219.

histories of both ancient and more contemporary events.<sup>45</sup> Jacques de Vitry may have intended his *Historia Orientalis* to instruct European elites regarding the Middle East, and desired the episodes of the history to be seen as exemplars.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, the continuous calls to crusade meant an ongoing need for more information and a continued interest in the Holy Land and its history.

Crusading and crusade narratives appear to have had some impact on the production of vernacular histories. It is noteworthy that several of the first vernacular translations of the *pseudo-Turpin* chronicle, a text with much crusading imagery, were patronised by crusading families.<sup>47</sup> A version was made for the St-Pol family within the first years of the thirteenth century, and a related text, the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magni clavum et coronam a Constantinopoli transtulit*, which may have originally contained the text of the *pseudo-Turpin*, was translated for another northern French noble, William of Cayeux. William and Count Hugh IV of St-Pol both participated in the Third Crusade.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, some of the first independent prose vernacular histories were accounts of a crusade, including the texts of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari, describing the events of the Fourth Crusade.<sup>49</sup> Crusading also featured prominently in thirteenth century romances – it was a standard element of chivalry to go on some sort of crusade – which were semi-historical and at times used for political ends, or at least to increase prestige. In the mid-thirteenth century, for example, *Gui de Warewic* was likely written for, or at least the character quickly adopted by, the earls of Warwick as a legendary ancestor when the county was weakened by the succession of a minor.<sup>50</sup> In the course of the romance, Gui did not go on an actual crusade, yet his pilgrimage to the East and his endeavours for the Byzantines take on the character of a crusade. As Mason has argued, it is possible that the support shown towards crusading

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<sup>45</sup> The purpose of texts will be discussed further below.

<sup>46</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, p. 19.

<sup>47</sup> On the *pseudo-Turpin* and crusading see Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 150-65.

<sup>48</sup> S. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1988), p. 98, n. 140; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 70-2.

<sup>49</sup> Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p.7.

<sup>50</sup> E. Mason, 'Fact and Fiction in the English Crusading Tradition: The Earls of Warwick in the Twelfth Century', *JMH*, vol. 14 (1988), pp. 81-95; M. Ailes, 'Gui de Warewic in its Manuscript Context', *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor*, ed. A. Wiggins & R. Field (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 12, 25.

by the earls of Warwick in the twelfth century (though it is not certain that they ever took the cross), inspired the crusading activities of Gui in the romance.<sup>51</sup>

It is difficult to gauge the precise impact that the rise of vernacular literature might have had on the writing of Latin texts at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but the new genre does seem to have exerted some influence on the style and content of Latin works. Prose vernacular histories in particular seemed to place greater stress on present or contemporary events, and it is possible that Latin texts, to some extent, followed suit in this regard. Authors often seem to refer to more recent episodes, events within living memory, as exemplars, rather than looking to the distant past. Jean of Joinville, for instance, referred to the Fifth Crusade and pointed to John of Brienne's example regarding the taking of Damietta, rather than looking back as far as the First Crusade for inspiration.<sup>52</sup> In this case, the fact that the Seventh Crusade, like the Fifth Crusade, invaded Egypt made this more appropriate. The Anonymous of Soissons, in his *De terra Iherosolimitana*, made brief mention of the First Crusade but dedicated much more space to the events of the Third Crusade as a prologue to his text on the conquest of Constantinople.<sup>53</sup> It is possible that examples from events within living memory were deemed more suitable or more potent. Partly on account of the political milieu in which they were forged, vernacular histories also began to demonstrate less of an aim to entertain and to carry a greater emphasis on the transparent conveyance of information and on realism.<sup>54</sup> This may also have affected the writing of Latin histories, and might explain the decline in the influence of romance and the decreasing emphasis on the individual hero.

The thirteenth century saw a change in the way the First Crusaders were remembered in Latin literature. While authors of crusade narratives of the mid-late twelfth century had lauded the heroism of the leaders of the expedition, it seems that authors of Latin historical works were now leaving honour, chivalry and heroism to

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<sup>51</sup> Mason, 'Fact and Fiction in the English Crusading Tradition', pp. 86, 88, 90.

<sup>52</sup> Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1868), p. 58.

<sup>53</sup> Anonymous of Soissons, *De terra Iherosolimitana*, ed. & trans. A. Andrea & P. Rachlin, 'Holy War, Holy Relics, Holy Theft: The Anonymous of Soissons's *De terra Iherosolimitana*: An Analysis, Edition and Translation', *Reflexions Historiques* (1992), vol.18, pp. 157-59, 165-68.

<sup>54</sup> Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 218-19, 221.

those writing epic literature. This may have been a further impact of the vernacular prose historiography that was beginning to emerge at this time. Vernacular histories tended to focus on broader sections of society (or at least the nobility as a whole) rather than the deeds of an individual (heroic) figure.<sup>55</sup> Latin histories may have started to follow a similar pattern. Works of history and epic romance began to divide into discrete genres as historical texts started to lean less towards seeking to entertain and more towards recording and realism.<sup>56</sup> Geoffrey of Villehardouin, in his account of the conquest of Constantinople, one of the first vernacular prose histories of a crusade, used the First Crusade as a (rare) negative example. Following the capture of Constantinople in 1204, the crusaders had to elect the first Latin Emperor; the fragmented nature of the crusader armies led Villehardouin to draw a comparison between the quarrels between the leadership that had racked the First Crusade and the situation now faced by the Fourth Crusaders in endeavouring to elect an Emperor. He wrote that, ‘when the *preudommes* of the army realised that they all supported either one or other of these two men [the marquis of Montferrat or the count of Flanders], they talked among themselves and said, “Sirs, if we elect one of these two eminent men, the other will be so jealous that he will leave with all his men, and the land might be lost as a result. The land of Jerusalem was nearly lost in a similar situation, when Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen as ruler in the wake of its conquest. The Count of Saint-Gilles was so jealous that he persuaded some of the other barons and as many other people as he could to leave the army; a good number of them did as he wished and so few remained in Jerusalem, that they would have lost that land had God not come to their aid. We must be mindful of this, and take care that the same thing doesn’t happen to us.”’<sup>57</sup> At the turn of the thirteenth century the leaders of the First Crusade seem to have lost some of the heroic patina they had acquired in the narratives of the previous fifty years. Thirteenth century authors tended not to use the laudatory epithets so frequently attached to the names of the First Crusade leaders by the writers of the mid-late twelfth century. Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn, for example, only called to attention the qualities of Godfrey of Bouillon when referring to his elevation as ruler of Jerusalem.<sup>58</sup> Oliver, who based

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, p. 216.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, p. 221.

<sup>57</sup> Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. & trans. E. Faral (Paris, 1939), vol. II, pp. 62-63; translated as Joinville & Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. C. Smith (London, 2008), p. 69.

<sup>58</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, pp. 172-3; Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia regum terre sancte*, p. 89.

his narrative on that of Fulcher of Chartres, in his list of those that took the cross, omitted Fulcher's reference to the First Crusaders as heroes.<sup>59</sup> Roger of Wendover, writing around 1235, reserved his words of praise for the crusade army as a whole rather than highlighting the military prowess of the leaders alone. Writing of the siege of Nicaea, for example, he wrote that 'never before had the rays of the sun surveyed so illustrious an army'.<sup>60</sup> William of Malmesbury and William of Tyre, on whose works much of Roger's narrative is based, had given much more space to the qualities and characters of individual princes. William of Tyre, for example, prefaced his description of a battle during the siege of Antioch, following the Turkish ambush on those coming from the port of St Simeon, with a description of the nobility and valour of the leaders that took part. Roger of Wendover noted only the prowess of Duke Godfrey and Robert of Normandy. Even so, his version of the famous story of Godfrey cleaving a mailed Turk in two is somewhat bland compared to William's. Roger simply narrated the account, writing that Duke Godfrey 'by mere strength of arm' cut off the heads of several Turks, and 'seeing one of them fiercely charging our men, he clove him in two parts.'<sup>61</sup> William asserted that this famous deed was worthy of remembrance forever, 'a feat which rendered him illustrious in the eyes of the entire army,' and declared that Godfrey acted 'with his usual prowess' and 'boldly pursued' another Turk and 'clove him through the middle.'<sup>62</sup> Similarly, when Roger wrote of Godfrey being the first over the walls of Jerusalem he referred to him only as a 'vigorous knight' who boldly entered the city. William of Tyre described Godfrey at this point as 'famous and illustrious' and extolled the two 'noble' brothers who followed him as 'worthy of perpetual memory'.<sup>63</sup> Roger's general omission of such expressions of praise comes into sharp relief when we

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<sup>59</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, asserted that Hugh the Great was the first of the heroes to cross the sea (*Hugonem Magnum ... qui primus heroum mare transiens...*) Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 155; Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia regum terre sancte*, p. 84.

<sup>60</sup> Rogeri de Wendover, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 83. This was taken from William of Tyre, but has greater impact in Roger's work considering his meagre use of laudatory epithets for the crusade leadership.

<sup>61</sup> Rogeri de Wendover, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 103; translated as Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, vol. 1 part 1, p. 407. Roger's description of the horse - 'which rushed neighing and snorting through the Turks as if inspired by the devil, and terrified all of them at the ghastly corpse upon its back' - at this point seems more striking than his account of Godfrey's prowess.

<sup>62</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 278-279; translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Babcock and Krey, p. 234.

<sup>63</sup> Rogeri de Wendover, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 140; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 409.

consider William of Tyre's own reticence in this regard in comparison with contemporary texts.<sup>64</sup>

The changes in the presentation of the First Crusaders leads to the question of whether the figures of the leaders of the First Crusade, such as Duke Godfrey, Bohemond and Tancred, were primarily remembered as historical personalities or as fictional characters from the *chansons*? Authors of history in the Middle Ages were never shy of blurring the lines between fact and fiction, particularly as time gave a larger distance to the events in question. Nevertheless, it seems that the First Crusaders were remembered, at least in Latin literature, as real people, as historical characters able to provide exemplars and lessons for the future. According to Gunther of Pairis, Abbot Martin pointed to Godfrey's success on the First Crusade as he preached for what was to become the Fourth Crusade, saying, "Lest you be frightened by the fact that presently the heathens' savagery against our people has greatly increased in its fury, I want you to remember the accomplishments of our predecessors. At the time when that famous expedition led by the noble Duke Godfrey and other French and German princes was made, that infidel people, then as now, had occupied that land ... yet, by God's will, all of these places [Jerusalem, Tyre, Sidon and Antioch] were recovered by that army in the briefest span of time, as in a flash."<sup>65</sup> As noted above, Geoffroy of Villehardouin drew attention to the lesson to be learned from the quarrels of the crusade leadership.<sup>66</sup> Years later Odo of Chateauroux exclaimed in one of his sermons that the Lord would compare those who made the journey overseas 'and put them on a par with those ancient nobles who left the Kingdom of Francia and conquered Antioch and the land of Jerusalem.'<sup>67</sup> These references and comparisons were not of vague heroic acts, but of actual events known to have occurred. Moreover, the trend in historiography noted above, that is, the decreasing emphasis on heroism and the greater aim towards realism, further suggests

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<sup>64</sup> Although William of Tyre did use laudatory epithets in connection with the crusade leadership, and did praise the prowess of knights, he was also more critical of their conduct. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he noted their mistakes, the quarrels of the leadership that threatened the success of the crusade, and, moreover, did not ignore the role of women and the poor. See chapter 2.

<sup>65</sup> Gunther von Pairis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Orth (Hildesheim, 1994), p. 113; translated as Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople, the Historia Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis*, trans. A. Andrea (Philadelphia, 1997), p. 70.

<sup>66</sup> Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>67</sup> Eudes of Chateauroux, 'Sermo III', ed. & trans. C. Maier, *Crusade, Propaganda and Ideology. Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 154-55.

that the leaders of the First Crusade were seen as historical figures. However, for the illiterate, or those without knowledge of Latin, the lines between fact and fiction may not have been so clear cut. Henry III of England commissioned paintings in 1251 to commemorate his crusading ancestry, and it seems likely, as Lloyd has argued, that one of these works illustrated the deeds of Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, and that the painting may have been inspired by his legendary reputation as an epic hero, still current in England, rather than by historical accounts.<sup>68</sup> Humbert of Romans, writing in the late thirteenth century, noted the value of appealing to ancient examples and to characters of the *chansons de geste* in sermons.<sup>69</sup> Much of the *Cycle de la Croisade*, glorifying the First Crusade and providing Godfrey of Bouillon with a legendary ancestry, was written in the mid thirteenth century.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, romances such as *Gui de Warewic* aimed to highlight and celebrate the (legendary) crusading activities of predecessors.<sup>71</sup>

Crusade ideology not only impacted upon the production of vernacular literature, but also had some influence on the images and biblical exegesis of one of the earliest *bibles moralisées* produced in the sphere of the French monarchy in the early thirteenth century. These books presented illustrations of biblical scenes explained in brief captions; the design of these books was a new way to express old concepts. The earliest of these Bibles also sought to draw stories of the Bible into the present, making the history of the Bible relevant to their own time, so that soldiers were depicted wearing chain mail and labelled knights, a temple was rendered a mosque, and the Philistines and Amalekites became Saracens.<sup>72</sup> Although the crusade was not extensively represented, the appearance of this ideology in such a work points to the prevalence of the crusade in society and particularly at the French royal court.<sup>73</sup> Maier

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<sup>68</sup> S. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>69</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch. 16, 36-37, 39-41.

<sup>70</sup> See D. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1000-1300)* (Geneva, 1988), pp. 117-125.

<sup>71</sup> For *Gui de Warewic* see Mason, 'Fact and Fiction in the English Crusading Tradition', pp. 81-95, esp. pp. 86, 90.

<sup>72</sup> G. B. Guest, *Bibles Moralisées Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (London, 1995), pp. 18, 28-30. In this context it is also interesting to note that books of the Bible often associated with heretical interpretation, which was of great concern in France at this time, were not included in this book, see Guest, *Bibles Moralisées*, pp. 24-25. The images are printed in miniature in the pages preceding Guest's commentary and translation of exegetical text.

<sup>73</sup> C. Maier, 'The *bible moralisée* and the crusades', *The Experience of Crusading vol. 1. Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull & N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 210-11.



has identified three direct references to the crusade in this *bible moralisée*. The first depicted an emotive scene of departing crusaders and was associated with God's command to Abraham to leave Ur for Canaan at Genesis 12:4. The exegetical text accompanying this verse explained, 'that Abraham leaves his homeland and abandons his land and his possessions signifies the good Christians, who leave their father and their mother and take the cross and travel the world and are sustained, and they go to the Holy Land to find their salvation.'<sup>74</sup> The scene of departure was common in crusade literature, the grief of those left behind and determination of those embarking on the journey had been described by Fulcher of Chartres, and in Robert the Monk's account of Urban's sermon at Clermont, the pope had exhorted men not to allow family to hold them back.<sup>75</sup> Such advice, on account of its persistent relevance, continued to be urged in contemporary sermons.<sup>76</sup> Through the preceding images the departure scene was also linked to the idea of taking up the cross in a redemptive act, further emphasising the association between biblical figures and crusaders.<sup>77</sup> The next reference to the crusade in this book was illustrated by a king bearing a banner with the sign of the cross flanked by his followers facing the devil supported by his minions. The text drew comparisons between the Israelites' war with the Philistines and the crusaders' against the Saracens. This was a relatively common typological portrayal in the narratives of the crusade which drew a continuous line between the wars of God's ancient people and Christian's contemporary battle against enemies of Christ.<sup>78</sup> The final reference portrayed two clerics with open books delivering a message to a king or prince and his attendants. The text compared them to the messengers who reported to the biblical David Nabal's refusal of his offer of friendship and explained that they represented the messengers of Christ who recounted before princes the iniquities of the Albigensians, as a result of which the friends of God took the cross. This particular reference, much more specific than the previous two, was evidently influenced by contemporary events in the Languedoc. The prince it referred to is likely to be Louis VIII; a suggestion

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<sup>74</sup> Guest, *Bibles Moralisées*, fol. 4r, trans. p. 57.

<sup>75</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 162-3; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 728.

<sup>76</sup> See for example, Guibert of Tournai, 'Sermo III', ed. & trans. Maier, *Crusade, Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 202-3.

<sup>77</sup> Maier, 'The *bible moralisée* and the crusades', pp. 214-16.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 216-19; Guest, *Bibles Moralisées*, fol. 38r, trans. p. 112.

strengthened by the fact the book was produced for a member of his court.<sup>79</sup> The illustration and text were therefore making a tacit comparison between the biblical King David and the crusader Prince Louis in a manner similar - though less explicit - to that of Ralph of Caen's association of Baldwin of Boulogne with King David.<sup>80</sup> The book did not contain any specific references to the First Crusade, and, given the slight nature of the references, it would probably be reading too much into it to see any direct reflection of narratives of the First Crusade in the text. However, the book points to the influence of crusading in art and literature in general, and the enduring symbols associated with it.

### **Purpose and Audience: 'Travel' Literature**

Following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, pilgrims were less able to visit the Holy Land; in consequence, there was a new interest in reading about the city and its (Christian) history. It was no longer possible to remember the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusaders in liturgy and ceremony, and at the sites in which events had taken place, or through such tangible evidence as the epitaphs of the first kings of Jerusalem. William of Tyre explained that the liturgical offices celebrated on the day Jerusalem had fallen to the Christians in 1099 were held so that 'the memory of this great event might be better preserved.'<sup>81</sup> Jerusalem had always encouraged a tactile religiosity. However, the best way to preserve memory was now through writing. Frederick II's temporary acquisition of Jerusalem between 1229 and 1244 may have further encouraged a desire for new and fresh information about the Latin East and its religious spaces. Nevertheless, Frederick II's gaining Jerusalem through diplomacy seems not to have produced the general joyous response that the capture of Jerusalem by the armies of the First Crusade had done. Frederick's excommunication and continued tensions between papacy and empire did little to encourage a positive portrayal of the emperor's achievement. The somewhat acerbic comments ascribed to Gerald, patriarch of Jerusalem, in a letter to all the faithful, as reported by Matthew Paris, imply, at least, an ambiguous attitude to

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<sup>79</sup> Maier, 'The *bible moralisée* and the crusades', pp. 219-21; see also Guest, *Bibles Moralisées*, fol. 40v, trans. p. 116.

<sup>80</sup> Ralph wrote that Baldwin was 'born divinely as one who was to take his seat on David's throne.' Radulfo Cadomensi, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 633; translated as Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi*, trans. Bachrach, p. 61.

<sup>81</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, p. 417; translated as William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Babcock and Krey, p. 378.

Frederick's crusade.<sup>82</sup> While it seems, as Powell has suggested, that this letter was a forgery - a later interpolation written after 1245 in the midst of serious conflict between Pope Innocent IV and the emperor - the circulation of such material suggests that the enterprise was not necessarily remembered in a good light.<sup>83</sup> Certainly it was not hailed as a triumph on the same level as the conquest of Jerusalem 130 years earlier. The outcome of the emperor's endeavour perhaps encouraged both the production of histories of the First Crusade to be used as an exemplar and descriptions of the holy shrines of Jerusalem that had traditionally been associated with them. Roger of Wendover, for example, included at the end of his account of the First Crusade a description of the Holy Sites.<sup>84</sup> Descriptions of this kind had largely been dropped from accounts of the First Crusade since the mid twelfth century.

Pilgrim accounts had been popular since the eleventh century but there seems, now, to have been a demand for new, fresh information. Both Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn wrote not only about the crusade but also about the Holy Land in general; about the land and the diverse people living upon it. They did not confine themselves to writing only a history but wrote more broadly about, for what many westerners must have seemed, an exotic place. This must go a long way towards explaining their popularity: these texts appealed to friars wishing to preach on missions, to potential pilgrims, to those interested in promoting the crusade. Although Jacques de Vitry does not appear to have been commissioned to write, the division of his work into a history of the West and a history of the East, coupled with his belief that reform of the lives of the laity and of the Church was a prerequisite for a successful crusade, suggests that he was writing with the papacy in mind, and with a view to laying the theoretical groundwork for future expeditions.<sup>85</sup> Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis* was also later translated into French and Spanish and exists in over one hundred manuscripts

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<sup>82</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1882), vol. 3, pp. 179-184.

<sup>83</sup> J. Powell, 'Patriarch Gerold and Frederick II: the Matthew Paris letter', *JMH*, vol. 25 (1999), pp. 19-26.

<sup>84</sup> Roger de Wendover, *Chronica*, vol. 2, pp. 151-56. Roger's description is taken largely from William of Tyre, who, however, placed his outline of the city as a prologue to the crusaders' siege of Jerusalem. The location of William's description in the text makes it seem less like a pilgrim account and more part of the natural progression of the narrative. Compare Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 381-84.

<sup>85</sup> J. Bird, 'The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry: Visual and Written Commentaries as Evidence of a Text's Audience, Reception and Utilization', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, vol. 20 (2003), pp. 56, 61.

including translations.<sup>86</sup> The world of the thirteenth century was an expanding one. New horizons were being explored, both in terms of space and ideas.

Moreover, perhaps the fragile nature of the remaining Latin states was all too evident. The search for allies against the Muslim foe – and current legends such as that of the great Christian king, Prester John – likely encouraged a desire for greater knowledge of the world at large. In his letter of 1221 to Pope Honorius III from Damietta, Jacques de Vitry included ‘extracts of the history of the deeds of David, King of the Indes, whom the people call Prester John’ and evidently entertained hopes that this great Christian king would be able to aid the crusaders.<sup>87</sup> Oliver of Paderborn wrote, ‘The King of the Persians, being lifted up unto excessive pride, wished to be the monarch of Asia; against him King David, who they say is the son of Prester John, won the first fruits of victory. Then he subjugated other kings and kingdoms to himself, and, as we learned by a report that reached far and wide, there is no power on earth that can resist him. He is believed to be the executor of divine vengeance, the hammer of Asia.’<sup>88</sup> Although the legend of Prester John was not new in Western Europe, it now appeared to be confirmed by the activities of the Mongols – reinterpreted by Westerners as campaigns of Prester John or King David – and raised hopes of a powerful Eastern ally.<sup>89</sup> Chinggis Khan’s decision to release the Christian captives sent to him by the Caliph of Baghdad in 1220 further encouraged the idea that this Eastern ruler was, in fact, the great Christian king, Prester John.<sup>90</sup> It was not, however, until after the Mongol incursions into Eastern Europe over 20 years later, that Pope Innocent IV initiated diplomatic contact with the peoples of the Far East, most notably through the embassy of the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini in 1245.<sup>91</sup> The widespread interest in a new

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 56, 58, 59.

<sup>87</sup> Jacques de Vitry, ‘*Epistola VII*’, *Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, trans. G. Duchet-Suchaux (Brepols, 1998), pp. 176-197.

<sup>88</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. H. Hoogeweg, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, Spättern Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina* (Tübingen, 1894), pp. 258-59; translated as *Christian society and the Crusades, 1198-1229: Sources in Translation, Including the Capture of Damietta by Oliver of Paderborn*, trans. J. Gavigan, ed. E. Peters (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 112-13.

<sup>89</sup> J. Richard, ‘The *Relatio de Davide* as a source for Mongol History and the Legend of Prester John’, *Prester John the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. C. Beckingham & B. Hamilton (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 139-158.

<sup>90</sup> Jacques de Vitry, ‘*Epistola VII*’, pp. 194-197; Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 258-59.

<sup>91</sup> P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 87-87; see also, P. Jackson & D. Morgan’s introduction to William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253-1255* (London, 1990), pp. 26-32.

world can also be seen in a letter sent by Guy, a knight on the Seventh Crusade, from Damietta to his half-brother. Guy ended his letter by reporting that nothing had yet been learned regarding the Tartars and promised to write again when anything certain was known.<sup>92</sup> He was evidently interested in how contact with these new people would turn out and felt those at home also eagerly awaited news. Furthermore, Carpini, at the conclusion of the report on his travels, noted that as they had made their return journey, people ‘wanted to have the above account and so they copied it before it was complete and even in a very abbreviated form, for we had not then had a quiet time when we could finish it completely.’<sup>93</sup> His comment indicates the eagerness with which people sought new information about the expanding world.

Ideas of peaceful conversion of unbelievers were not new, but with the expanding world view of the thirteenth century, new opportunities were emerging, as well as a new emphasis on mission - part of the *raison d’être* of the Dominican and Franciscan friars. Jacques de Vitry’s history, for example, was popular and widely used, but the small amount of space dedicated to the account of the First Crusade suggests that this may not have been of primary importance to those using his history. Its descriptions of other peoples and religious beliefs meant that it would have held great interest to those desiring to convert the unbeliever. Manuscripts of his history were bound with accounts of missionary journeys, such as that undertaken by William of Rubruck to the Mongols.<sup>94</sup>

The purpose of the text had shifted slightly from that of the twelfth century, particularly in the case of the works of Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn. Less concerned with secular political circumstances than their twelfth century predecessors, these texts were - at least in part - written, and copies circulated, to inform subsequent crusade proposals and expeditions to the Holy Land. Pope Gregory X’s request for information and proposals for the Council of Lyons, for example, encouraged the production and dissemination of copies of Jacques de Vitry’s work, and Humbert of

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<sup>92</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1882), vol. 6 *additamenta*, pp. 161-2.

<sup>93</sup> Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. E. Menestó, trans. C. Leonardi (Spoleto, 1989), pp. 332-2; translated as John of Piano Carpini, ‘History of the Mongols’, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. by Christopher Dawson (London, 1955), pp. 71-2.

<sup>94</sup> Bird, ‘The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry’, pp. 59-61.

Romans appears to have used Jacques' text for this purpose. He also saw the value of Jacques' history as a tool for recruiting for the crusade.<sup>95</sup> Humbert of Romans, in his *De predicatione sancte crucis*, commented on the use of historical examples in preaching the crusade and noted the histories of Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre, he later also referred to the history of Jacques de Vitry, and referred again to Jacques' work in his *Opus tripartitum*.<sup>96</sup> These texts would have been primarily written for the pope and higher clergy, and possibly also of interest to secular elites involved in organising a crusade. Nevertheless, at least a portion of these texts may have reached a wider audience, albeit in distilled form. Histories such as Jacques' might also have been used, particularly by the mendicant orders, as an aid to preaching. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines had the need for preaching material in mind when he constructed his work in the mid thirteenth century, for which he drew on a variety of sources, including Jacques de Vitry's work.<sup>97</sup> The Dominican compiler Vincent of Beauvais, probably also borrowed from Jacques de Vitry's history with this intention.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, it is possible that Dominicans carried books with them when preaching, allowing people to see what, for the majority, must have been a fairly rare object.<sup>99</sup> The emphasis on education within the Dominican order might further have encouraged their involvement in the production and promotion of books.

### **Culture and Identity**

The early thirteenth century saw changes in the identity and education of authors. Writing literature was no longer the domain of the cleric; histories, particularly those in the vernacular, were also written by laymen. The histories of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari are just two examples. Nevertheless, those writing in Latin, and therefore the majority of texts under review, were still penned by religious. It seems, moreover, that authors in religious orders increasingly tended to be more educated.

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 57, 61, 63.

<sup>96</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch 16, 41; Humbertus de Romanis, *Opus tripartitum*, ed. E. Brown, *Appendix ad fasciculum rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* (London, 1690), p. 200.

<sup>97</sup> A. B. H. Nitert, 'Matière de France and the World Chronicle of Aubri de Trois-Fontaines', *Aspects de l'épopée romane: mentalités, idéologies, intertextualités*, ed. H. van Dijk & W. Nooman (Groningen, 1995), pp. 411-13.

<sup>98</sup> Bird, 'The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry', pp. 58-9, 61-2.

<sup>99</sup> de Hamel, 'Books and Society', p. 11. De Hamel suggests that in the twelfth century books, being confined to monastic libraries, would barely have been seen at all. While I find his assessment a little severe, books could not have been common objects.

Oliver of Paderborn for example, was a *scolasticus* of the cathedral school at Cologne, Jacques de Vitry was educated in the schools of Paris, and from the 1220's learning was actively encouraged in the Franciscan order and Dominicans were trained to preach and to dispute theology.<sup>100</sup> In 1216-17 Cardinal Ugolino of Ostia (future Pope Gregory IX) aided Dominic Guzman to establish the Dominicans in the universities of Paris and Bologna, ensuring an emphasis on education within the order and encouraging learned recruits.<sup>101</sup> The background and education of the authors would naturally influence their choice of content and style of writing. While political issues may have had the greatest influence on those writing vernacular histories for aristocratic patrons, it is possible that changes in religious ideas had the greatest influence on ecclesiastical authors. Pope Innocent III had presided over many developments in theology, canon law and ecclesiastical organisation. Moreover, Innocent actively tried to gain papal control over the crusade movement, and in doing so effected a reshaping of the scope of the crusade as well as of crusade spirituality.<sup>102</sup>

While there was a decline in the emphasis on the hero, some chronicles still retained a local bias. This is not as obvious as in the texts of most twelfth century narratives, but this bias does occasionally appear and it dictated, to a certain extent, the identity and prominence of those remembered within the narrative. Roger of Wendover, for example, writing at St Albans, followed Henry of Huntingdon's account of the battle at Dorylaeum, rather than William of Tyre's, to give Robert of Normandy a more significant role in it.<sup>103</sup> He also added to William's account of Godfrey of Bouillon slicing a Turk in half during the siege of Antioch a similar deed by Robert of Normandy. He may have borrowed this from Henry of Huntingdon, who noted that the 'duke of the Normans split open one man's head, teeth, neck, and shoulders, down to his breast.'<sup>104</sup> Roger, somewhat uncharacteristically, embellished the scene and wrote, 'Robert duke of Normandy, also, dealt another Turk, with whom he was fighting, so fierce a blow that he cut through his helmet, shield, head, teeth, and neck, down to his breast, as a sheep is

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<sup>100</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, in his *Historia regum terre sancte*, described himself as '*magister Oliverus Coloniensis scolasticus*', p. 83; Bird, 'The Religious's Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World', pp. 219, 222.

<sup>101</sup> Maier, *Preaching the Crusades, Mendicant Friars and the Cross*, pp. 23-6.

<sup>102</sup> C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, (Oxford, 1989), pp. 433, 438-39, 441-2.

<sup>103</sup> Rogeri de Wendover, *Chronica*, vol. 2, pp. 87-8.

<sup>104</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 432-3.

cleft in two by a butcher; and as he fell to earth, the duke cried aloud, “I commend thy bloody soul to all the ministers of hell!”<sup>105</sup> The anonymous continuator of the *Song of the Cathar Wars* made reference to a local (i.e. Southern French) First Crusade hero – Goufier of Lastours – by alluding to the story told by Geoffrey of Vigeois of Goufier freeing a lion from a snake. The anonymous poet wrote that Walter Langton, a crusader with Simon de Montfort, warned Simon regarding the people of Toulouse, ““Their snake has got a good grip of your lion [the emblem of the counts of Montfort], and unless you are Goufier and can set it free, we and you and all the others are going to suffer.””<sup>106</sup> The author used the story to compare Simon de Montfort unfavourably with a First Crusade hero of the very people he had come to make war upon. It is interesting to note that Jacques de Vitry and, through him, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, who both gave prominence to Peter the Hermit within their narratives of the First Crusade, had links to the priory of Neufmoustier, originally founded by Peter the Hermit. Moreover, Alberic may have come from the Empire (possibly Liège) where the tradition of Peter the Hermit as instigator of the crusade originated.<sup>107</sup> Perhaps as a response to Frederick II’s crusade, Jacques de Vitry, bolstering local tradition regarding the hermit, had ordered the translation of his remains to the church crypt at Neufmoustier.<sup>108</sup> Culture and identity still played a part in the memory of the First Crusade.

### **Silences**

There were many ways in which society in the thirteenth century influenced the memory of the First Crusade, but there were also circumstances or ways in which we might expect authors to remember the First Crusade, but they did not. Reference was made instead to more recent heroes rather than the characters of the First Crusade. Perhaps reminders of dynastic obligations and changing identities encouraged more recent crusades to be remembered before the First Crusade. Pope Honorius III, in a letter to Henry III of England in 1224, appealed to him to remember his crusading

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<sup>105</sup> Rogeri de Wendover, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 103; translated as Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, vol. 1 part 1, pp. 407-8.

<sup>106</sup> *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, ed. E. Martin-Chabot (Paris, 1961), vol. 3, pp. 124-25; translated as *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, trans. J. Shirley (Aldershot, 1996), p. 155.

<sup>107</sup> On Alberic’s origins, see M. Chazan, *L’Empire et l’Histoire Universelle de Sigebert de Gembloux a Jean de Saint-Victoire (XIIe-XIVe Siècle)*, (Paris, 1999), pp. 362-3; on literary traditions regarding Peter the Hermit, see chapter 1.

<sup>108</sup> See Bird, ‘The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry’, pp. 57, 65 n.9.



ancestry in the shape of Richard I.<sup>109</sup> The appeal was to a more recent, Plantagenet, ancestry rather than the more distantly related heroes of the First Crusade. Moreover, the majority of the chronicles containing accounts of the First Crusade were Anglo-Norman; there was relatively little English participation in the First Crusade, particularly when compared with the Third when the king and many prominent nobles took part. It is therefore, perhaps, natural that more should be made of more recent crusades and more prominent ancestors. Furthermore, the thirteenth century produced many other crusades to write about, which did not follow the path or pattern of the First Crusade. Joinville, for example, referred to the Fifth Crusade, as this had had the same targets as the Seventh Crusade, rather than looking back as far as the First, which followed an entirely different route;<sup>110</sup> a more recent example held greater relevance. Likewise, Caesarius of Heisterbach in his *Dialogus miraculorum*, made no mention of the First Crusade, at one point even referring to the Third Crusade as the first passage across the sea.<sup>111</sup> While Caesarius made reference to the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Crusades, at least in passing, his sections on the Third Crusade were the fullest and more relevant to the crusade itself (as opposed to the preaching of the crusade).<sup>112</sup> Aiming to provide instruction and examples for novices, Caesarius perhaps felt it was prudent to refer to examples within living memory and therefore more accessible to his audience. In the same vein, it is interesting to note that John of Garland, in his *De triumphis ecclesiae*, wrote of the Third Crusade, the Albigensian Crusade and frequently referred to Louis IX's campaign in Egypt but made no mention of the First Crusade, apparently preferring to write of contemporary events.<sup>113</sup> It is also possible that at this time the Third Crusade began to be remembered more prominently as an exemplary expedition. It had not succeeded in taking Jerusalem, but had regained a number of

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<sup>109</sup> *Fædera: conventiones, litteræ, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliæ et alios quosuis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates, 1066-1272*, ed. T. Rymer (London, 1816), vol.1, part 1, pp. 172-73; *Regesta Honorius papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti (Hildesheim, 1978), vol. 2, no. 4262, p. 119.

<sup>110</sup> Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. M. de Wailly (Paris, 1868), p. 58.

<sup>111</sup> Caesarius Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange (Cologne, 1851), vol.2, pp. 249-50.

<sup>112</sup> Caesarius Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus miraculorum*, on the Second Crusade, vol. 1, pp. 12-15, 22-24; on the Fourth Crusade, vol. 2, p.7; on the Fifth Crusade, vol. 1, pp. 70, 181-2, vol. 2, p. 75; on the Third Crusade he includes a long example on the reasons for the fall of Acre, vol. 1, pp. 185-88, see also vol. 2, pp. 226-7, in praise of King Richard pp. 249-50.

<sup>113</sup> Johannis de Garlandia, *De triumphis ecclesiae libri octo: a latin poem of the thirteenth century*, ed. T. Wright (London, 1856), he made one oblique reference to the First Crusade; when writing of Count Raymond V of Toulouse, John noted that Raymond's grandfather had formerly defended Antioch, p. 24, but it is negligible compared to the space he devoted to the Third Crusade, pp. 49-52, and to the Albigensian Crusade, pp. 68-89; L. J. Paetow, 'The Crusading Ardor of John of Garland', *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana Munro*, ed. L. J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 209, 211-12.

important coastal cities and it was within living memory; if preachers called on knights to remember their ancestors' crusading efforts, it is likely that this was the expedition they would look back to. It could, moreover, boast the participation of kings, in particular the heroic figure of Richard the Lionheart. However, the Third Crusade remained somewhat controversial in its ultimate lack of success - in spite of the (initial) participation of large part of the ruling elite of north western Europe; it could never be portrayed as the expedition *par excellence* - however heroic its participants - in the way that the First Crusade could.

Contemporary events, however, were not always reflected in the narratives of the First Crusade. The lack of as much change within the narratives as we might expect - given the new theological focus engendered by Innocent III, the nascent mendicant orders and emerging heresies, as well as the conflict between the papacy and emperor - might have been the result of the narrative tradition of the First Crusade becoming more firmly established. The story was well known, and well represented in literature, not only through previous Latin histories, but also through vernacular works. Changes in the text were becoming more nuanced than obvious. Like those of the late twelfth century, thirteenth century narratives also contained silences. Women, as in most late twelfth century accounts, generally remain conspicuous by their absence in the texts of the early thirteenth century. However, this is an interesting omission at a time when the papacy was attempting to involve all of society in the crusade movement. As previously noted, this new initiative was echoed to some extent in the chronicles and the drive to involve everyone in the crusade movement, whether they fought, paid or prayed, was reflected in the decline in emphasis on the leaders of the expedition in the narratives. It is interesting that this did not extend to the inclusion of women in an active role within the narrative – even though they appeared as such in William of Tyre's account.<sup>114</sup> They clearly also played a part in contemporary crusades; Louis IX's wife, to name but one prominent example, accompanied him on his first crusade.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, pp. 217-18, 315-16, 344, 403, 407-8.

<sup>115</sup> See also, B. Z. Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: Towards the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade' *Studi Medievali*, vol. 3 (1972), p. 272.

A further silence in most thirteenth century histories of the First Crusade concerned the inclusion of Charlemagne within the narrative of the crusade, and the apocalyptic ideas that were at times related to the legend of the emperor.<sup>116</sup> Although apocalyptic ideas were given expression regarding contemporary crusades, even by Pope Innocent III, they did not reappear in narratives of the First Crusade.<sup>117</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines was the only author of an early thirteenth century Latin text to remember Charlemagne within his narrative of the First Crusade. He referred to the crusaders using the road of Charlemagne on the way to Constantinople and also highlighted that Godfrey of Bouillon was a descendant of Charlemagne.<sup>118</sup> Alberic was probably writing in the late 1240's in the region of Champagne. Perhaps the embarkation of Louis IX – also a (well publicised) descendant of Charlemagne – on crusade encouraged this memory. Alberic had also written of Charlemagne's exploits in Spain and his alleged pilgrimage to the East earlier in his chronicle, although he was aware that some of what had been written regarding the great king lay in the realms of fiction and legend.<sup>119</sup> The figure of Charlemagne was also alive and well in vernacular texts, such as the translations of the *pseudo-Turpin*, which had at least some connection with crusading (or the patrons of such translations did so). The legend of the emperor had developed considerably over the last century, and his campaigns may have been considered to be precursors to the crusade. Humbert of Romans, writing in the 1270s, noted the *quasi*-crusading activities of Charlemagne, and even encouraged the use of his legend in preaching, but, although Humbert equated the deeds of Charlemagne with those of Godfrey of Bouillon, he did not remind his audience that Godfrey had been a descendant of the great emperor, as so many of the early twelfth century narratives had done.<sup>120</sup> It is possible that as Charlemagne was becoming increasingly identified with

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<sup>116</sup> For apocalyptic ideas connected with Charlemagne, see Gabriele, 'Asleep at the Wheel? Messianism, Apocalypticism and Charlemagne's Passivity', pp. 46-72.

<sup>117</sup> See A. Andrea, 'Innocent III, the Fourth Crusade, and the Coming Apocalypse', *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. S. Ridyard (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 97-106. Apocalyptic prophesies also made a prominent appearance in the Fifth Crusade as did signs and visions. See also van Moolenbroek, 'Signs in the Heavens in Groningen and Friesland', pp. 251-72. Moreover, Frederick II, was thought to be the 'last emperor' and the theories of Joachim of Fiore retained a following.

<sup>118</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, pp. 804, 812.

<sup>119</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, pp. 712- 25, for Alberic's comments on spurious histories see pp. 712-13, 719. See also I. Short, 'A Study in Carolingian Legend and its Persistence in Latin Historiography (XII-XVI Centuries)', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 7 (1972), pp. 129-38.

<sup>120</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Opus tripartitum*, pp. 193, 200, 203; Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch 16, 37-8; However, Vincent of Beauvais, writing around 1254, almost contemporaneously with Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, also noted the road of Charlemagne and Godfrey's descent from that emperor, *Speculum historiale* (Graz, 1965, repr. Duaci, 1624), vol. 4, p. 1038.

the French, his legend no longer provided a symbol of shared (Christian) identity with which to emphasise the unity of the crusading host.<sup>121</sup> The figure of Charlemagne might serve as a useful and universally recognised exemplar in preaching, but no longer had a purpose in the narratives.

### **Conclusion**

The thirteenth century narratives of the First Crusade demonstrate some interesting differences and developments compared to those written in the late twelfth century. The emphasis on contemporary events may have been inspired by the rise of vernacular prose histories as well as the ease of referring and appealing to events within living memory. The new genre, placing greater emphasis on sober historical writing rather than entertainment, combined with Pope Innocent III's initiative to involve all of society in the crusade movement, encouraged the trend of remembering the deeds of the crusade army as a whole rather than the heroism of individual leaders. This initiative of Innocent's was reflected to some extent in the texts, but his christo-centric theology does not appear as strongly as we might expect. Perhaps as a result of the role of the Franciscans and Dominicans as preachers of the crusade, as well as popularity of the narrative of William of Tyre, Peter the Hermit emerged as a main protagonist in the majority of early thirteenth century texts on the First Crusade. A primary stimulus for the production of First Crusade narratives was likely the interest in an expanding world in the thirteenth century - as evidenced by the popularity of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*. The First Crusade narratives of the early thirteenth century to a large extent did not continue the trends demonstrated in the narratives of the mid to late twelfth century; social and religious pressures dictated a different narrative was to be remembered.

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<sup>121</sup> Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France, A Thousand Years of Mythology*, pp. 78-9, 83-84.

## REMEMBERING THE FIRST CRUSADE 1250 - c.1300

Plans for a new crusade played a significant role in the politics of Europe in the late thirteenth century. The efforts to organise an expedition were frequently subject to contemporary political manoeuvring, and at times also influenced the nature of the suggested course of action.<sup>1</sup> Pierre Dubois in his *De recuperatione terre sancte*, for example, suggested that once a crusade had successfully recovered the Holy Land, it might then turn its attention to Constantinople and install Charles of Valois, brother of the king of France, as Emperor and thus extend French influence in the continent. He wrote that the crusaders, ‘returning by way of Greece, [they would be] prepared on the advice of the Roman Church to fight vigorously on behalf of lord Charles [of Valois] against the unjust usurper Palaeologus, unless he were willing to withdraw. It should be agreed in advance that lord Charles, after gaining the [Greek] Empire, would bring opportune aid to the defence of the Holy Land whenever the need arose, since he would be nearer it than other princes.’ He later wrote that ‘for all these matters to occur thus favourably is and will be of more interest to our lord high king of the French, his children, brothers and his whole posterity, than can be written,’ and outlined a plan to subordinate the German Empire to French control.<sup>2</sup> Political concerns, however, did much to obstruct the fulfilment of an expedition; the conflict between Philip III of France and Alfonso X of Castile in the late 1270’s hindered the organisation of a passage.<sup>3</sup> In spite of his continued interest in the crusade, Edward I of England’s engagement in the Welsh wars and then involvement in Scotland at the end of the thirteenth century, frustrated his proposed return to the Latin East.<sup>4</sup> The last decades of the thirteenth century saw the loss of the last Frankish possessions in the Latin East. It was, perhaps, the setbacks and then the final loss of the Holy Land that had the greatest impact upon texts referring to the First Crusade. The majority of texts narrating, at least in part, the history of the First Crusade in the late thirteenth century formed one aspect

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<sup>1</sup> See S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274-1314* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 45-67.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 209-10; see also A. Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 31-2; Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione terre sancte*, ed. A. Diotti (Florence, 1977), pp 182, 192-3. see also pp. 192-6, 209; translated as Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, trans. W. I. Brant (New York, 1956), pp. 156, 172, see also pp. 157, 172-7, 196, n. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land*, pp. 54-6.

<sup>4</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, p. 235.

of a new genre: the treatise on how to recover the Holy Land. These works were, in most cases, produced by members of the mendicant orders and to some extent the aims and functions of these treatises differed from chronicle histories. While the twelfth century had produced more than thirty Latin narratives of the First Crusade, most of considerable length, by late the thirteenth century only Vincent of Beauvais had written a relatively full history; Humbert of Romans gave a short account in his *de predicatione sancte crucis*, and the anonymous treatise entitled *Memoria* included a paragraph on the siege of Jerusalem. Most other works made only passing reference to the First Crusade or its participants. This did not necessarily reflect a lack of interest in the victory of 1099, but these texts were concerned with the practicalities of organising an expedition and were not written with the intention of providing a comprehensive account of the First Crusade. They can nevertheless provide some insight into the way the First Crusade was portrayed and remembered during the time the Latin states that expedition had engendered crumbled and fell.

### **Form and Content**

History in the thirteenth century was increasingly produced in the vernacular. The latter part of the century saw the inception of *les grandes chroniques de France*, a semi-official royal history produced by the abbey of St Denis. Translations into the vernacular and continuations of the works of William of Tyre and Jacques de Vitry appeared, as well as translations of the more contemporary works of Vincent of Beauvais. The translations and continuations of William of Tyre's work exist in over 50 manuscripts, far exceeding the number of extant Latin manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> The survival of more than 100 extant manuscripts for the works of Jacques de Vitry and Vincent of Beauvais (including translations) likewise attest to their popularity.<sup>6</sup> And, as at the beginning of the century, those writing history, as opposed to compilers, appear to have been more concerned with contemporary issues than those of the distant past. William of Puylaurens, as part of a genealogy of the Counts of Toulouse, for example, mentioned the participation of Raymond of St-Gilles on the crusade only in passing, but gave no further details and offered no narrative of the expedition; his focus was

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<sup>5</sup> P. Edbury, 'The French Translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*: The Manuscript Tradition', *Crusades*, vol. 6 (2007), pp. 69, 95-97.

<sup>6</sup> Bird, 'The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry', p. 56; J. Voorbij, 'The *Speculum Historiale*: Some Aspects of its Genesis and Manuscript Tradition', p.11.

primarily on the county of Toulouse in the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The Franciscan chronicler Salimbene de Adam, writing in the 1280's, also chose to write primarily about contemporary events and his modern translators have suggested that one of the most frequent phrases in his work was *'ut vidi oculis meis'*.<sup>8</sup> The increasing preference for texts in the vernacular and the general tendency to focus on current events seem to have discouraged the production of Latin narratives of the First Crusade.

Significant changes took place in the purpose of history and the way in which it was written between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, and, as the latter progressed, the developments continued. While early twelfth century encyclopaedias had attempted to condense all knowledge into a volume and were concerned with organisation to aid memory, Vincent of Beauvais, in the introduction to his *Speculum maius*, noted that the multitude of books, little time, and the deficiency of memory, did not permit the comprehension of all that had been written. The layout of his work aimed to allow search-ability.<sup>9</sup> The arrangement and purpose of the *Speculum maius* - organised dogmatically rather than alphabetically, and endeavouring to elucidate scripture and provide moral instruction - reflected the concerns and ideas of a preaching friar. This marked a change that had begun in the late twelfth century; a move from focusing on the theory of theology towards addressing practical solutions to theological problems.<sup>10</sup> While changes in the content of historical writing may have been slight in practice there seems at least to have been a difference in how authors perceived what they were doing.<sup>11</sup> The compilation of historical works appears to have become as respected as direct authorship, Vincent of Beauvais being pre-eminent here.<sup>12</sup> Vincent wrote the longest account of the First Crusade in this period (although this was still brief compared to many of those written in the twelfth century). Historians such as

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<sup>7</sup> Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique 1145-1275*, ed. J. Duvernoy (Paris, 1996), pp. 42-3.

<sup>8</sup> Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, trans. J. Baird, G. Baglivi and J. Kane (New York, 1986), p. ix.

<sup>9</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum maius*, vol. 1, pp. 1, 3; E. R. Smits, 'Vincent of Beauvais: a Note on the Background of the *Speculum*', *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the Speculum Maius and its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars*, ed. W. J. Aerts, E. R. Smits, and J. B. Voorbij (Groningen, 1986), pp. 2, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Smits, 'Vincent of Beauvais: a Note on the Background of the *Speculum*', p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> B. Guenée, 'L'historien et la compilation au XIIIe siècle', *Journal des Savants* (1985), pp. 119-35. Guenée has argued that this change began from the mid twelfth century, however, while authors may have referred to themselves as compilers from the latter half of the twelfth century onwards, they did not, for the most part, begin to acknowledge their sources until the thirteenth century.

<sup>12</sup> J. Ward, 'From Chronicle and History to Satire, Travelogue and *Sermo*: The Decline of the Monastic Chronicle in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Europe', *The Medieval Chronicle II*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 2002), p. 271.

Vincent began to see themselves as collectors and abbreviators of older material, and through these compilations they created new works.<sup>13</sup> It was through a methodological process of compilation that historical truth was created. While borrowing from older writers was hardly a new practice, the overt act of compilation now led authors, or compilers, to recognise, and to attempt some analysis of, their sources.<sup>14</sup> Very few twelfth century authors had thought to name their sources. Geoffrey of Vigeois, writing in the 1180's, had referred to the history of Baudri of Bourgueil, but he used it as an excuse to write no more as he asserted the story had already been told in detail.<sup>15</sup> Humbert of Romans, in his *Opus tripartitum*, written before the Council of Lyons in 1274, on the other hand, frequently referred to written histories and named Turpin in relation to Charlemagne, and Jacques de Vitry with respects to the First Crusade.<sup>16</sup> In his *de predicatione sancte crucis* he also mentioned the works of William of Tyre and Fulcher of Chartres in relation to the First Crusade and recognised that Fulcher had been in the crusader army, 'and that which he saw with his own eyes he rendered into writing'.<sup>17</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, in his account of the First Crusade, referred to the chronicles of William and Sigebert (probably William of Malmesbury and Sigebert of Gembloux) and specifically mentioned the history of Baudri of Bourgueil.<sup>18</sup> The preoccupation with preaching and the shift from authorship to compilation impacted the form and organisation of thirteenth century texts. Furthermore, these works reflected the continuing seriousness that had marked the Latin narratives of the early thirteenth century in their move towards analysis of sources.

It is noteworthy that Baudri's history, which survives in 21 manuscripts, as well as that of Fulcher of Chartres', of which there are 15 manuscripts, was one of the most

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<sup>13</sup> Guenée, 'L'historien et la compilation au XIIIe siècle', pp. 125-6, 128-9;

<sup>14</sup> Knappe, 'Historia, Textuality and Episteme', pp. 23-4.

<sup>15</sup> Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica*, p. 296. Orderic Vitalis, in the prologue to his account of the First Crusade, stated that Fulcher of Chartres and Baudri of Bourgueil had written histories of the expedition, but nowhere indicated that his own narrative was taken almost entirely from that of Baudri of Bourgueil. Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 5, pp. 6-7.

<sup>16</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Opus tripartitum*, pp. 193, 200, 203-4.

<sup>17</sup> '...quod dicit alias Fulbertus Carnotium. qui in exercitu personaliter fuit et ea que proprijs oculis vidit in scripta redegit.' Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch. 10, 16.

<sup>18</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum maius*, vol. 4, pp. 1034, 1035. (all references to vol. 4 unless otherwise stated).



frequently attested of the early twelfth century narratives.<sup>19</sup> Although there are over a hundred extant manuscripts of Robert the Monk's account, later authors did not often draw upon his text. It is possible that later authors felt there was little need to adapt Robert's work, or that the strong epic character of his account did not appeal to the compilers of the thirteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Baudri's position as archbishop of Dol may have further encouraged later authors to look favourably upon his text as a reliable source.<sup>21</sup> Baudri also had an elegant style, and had written other works as well as poetry, some of which had been dedicated to Adela of Blois, daughter of William the Conqueror and wife of the First Crusader, Stephen.<sup>22</sup> Baudri's social status and his association with a family connected to the English monarchy may have helped to recommend his work to subsequent authors.

The recognition and acknowledgement of sources appear to have been important in thirteenth century histories and had some impact on their content. Vincent's use of Baudri of Bourgueil's work might account for his inclusion of material that seemed to have long been forgotten in the Latin narrative tradition: pogroms against the Jews, signs in the sky, the conflicts with the Greeks at Constantinople, Solimanus and Kerbogha, visions at Antioch, and stories of Kerbogha's mother and Godfrey of Bouillon's mother, Ida. The inclusion of these two women in the narrative is particularly surprising because, as we have seen, women had been largely excluded from the Latin narrative tradition of the First Crusade since the mid-twelfth century. It is tempting to attribute his decision to refer to these women to the influence of vernacular texts such as the *Cycle de la Croisade*, which gave much greater prominence to Ida and Kerbogha's

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<sup>19</sup> On the number of manuscripts, for Baudri of Bourgueil see, Biddlecombe, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, p. 1; for Fulcher of Chartres see, Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 92-104, 114. Baudri of Bourgueil's history was used by a number of twelfth century authors, including Orderic Vitalis, Henry of Huntingdon, the author of the *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*, and Geoffrey of Vigeois. In the thirteenth century Vincent of Beauvais borrowed from Baudri's *Historia*, and some manuscripts of Humbert of Romans' *de predicatione sancte crucis* also contain Baudri's version of Pope Urban's sermon at Clermont; see, P. Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the Crusade', pp. 157-174. Fulcher of Chartres' narrative was used by William of Malmesbury, Bartolf of Nangis, the *Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena* and William of Tyre in the twelfth century, and by Oliver of Paderborn and Humbert of Romans in the thirteenth century. Later authors evidently had not shared Guibert of Nogent's negative assessment of Fulcher's work: Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 332-3.

<sup>20</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Sweetenham, pp. 8-9, 35-41.

<sup>21</sup> Biddlecombe suggests that Baudri wrote his history c.1105, when he was still abbot of Bourgueil, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, p. 23. However, he may have been better remembered as archbishop: Orderic Vitalis, in the prologue to his narrative of the crusade, referred to Baudri as archbishop of Dol, not abbot of Bourgueil: 'And Baudry, archbishop of Dol, has composed four books in which, writing in a fine style, he truly and eloquently relates the whole story from the beginning of the pilgrimage up to the first battle after the capture of Jerusalem.' *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>22</sup> *Préface, RHC Occ.*, vol. 4, pp. iv-vi.

mother, Calabre, than the Latin chronicles had done. The women in these works were used to emphasise divine providence and to highlight the lineage through which God's will would be fulfilled.<sup>23</sup> The anonymous treatise entitled *Memoria*, probably written around 1308, but likely based on an earlier French redaction, also mentioned Godfrey's mother, Ida, and suggested that it was at her instigation that Godfrey embarked successfully on the crusade.<sup>24</sup> However, the inclusion of women in the text might also stem from the continuation of the policy begun by Innocent III regarding the participation of all elements of society in the crusade.<sup>25</sup> It seems that a more stringent and systematic application of this policy did not get under way until the 1230s during the pontificate of Gregory IX and the deployment of the mendicant orders as preachers of the crusade.<sup>26</sup> This development may have encouraged authors to include women in the narrative of the First Crusade, even if they did not portray women actively participating in the expedition. It is possible that the use of earlier or eyewitness sources led these authors to relate details that more contemporary historians had generally chosen to omit. Humbert of Romans in his *de predicatione sancte crucis*, for example, mentioned signs in the sky and visions at Antioch. By his own account he was using the histories of Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, authors did transform and adapt material to better suit their purpose. Humbert of Romans altered Fulcher of Chartres' version of Urban's preaching of the crusade for his *de predicatione sancte crucis* to make it more suitable for use in preaching and to reflect contemporary ideas regarding the crusade. Humbert focused on demonising the Turks - referring to them as a 'degenerate people' and 'the handmaiden of demons' - and exhorting men to fight against infidels rather than fellow-Christians. He omitted Fulcher's account of Urban's plea on behalf of Eastern Christians and the vague terms of the indulgence.<sup>28</sup> For Humbert what was important was the emotive content that would inspire men to take the cross.

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<sup>23</sup> For legends of Ida and Calabre see: E. Mickel, 'The Latin Versions of Calabre and Ida', pp. 181-88; see also, E. Mickel, 'Women of Prophecy in the Initial Branches of the Old French Crusade Cycle', *Romance Philology*, vol. 52 (1999), pp. 11-21.

<sup>24</sup> '*Memoria*', *Projets de Croisade*, ed. J. Paviot (Paris, 2008), p. 239.

<sup>25</sup> See, Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross', pp. 351-60.

<sup>26</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, pp. 18-22.

<sup>27</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch. 40.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, ch 39; Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 132-8; See also, Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the Crusade', pp. 172-3.

## Purpose and Audience

Many of the texts related to the crusade in the late thirteenth century were more specific in purpose of communication; more about preaching, theology or polemic than had previously been the case.<sup>29</sup> Fidence of Padua, for instance, wrote a brief history of the Holy Land as a preface to his treatise but did not explicitly refer to the First Crusade. He was rather highlighting that the losses in the East were on account of the sins of the people.<sup>30</sup> Many of the texts considered here are not strictly histories. The weakness of the Latin States in the East and the gradual loss of territory prompted popes from Gregory X onwards to call for information on the situation in the Holy Land and request plans for its recovery. This engendered a new literary genre: Treatises on how to recover the Holy Land.<sup>31</sup> Their focus was not the recording and remembering of an event, but a means to an end. This literature was a specialised, specific communication written in answer to papal request, or addressed to a monarch. The authors were not intending to write a history of past crusades, but to plan for a future one. The treatises tended to focus on the practical aspects of the crusade, although First Crusaders were often mentioned in relation to the route taken or the structure of the leadership. Pierre Dubois suggested that three armies should go by sea, and the fourth by land ‘following the example of Charlemagne, of Emperor Frederick I, and of Godfrey of Bouillon.’<sup>32</sup> Fulk of Villaret, master of the Hospitallers, recommended that a legate should have overall captaincy of the expedition but a secular knight should work with him ‘and advise him to the best of his knowledge and ability, acting in the same way that Peter the Hermit did towards the bishop of Le Puy.’<sup>33</sup> Pierre and Fulk evidently felt that following the course of the First Crusade would result in similar success. However, the purpose of these treatises was not to delve into the details of history; they made reference to a

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<sup>29</sup> Ward, ‘From Chronicle and History to Satire, Travelogue and *Sermo*’, p. 270-72.

<sup>30</sup> Fidence de Padoue, ‘*Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*’, *Projets de Croisade*, ed. J. Paviot (Paris, 2008), pp. 54-72.

<sup>31</sup> Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land*, pp. 91-3; See also, Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*.

<sup>32</sup> Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione terre sancte*, pp. 182; translated as Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, trans. Brant, p. 156.

<sup>33</sup> Fulk de Villaret, ‘*Informatio et instructio super faciendo generali passagio pro recuperatione Terre Sancte*’, *Projets de Croisade*, ed. J. Paviot (Paris, 2008), p. 192; translated as Fulk of Villaret, ‘A memorandum of Fulk of Villaret, master of the Hospitallers, on the crusade to regain the Holy Land’, *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274-1580*, trans. N. Housley (London, 1996), p. 42. Fulk was mistaken both in his assumption of collaboration between Peter the Hermit and Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy and with regards to the extent of the legates’ influence on the First Crusade. I will discuss the way the leadership of the First Crusade was remembered further below.

successful expedition in order to illustrate their point. Nevertheless, it is evident that these authors expected their audience to be familiar with the story of the First Crusade.

As thirteenth century progressed, the mendicants emerged as the preeminent preachers of crusade.<sup>34</sup> Their interest, however, was in recruitment rather than history *per se*. At the opening of his *de predicatione sancte crucis*, Humbert of Romans explained that the work aimed to serve preachers of the cross. He indicated that his tract provided material for those who did not yet excel in preaching, to add to the repertoire of those more qualified and also for those who excelled in preaching to forge, like a skilled craftsman, a greater and nobler work from the material.<sup>35</sup> History could be useful, providing the preacher with *exempla* to be used to underline a point, to highlight great deeds to be emulated, and to inspire the audience to action. Humbert did not, however, see it as his role to engage with a lengthy narrative.<sup>36</sup> For this reason the First Crusade made a limited appearance in model sermon collections. Odo of Chateauroux, within the large number of sermons he produced, mentioned the First Crusade only once, stating that the Lord will compare those who travel across the sea to ‘those ancient nobles who left the Kingdom of Francia and conquered Antioch and Jerusalem.’<sup>37</sup> It is likely that these sermons were intended as templates to preach crusades of all kinds, not just those to the Holy Land. It was therefore not practical to place much emphasis on any one event.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, Odo’s reference to the First Crusade suggests that he believed his audience would have some knowledge of the expedition and would desire a favourable comparison with ‘those ancient nobles.’

### **Culture and Identity**

A large proportion of texts referring to the First Crusade in the late thirteenth century were written by members of the mendicant orders, as indeed were the large majority of the treatises on how to recover the Holy Land. This had a significant impact on the texts. Not only did the authors tend to be more educated than many of those writing in

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<sup>34</sup> Maier, *Preaching the Crusades, Mendicant Friars and the Cross*, pp. 20-31.

<sup>35</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch. 1.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 16.

<sup>37</sup> Eudes of Chateauroux, ‘Sermon III’, ed. and trans. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 154-5.

<sup>38</sup> Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, p. 29.

the twelfth century, but also, perhaps because of their education and almost certainly because of their vocation, they were more interested in theological treatises, sermons or exemplum, than history. Humbert of Romans, for example, studied at the University of Paris before becoming master general of the Dominican Order in 1254.<sup>39</sup> Pierre Dubois also studied at Paris and was evidently familiar with Roger Bacon's work on mathematics.<sup>40</sup> The priorities of the universities and cathedral schools, moreover, were in teaching the arts, law or theology, rather than history. As these orders replaced monks in preaching the crusades, and as the universities supplanted the monastic educational institutions the broader aims of rhetorical monastic historiography declined in centrality and influence, at least within the circles of the educated elite.<sup>41</sup> This goes some way towards explaining the lack of lengthy narratives of the First Crusade in the late thirteenth century.

Although these recovery treatises emphasised an increased 'professionalisation' of crusading the popular element remained, as did the memory of Peter the Hermit and the presence of the poor on the First Crusade.<sup>42</sup> Peter the Hermit, perhaps thanks to Jacques de Vitry's widely disseminated *Historia Orientalis*, was remembered as a prominent leader of the crusade alongside Adhémar of Le Puy and Godfrey of Bouillon.<sup>43</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, Humbert of Romans and Fulk of Villaret all explicitly referred to Peter the Hermit as a major player in the course of the crusade.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, as had been the case in the early part of the century the continued role of the mendicant orders and their emphasis on the vow of poverty encouraged the depiction and inclusion of Peter the Hermit as a major leader of the First Crusade. The

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11-12.

<sup>40</sup> Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione terre sancte*, p. 165; translated as Pierre Dubois, *Recovery of the Holy Land*, trans. Brant, p. 134.

<sup>41</sup> Ward, 'From Chronicle and History to Satire, Travelogue and *Sermo*,' pp. 268-73.

<sup>42</sup> Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>43</sup> Humbert of Romans stated that it was written in the *Historia transmarina* of Jacques de Vitry (*magistri Jacobi*), that the Lord had appeared to Peter the Hermit in a dream while he held vigil at the church of our Lord's resurrection, and charged him with the embassy to go to Pope Urban and to the Western princes, in order to bring aid to Christians in the Holy Land and crush the Saracens. *Opus tripartitum*, ed. E. Brown, *Appendix ad fasciculum rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* (London, 1690), p. 200. Including translations into French, Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis* exists in over one hundred manuscripts. See, Bird, 'The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry', pp. 56, 58, 59.

<sup>44</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum maius*, p. 1034; Humbert of Romans, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch. 10, 16; Fulk of Villaret, '*Informatio et instructio super faciendi generali passagio pro recuperatione Terre Sancte*', pp. 191, 192.

thirteenth century, moreover, had produced so many other crusades to write about and these did not follow the path or pattern of the First Crusade. Reference, at times, was made to more recent heroes, primarily Louis IX, rather than the characters of the First Crusade. Authors such as Salimbene de Adam, for example, chose to write of contemporary events rather than the distant past. Moreover, greatly influenced by the doctrines of Joachim of Fiore, Salimbene did not believe crusading could be successful.<sup>45</sup>

It is interesting to note one exception to the decline in the influence of epic and romance in thirteenth century history writing, namely the role of Charlemagne. Charlemagne seems to have been considered the archetypal crusader in late thirteenth century texts. While rarely mentioned in accounts of the First Crusade written early in the century, in the latter half of the century he reappears, often cited alongside First Crusaders. It seems that the *pseudo-Turpin* chronicle, perhaps made more accessible on account of translations produced in the early thirteenth century, was taken as fact.<sup>46</sup> In his *de predicatione sancte crucis* Humbert of Romans referred to the text written by the Archbishop Turpin of the deeds of Charlemagne.<sup>47</sup> Pierre Dubois, in his otherwise sober treatise *de recuperatione terre sancte*, evidently borrowed the legend of Charlemagne's extreme old age from the *Song of Roland*, and he wrote that Charlemagne had campaigned in foreign lands for a hundred years and more. He also explicitly linked Charlemagne with crusading, stating that an army going by land should follow the example of Charlemagne, Emperor Frederick I and Godfrey of Bouillon.<sup>48</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, having spent much of the previous book of his *Speculum historiale* on the deeds of Charlemagne, highlighted that Godfrey of Bouillon was a descendant of Charlemagne.<sup>49</sup> Humbert of Romans, in his *Opus tripartitum*, twice indirectly associated the activities of the First Crusaders with those of Charlemagne.<sup>50</sup> William of

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<sup>45</sup> E. R. Daniel, 'Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades', *Traditio*, vol. 25 (1969), pp. 142-3.

<sup>46</sup> I. Short, 'A Study in Carolingian Legend and its Persistence in Latin Historiography (XII-XVI Centuries)', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 7 (1972), pp. 129, 135.

<sup>47</sup> '...sicut plenius continetur in epistola Turpini archiepiscopi quam scripsit de gestis illis que proprijs oculis vidit, quartuor annis ambulans eum eo in Hispania.' Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch.16.

<sup>48</sup> Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione terre sancte*, pp. 182, 210-11.

<sup>49</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum maius*, pp. 962-71, 1038.

<sup>50</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Opus tripartitum*, pp. 193, 200.

Tripoli, in his tract *Notatia de Mochometo de statu Sarracenorum*, also made several mentions of the exploits of Charlemagne in Spain, although he did not directly link these to the First Crusade.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that these authors were more than happy to blur the lines between history and legend in order to create a crusader with universal appeal. Their works, written with preaching in mind, were created for a potentially wider audience than narrative histories.

The purpose of most of these texts, and the interest the authors had in preaching, may have further encouraged them to include legends of Charlemagne. Humbert of Romans evidently believed there was value in encouraging the close links between history and epic romances to highlight deeds worthy of emulation. He noted in his *de predicatione sancte crucis* that the paintings of ancient wars in the palaces of nobles, and songs on the same subjects, provided examples and might inspire similar deeds.<sup>52</sup> It is possible that the romances themselves sought not only to entertain but also to provide exemplary figures.<sup>53</sup> Humbert of Romans dedicated a fair amount of space to the deeds of Charlemagne in his *de predicatione sancte crucis*, and, considering this work was primarily a treatise on preaching the crusade, it seems that he believed his audience would not only be able to relate to, and engage with, what was being said but also be inspired to action.<sup>54</sup> In the thirteenth century, however, Charlemagne was increasingly associated with the French monarchy. Pierre Dubois, for example, wrote, ‘it would not be strange if the king of the French – saving the proper overlordship of Spain – should have the homage and loyalty of the land which his ancestor Charlemagne acquired on driving out the Saracens and which came by succession to the mother of St. Louis.’<sup>55</sup> The impressive crusading ancestry of the French kings perhaps encouraged the idea that the French were the chosen people to (re) conquer Holy Land. Pope Gregory IX, in his letter of 21 October 1239 to Louis IX, highlighted the idea of the French as the special people of God and stressed the association between France and ancient Israel; the Israelites were not simply compared to the French or portrayed as their ancestors but

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<sup>51</sup> William of Tripoli, *Tractus de Statu Saracenorum*, ed. P. Engels (Wurzburg, 1992), pp. 208, 210, 312.

<sup>52</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch. 16.

<sup>53</sup> S. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, pp. 96-7.

<sup>54</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch. 36, 37.

<sup>55</sup> Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione terre sancte*, p. 194; translated as Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, trans. Brant, p. 175.

deemed to have prefigured the contemporary nation: ‘Just as the tribe of Judah was raised up among the other sons by the patriarch for the gifts of special benediction, so the kingdom of France is distinguished by the Lord before all other peoples of the earth by the prerogative of honour and grace. For just as the aforementioned tribe, prefigurative of the previously named kingdom, put to flight the troops of the enemy from all sides, terrifying and terrorising, and everywhere subjugating under their feet the enemy around them, no differently has this same kingdom - fighting the Lord’s battles for the exaltation of the Catholic faith, and under the banner of your predecessors of illustrious memory, assaulting the enemies of the Church in the regions of the east and west for the defence of ecclesiastical liberty, at times rescuing the Holy Land from pagan hands under heavenly direction, and other times restoring the empire of Constantinople to obedience to the Roman Church - freed the Church from many dangers by the devotion of these predecessors... in the same way, just as the aforementioned tribe was never observed to have turned away, like the rest, from the Lord’s worship, but are regarded to have assaulted idolaters and other infidels in many battles, and thus in this same kingdom, which cannot by chance be torn from devotion to God and the Church, the liberty of the Church has never perished, nor, at any time, has the Christian faith abandoned the vigour that is proper to it.’<sup>56</sup> And, indeed, the French monarchy may also have promoted such a concept. In his letter to his subjects from Acre, August 1250, Louis IX wrote that the Franks in particular ought to be zealous for the crusade ‘being descended by blood from those whom the Lord chose, as His special people, to win the Holy Land, which you ought to deem your own by right of conquest...’<sup>57</sup> Louis IX’s translation of relics which had originally come from Jerusalem to France likely gave greater weight to the concept as we will see below.

The idea of a chosen people might also have been strengthened by the frequent typological comparisons made between the Israelites, the chosen people of the Old Testament, and crusaders. Such allusions were made not only in literature but also in art.

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<sup>56</sup> *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, ed. M. A. Teulet (Paris 1863-1909), vol. 2, pp. 416-17; M.C. Gaposchkin, ‘Louis IX, Crusade and the Promise of Joshua in the Holy Land’, *JMH*, vol. 34 (2008) pp. 258-60.

<sup>57</sup> *Historiae Francorum scriptores ab ipsius gentis origine*, ed. A. Du Chesne (Paris, 1649), vol. 5, p. 432; translated as ‘Louis IX to his subjects in France, August 1250’, *The Seventh Crusade, 1244-54, Sources and Documents*, trans. P. Jackson (Aldershot, 2007), p. 114, and n.186. Jackson notes that although the text reads *clerici*, it is likely an error for *Franci* since the allusion is evidently to the First Crusaders. The idea of the French monarch as the ‘most Christian king’ and the French as a chosen people, appears to have been in development during the reign of Louis IX, see J. Strayer, ‘France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King’, *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History*, ed. J. Strayer (Princeton, 1971), pp. 300-314.



The cycle of paintings from the Old Testament commissioned by Edward I for the painted chamber at Westminster, for example, focused on the history the Maccabees and the defence of the Holy Land, thus creating an allegory between the ancient battles for Jerusalem and the contemporary crusading effort.<sup>58</sup> Much of the cycle seems to have had precedents in the cycles created for Louis IX.<sup>59</sup> Although crusaders had long been compared to the Maccabees or ancient Israelites there seems to have been a particular emphasis on this theme in the latter part of the thirteenth century, particularly in the French royal court. The association between the Old Testament and contemporary events was interpreted less symbolically and more explicitly typologically; the ancient biblical kings became a prophetic model to be followed closely.<sup>60</sup> The images in Louis IX's Sainte-Chapelle placed emphasis on kingship, and through the portrayal of the succession of rulers drew parallels between Old Testament kings and monarchs of France. One of the windows of the Sainte-Chapelle depicted the biblical Joshua, crowned and barefoot, transporting the Ark of Covenant across the Jordan River. The image mirrored that of Louis, likewise crowned and barefoot, carrying crown of thorns into Paris. The Ark of the Covenant, symbolising God's presence, was thus equated with, and shown to prefigure, the passion relics and convey the idea of Paris as a new Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup> The prominence of portrayals of warfare in the Sainte-Chapelle also drew attention to the idea of holy war; the crusade was cast as a royal enterprise.<sup>62</sup> The biblical images in these windows resembled those of *bibles moralisées* - produced for the Capetian court in the early thirteenth century - and like these Bibles, aimed not simply to depict a story of sacred scripture but to make the narrative relevant to the present.<sup>63</sup> The use of typology to interpret crusading as the continuation of wars of God's chosen people to defend Holy Land was also a manner of interpretation offered in *bibles moralisées* and therefore familiar at least to Louis IX if not the wider

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<sup>58</sup> M. M. Reeve, 'The Painted Chamber at Westminster, Edward I, and the Crusade', *Viator*, vol.37 (2006), pp. 206-209.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 196-8, 202.

<sup>60</sup> Gaposchkin, 'Louis IX, Crusade and the Promise of Joshua', p. 247.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 253-5; Joshua was not a king of Israel, nor did he ever bear the Ark of the Covenant; the iconography did not aim to depict the biblical past accurately, but rather to reflect contemporary ideas and concerns.

<sup>62</sup> D. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of St Louis* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 47, 49.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*; see also, Reeve, 'The Painted Chamber at Westminster', pp. 197, 202, 205. On *bibles moralisées* see chapter 3 and Maier, 'The *bible moralisée* and the Crusades', pp. 209-22.

aristocracy.<sup>64</sup> The context of the creation of these images was the planning of a crusade: Louis IX's Sainte-Chapelle was completed just before his departure on crusade in 1248; Henry III commissioned paintings with crusading theme - though on smaller scale - for his palaces when he took the cross in 1250;<sup>65</sup> following his plans for a new crusade in the late 1280s and 1290s, Edward I had a cycle of paintings executed in a principle chamber at Westminster Palace.<sup>66</sup> The link between the ancient people of God and the crusade was also a theme in Humbert of Romans' *de predicatione sancte crucis*, in which examples from the book of Maccabees were prominent.<sup>67</sup> The crusade was remembered and portrayed as a continuation of the wars of God's ancient chosen people. Humbert's aim, and perhaps also that of the images, was to encourage men to take the cross. The focus on God's chosen people was perhaps, therefore, an attempt to emphasise - as early twelfth century texts had done albeit for the purpose of justification more than motivation - a common identity and eminent pedigree for the crusaders.

The influence of Louis IX also had an impact on the production of art and texts in the Holy Land. The activities of the French king in Acre between 1250 and 1254 helped to revive the city, and the scriptorium at Acre appears to have been strongly tied to royal and ecclesiastical patronage.<sup>68</sup> It seems that it was through the iconography of manuscripts, especially those of continuations and translations of William of Tyre's *Histoire d'Outremer*, that artists in Acre sought to depict and manipulate their history. The illuminations in these manuscripts demonstrate a striking concern for the continuity of the office of kingship. The patronage of Louis IX and the preoccupation with the succession of kings in these texts is interesting in light of the images produced for Louis's Sainte-Chapelle just before his departure on the crusade. The focus on kingship is particularly evident in three manuscripts of the *Histoire d'Outremer* produced by the Acre scriptorium. They juxtaposed the death of a king with the coronation of his successor, suggesting that the coronation of the next king immediately followed the death of his predecessor, a practice increasingly followed in contemporary England and

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<sup>64</sup> Reeve, 'The Painted Chamber at Westminster', pp. 196-7.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, p. 211.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 191, 210.

<sup>67</sup> Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the Crusade', p. 165; Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, especially ch. 12, 13, 16, 26, 27, 44, 45, 46.

<sup>68</sup> J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 21-3, 25.

France, but which had been the exception rather than the rule in the twelfth century Latin East. Kühnel has proposed that in the face of frequent military setbacks these illuminations aimed to emphasise dynastic continuity and to suggest that the Latin states could survive in perpetuity.<sup>69</sup> As with written texts in Western Europe, the needs of the present - or potential future - dictated the way that history was depicted and remembered.

The interest and potential patronage of Louis IX may have encouraged Vincent of Beauvais to include a longer account of the First Crusade within his work. Although the narrative may not have been included in the version originally copied for Louis IX in 1245-6, Vincent evidently hoped for royal patronage and perhaps wrote about what he felt would be of interest to the king.<sup>70</sup> On this subject, it is interesting to note that almost immediately preceding his account of the First Crusade Vincent of Beauvais wrote a lengthy account of the deeds of Charlemagne taken largely from the text of the *pseudo-Turpin* chronicle.<sup>71</sup> As we have seen, Charlemagne was now strongly associated with the French monarchy.

While Charlemagne was almost universally remembered as a crusader in this period, not all who actually participated in the First Crusade featured prominently in the texts. Godfrey of Bouillon, Peter the Hermit and Adhémar of Le Puy, were the most frequently and consistently referenced. Fulk of Villeret described Godfrey, Peter and Adhémar as leaders of the crusade in his treatise.<sup>72</sup> The anonymous author of the treatise *Memoria* wrote of the roles of Godfrey of Bouillon and Adhémar.<sup>73</sup> William of Tripoli named only Godfrey of Bouillon.<sup>74</sup> Humbert of Romans, in both his *Opus tripartitum* and *de predicatione sancte crucis*, also mentioned only Godfrey and Peter. Cole has

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<sup>69</sup> B. Kühnel, 'The Perception of History in Thirteenth Century Crusader Art', *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. D. Weiss and L. Mahoney (Baltimore, 2004), pp. 161-2, 173-181.

<sup>70</sup> S. Lusignan, 'The Reception of Vincent of Beauvais in the Langue d'Oïl', *Questio de Rerum Nature*, vol. 3 (1989), pp. 2-3, 5, 13. It should be noted that both the content and structure of the *Speculum maius* and the *historiale* evolved over many years, see J. Voorbij, 'The *Speculum Historiale*: Some Aspects of its Genesis and Manuscript Tradition', *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the Speculum Maius and its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars* (Groningen, 1986), p.11-38.

<sup>71</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum maius*, pp. 962-71.

<sup>72</sup> Fulk de Villaret, '*Informatio et instructio super faciendis generali passagio pro recuperatione Terre Sancte*', pp. 191-92.

<sup>73</sup> '*Memoria*', *Projets de Croisade*, ed. J. Paviot (Paris, 2008), pp. 239-40, 241.

<sup>74</sup> William of Tripoli, *Tractus de Statu Saracenorum*, pp. 250-52, 302.

suggested that Humbert portrayed these men as Christian heroes, and while he does appear to have drawn connections with Old Testament wars, the glorious age of Charlemagne and the First Crusade, it is interesting that in the part of his tract where he provided an actual narrative of the crusade - not just a reference to it - he mentioned no names at all.<sup>75</sup> In spite of the use of exempla for preaching there appears to have been little emphasis placed on the individual hero; although various First Crusaders were remembered by name, they were rarely linked to particular deeds of heroism as they had been in the twelfth century. It is possible that these authors simply expected their audience to be familiar with the story and felt there was no need to provide details; it was enough to invoke a name. Vincent of Beauvais was, once more, something of an exception here and he listed the names of all the major leaders of the crusade.<sup>76</sup> Unlike the twelfth century texts, local identity and affiliation do not seem to have played a major part in the way that First Crusaders were remembered, although they did sometimes have a lesser role. As noted above, William of Puylaurens recalled the activities of Raymond of St-Gilles on the First Crusade in his history of the Albigensian crusade,<sup>77</sup> and in England, Robert of Normandy was remembered as a pre-eminent participant on the First Crusade, although this seems to have been the case in romance more than in history.<sup>78</sup>

While a detailed study of vernacular texts is outside the remit of this thesis, we may, in passing, briefly note the following: In contrast to Latin texts, those in the vernacular seem to have preserved the names of larger number of participants. Primat, in the *Grandes Chroniques de France* for example, noted Peter the Hermit, Adhémar of Le Puy, Hugh the Great, Raymond of St-Gilles, Stephen of Blois, Robert of Flanders, Bohemond of Apulia, Tancred, as well as Godfrey of Bouillon and his brothers Baldwin and Eustace.<sup>79</sup> Interestingly however, considering the pre-eminence French kings had gained in crusading activities by the thirteenth century the chronicle does not give an extended narrative of the First Crusade. John of Howden, in his *Rossignos*, composed

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<sup>75</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de predicatione sancte crucis*, ch. 39-41; Humbertus de Romanis, *Opus tripartitum*, pp. 193, 195, 200; Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the Crusade', pp. 170-3.

<sup>76</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum maius*, p. 1034.

<sup>77</sup> Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique 1145-1275*, ed. J. Duvernoy (Paris, 1996), pp. 42-3.

<sup>78</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, pp. 198-200, 228.

<sup>79</sup> Primat, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. J. Viard (Paris, 1928), vol. 5, pp. 73, 77-8.

between 1273 and 1281, compared Edward I not only to Robert of Normandy, but also with Godfrey of Bouillon, Bohemond and Tancred, along with other heroes of both history and literature.<sup>80</sup> The treatise of the Hospitallers, *Coment la Terre sainte puet estre recouvree par les Crestiens*, mentioned Godfrey of Bouillon and Peter the Hermit, Bohemond – and his part in the siege of Antioch, and, in a rare reference to a Muslim name, also noted the role of Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul.<sup>81</sup> Names, and their association with genealogy, were perhaps more important to a lay audience, a group that can be assumed to have held chivalric ideals.<sup>82</sup> The works of art commissioned by the French and English kings also point to their awareness, as well as their celebration, of dynastic precedents.<sup>83</sup>

Other than the identification of Charlemagne with the French monarchy, (the references to Robert of Normandy, and Raymond of St-Gilles, could be attributed to regional identity rather than politics) there seems to have been little in the way of political influences – as far as the memory of the First Crusade was concerned – within late thirteenth century texts. This was a major contrast to those of the twelfth century, which seem to contain a strong political undercurrent. Perhaps this was because these texts had different purposes – they were not chronicle histories, but theological treatises and written with sermons in mind. Also, the majority of these texts were penned by Franciscan or Dominican friars, men educated in theology and therefore perhaps more likely to be susceptible to ecclesiastical rather than political influences. Furthermore, the details of the First Crusade would naturally have held less political meaning in the late thirteenth century than they had in the twelfth. Political circumstances, however, might have led authors to draw negative comparisons between contemporary people and the First Crusaders. This was particularly the case with the Italian city-states. In his *Historia Orientalis*, Jacques de Vitry complained that the men of Genoa, Pisa and Venice ‘whose fathers and predecessors acquired for themselves immortal renown and an eternal crown

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<sup>80</sup> John of Howden, *Rossignos*, ed. G. Hesketh (London, 2006), pp. 141-2, in his notes to this edition, Hesketh suggests that the list of heroes might prefigure the emergence of the idea of the Nine Worthies – which included King Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon – in a poem of c.1310, see p. 218; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, pp. 198-199.

<sup>81</sup> Fulk de Villaret *et alii*, ‘*Coment la Terre sainte puet estre recouvree par les Crestiens*,’, pp. 224-5.

<sup>82</sup> For the use and importance of genealogies see, G. Croenen, ‘Princely and Noble Genealogies, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries: Form and Function’, *The Medieval Chronicle*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 89-91.

<sup>83</sup> Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 25, 47; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, pp. 198-200.

from their glorious triumphs over the enemies of Christ, would prove to be greatly terrifying for the Saracens, if they ceased from their envy and insatiable avarice, and didn't have constant fights and quarrels one with another. Since, however, they more often and more willingly do battle against one another [rather] than against the treacherous people of the infidels, and are more involved with business and merchandise than warfare for Christ, they, whose warlike and vigorous fathers they [the Saracens] once greatly dreaded, render our enemies joyful and secure.<sup>84</sup> As more ground was lost in the Holy Land and crusading expeditions failed, part of the blame was laid at the door of the Italian communes. They were accused of being more interested in profit than crusade and being too tolerant of the Saracens. The frequent wars between the Italian states, such as the war of Saint Sabas between Venetians and Genoese in Acre in the mid-thirteenth century, further damaged their reputations. The emphasis on economic warfare raised by the Council of Lyons in 1274 exacerbated matters further for the standing of the city-states. The proposed naval blockade of Egypt meant that their trading activities - which had appeared reasonable in the twelfth century - were no longer acceptable.<sup>85</sup> Criticism against the Italian states was expressed in various recovery treatises; Fidence of Padua, for example, inveighed against the mutual discord and many wars of the Venetians, Genoese and Pisans, while Fulk of Villaret, master of the Hospitallers, decried those wicked Christians who were only after profit and traded with the Saracens.<sup>86</sup> There appears to have been little in the way of a corrective of this view until the fourteenth century when Marino Torsello Sanudo's history of the Latin East - which he based upon Jacques de Vitry's work - left out Jacques' criticism of the Italian communes and instead praised their contribution to the Crusader States.<sup>87</sup> Some concern with reputation, however, was suggested by the Genoese annalist Jacopo Doria, (writing between 1279 and 1293), in his search for ancient and classical references to Genoa and the foundation of the city, in order to re-establish her identity. Jacopo also inserted Caffaro's *De liberatione civitatem Oreintis* into the annals. However, he was not content to have Genoa's history commence with

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<sup>84</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, pp. 294-5.

<sup>85</sup> S. Schein, 'From *milites Christi* to *mali Christiani*. The Italian Communes in Western Historical Literature', *Comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 684-6.

<sup>86</sup> Fidence de Padoue, '*Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*', pp. 68-9; Fulk de Villaret, '*Informatio et instructio super faciundo generali passagio pro recuperatione Terre Sancte*', p. 192.

<sup>87</sup> Schein, 'From *milites Christi* to *mali Christiani*', p. 688.

the First Crusade and the establishment of the commune; he wanted to set Genoa's history in ancient times.<sup>88</sup> The political and economic situation of the Italian communes in the late thirteenth century did not alter the perception of the First Crusaders, but led to the image of these crusading heroes being used to level criticism at contemporary actions.

### **Silences**

There were few extant Latin narrative histories of the First Crusade produced in the late thirteenth century. Humbert of Romans, in his *Opus tripartitum*, noted that there was a feeling that much damage had been done to the Church through the death of King Louis in 1270.<sup>89</sup> Although Humbert of Romans, like his contemporaries, Guibert of Tournai and William of Tripoli, gathered criticisms of crusading in order to refute them, a practice that might make them seem more prominent than they really were, it seems that such negative sentiments did exist.<sup>90</sup> Disillusionment after the failures of the crusades of Louis IX might have discouraged the production of texts glorifying the crusade. This is not to say that crusading ardour was dead – as the numerous (and hopeful) treatises on how to recover the Holy Land demonstrate, however, as Humbert of Romans suggested through his comment on the detrimental effect of Louis IX's death, there was some disappointment with continual defeats and lack of any territorial gains.

The loss of the last Christian footholds in the Holy Land in 1291 prompted further treatises on its recovery, but not, it seems further narratives of the First Crusade outside of this genre. These treatises appear to have been prepared for a narrow audience; the works were often sent to the pope or selected monarchs, and many, such as the tracts of Fidence of Padua, Pierre Dubois and Fulk of Villaret, survive only in single manuscripts.<sup>91</sup> It seems, as the continued production of recovery treatises implies, that the loss of Holy Land was not considered final, and there was every expectation that it could be regained. Schein has suggested that the fall of Acre and the subsequent fall of the remaining Christian possessions in the East did not significantly alter the idea

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<sup>88</sup> Dotson, 'The Genoese Civil Annals', pp. 69-70, 79 n. 77.

<sup>89</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *Opus tripartitum*, p. 192.

<sup>90</sup> Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land*, pp. 35-6.

<sup>91</sup> Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, pp. 45, 47.

of the crusade.<sup>92</sup> It was perhaps for this reason that no new narrative histories of the First Crusade were produced at this time; there was no need to revise an episode now as deeply entrenched in legend as it was in history.

The contemporary decline in narratives of the First Crusade might also have been connected to the emphasis placed on preaching and conversion by the mendicant friars. Pope Nicholas IV (1288-92), the first Franciscan to be elevated to the papacy, devoted much effort to missionary work.<sup>93</sup> Although Kedar has argued that there was some disappointment with the results of missionary activity by the end of the thirteenth century, a school of thought still favoured peaceful conversion over crusade.<sup>94</sup> The ideas of conversion and crusade were not necessarily mutually exclusive; Humbert of Romans, for example, saw no contradiction in sending friars on missions to the Near East and North East Europe, and his support for the crusade.<sup>95</sup> While never a primary goal of crusading, attempts at conversion nevertheless did occur. Its omission from the texts in relation to the First Crusade is particularly interesting at a time when some critics, Roger Bacon, William of Tripoli to name a few, claimed conversion (and not crusade) was the way forwards. John Pecham (archbishop of Canterbury, 1279-92), for example, seems to have come under the influence of, if he was not directly taught by, Roger Bacon while he was at the university of Paris in the 1240's. In response to Pope Nicholas' call for advice after the fall of Acre, John suggested sending Arabic speaking missionaries before any crusade was launched.<sup>96</sup> However, he was evidently not opposed to the crusade and had written a poem, *Exhortatio Christianorum contra gentem Mahometi*, urging men to take the cross with Louis IX in 1270.<sup>97</sup>

The loss of the Holy Land seems to have stirred up (dormant) apocalyptic beliefs. Authors were not explicit regarding apocalyptic ideas in the Latin texts with

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<sup>92</sup> Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land*, p. 73.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, p. 87.

<sup>94</sup> Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 154-157.

<sup>95</sup> E. Siberry, 'Missionaries and Crusaders, 1095-1274: Opponents or Allies?' *Studies in Church History*, vol. 20 (1983), pp. 106-7.

<sup>96</sup> *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), vol. 2, pp. 1009-10. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 182-3.

<sup>97</sup> W. Jordan, 'John Pecham on the Crusade', *Crusades*, vol. 9 (2010), pp. 159-71.



respect to the First Crusade, even while they were present (albeit in different form) in contemporary events or texts. Although Vincent of Beauvais, Humbert of Romans and the anonymous *Memoria* all referred to visions on First Crusade, these were not placed specifically in an apocalyptic or prophetic setting. Nevertheless, it is possible that current apocalyptic concepts encouraged these authors to include accounts of visions on the First Crusade, a topic that most writers preferred to avoid. Moreover, both Vincent of Beauvais and Humbert of Romans borrowed the phrase that as the crusaders sacked Jerusalem, the blood of the slain in the Temple of Solomon reached to the knees of the horses, a phrase which, as they must have been aware, was taken from the Book of Revelation.<sup>98</sup> The city of Tripoli also became the locus for the popular ‘Vision of Tripoli’, which was associated, in at least one manuscript of the anonymous *De excidio urbis Acconis*, with the ‘Prophecy of Merlin’. Both these prophecies pointed to the eventual conversion of Saracens.<sup>99</sup> William of Tripoli, writing before the fall of the Latin states in the East, evidently believed in a prophecy proclaiming the imminent demise of Islam.<sup>100</sup> Fidence of Padua, on the other hand, referred to the ‘book of Clemens’, a prophetic work previously used and described by Oliver of Paderborn on the Fifth Crusade, to assert that a crusade was destined for success.<sup>101</sup> It seems these authors were employing prophecies to support their own views and to explain the current situation, rather than linking them with events of the more distant past.<sup>102</sup>

## Conclusion

The end of the thirteenth century saw a decline in the production of narrative histories of the First Crusade. There was a shift in purpose and change in approach to the writing of history at this time. Authors of history began to see themselves as compilers, gathering older material together to form a new text that reflected the truth of the past. This initiative also led authors to acknowledge their sources and at times to follow them

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<sup>98</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum maius*, p. 1037; Humbertus de Romanis, *Opus tripartitum*, p. 193; Rev 14:20.

<sup>99</sup> Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land*, pp. 117-20. It seems that the prophecies of Merlin were fairly well known, not only in England, but at least in Italy as well: L. Lahdensuu, ‘Predicting History: Merlin’s Prophecies in Italian XIIth – XVth Century Chronicles’, *The Medieval Chronicle III*, ed. E. Kooper (New York, 2004), pp. 93-100.

<sup>100</sup> William of Tripoli, *Tractus de Statu Saracenorum*, pp. 330-336.

<sup>101</sup> Fidence de Padoue, ‘*Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*’, pp. 92-3; Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. H. Hoogeweg, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, Spättern Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina* (Tübingen, 1894), pp. 258-59.

<sup>102</sup> Lahdensuu, ‘Predicting History: Merlin’s Prophecies in Italian XIIth – XVth Century Chronicles’, pp. 95-6.

more closely; consequently elements often previously excised from the narrative - such as the role of women - were once more included. However, most of the texts containing references to the First Crusade were more concerned with preaching or the organisation of a new expedition than with narrative history. The new texts had a more specific purpose, to recover the Holy Land and to inspire men to join expeditions in order to achieve this goal. Nevertheless, the scattered references to the first expedition, both in preaching and recovery tracts, suggest authors expected their audience to have some familiarity with its history. During the latter half of the thirteenth century greater significance was placed on the typological interpretation of the biblical past; the wars of the Old Testament were believed to prefigure the crusades, and the kings of Israel foreshadowed contemporary monarchs. This concept was particularly evident in France during the reign of Louis IX and the portrayal of the French as the chosen people in the Sainte-Chapelle. These depictions went further than emphasising parallels or drawing comparisons, but interpreted the past as presaging the present and indicating the future. The First Crusade was still remembered as a uniquely successful expedition and continued to be considered a supreme example. This was, however, more in the sense of a collective endeavour rather than on account of the heroic deeds of individuals. Nor did the political circumstances of Western Europe appear to intrude into the texts to the extent that they had done during the previous century. The treatise of Fulk of Villaret demonstrates how far removed the memory of the First Crusade had become by the beginning of the fourteenth century. Fulk's tract depicted the First Crusade as a well-organised expedition, united under the dual leadership of Adhémar of Le Puy and Peter the Hermit, with Godfrey of Bouillon in command of military matters. It was no longer the easily fragmented coalition, succeeding only by the grace of God, represented in the earlier histories.<sup>103</sup> The First Crusade was portrayed and remembered in a manner that served the needs of the present.

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<sup>103</sup> Fulk de Villaret, *‘Informatio et instructio super faciendo generali passagio pro recuperatione Terre Sancte’*, pp. 191-2; in contrast, see for example, *Gesta Francorum*, p.12; Raymond d’Aguilers, *‘Liber’*, pp. 83-4, 88, 93-4, 98-9, 100, 124; *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren*, p. 173; Roberti Monachi, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 843-4, 849-50.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought to analyse and discuss the changing memory of an extraordinary event over two centuries. The significance of this study lies in extending the understanding of the processes of writing history in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, why and when these changed, and how authors built on the work(s) of others and used the sources available to them to write about the past. Although it is well known that medieval authors borrowed extensively from earlier texts, they were often more creative and less ad-hoc than might first appear. Their inventiveness is evident in the form of the text, whether in the use of the prosimetric, in the production of ‘stand-alone’ narratives or in the arrangement and organisation of treatises. It could also be reflected in the content of the work in, for example, the utilisation of literary devices to illustrate a particular point, or the creation of a unified identity for the crusader host.

The First Crusade and the early literature regarding the event cast a long shadow. Authors writing accounts of later expeditions often referred back to the First Crusade; the way in which it was remembered was therefore important for the course of subsequent crusades and could influence the way they were executed and how they were perceived. This was specially so regarding the Second Crusade, for which the bull of Eugenius III referenced the earlier expedition and emphasised the emulation of ancestors. Chronicles of the First Crusade may also have influenced the participation of Louis VII and the views of Odo of Deuil.<sup>1</sup> The participants of the Third Crusade, however, were unfavourably compared to First Crusaders in the chronicle of Ambroise and the *Iterinarum peregrinorum*.<sup>2</sup> By the late thirteenth century, treatises on recovering the Holy Land presented the First Crusade as a perfect example of such an enterprise, worthy of imitation.<sup>3</sup> The way the First Crusade was remembered is therefore significant in the impact it had upon later expeditions.

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<sup>1</sup> See, Rubenstein, ‘Putting History to Use’, pp. 150-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, vol. 1, p. 396; Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. and trans. M. Ailes and M. Barber, vol. 1, p. 172, vol. 2, p. 174

<sup>3</sup> Fulk de Villaret, ‘*Informatio et instructio super faciendo generali passagio pro recuperatione Terre Sancte*’, pp. 191-92; Fulk de Villaret *et alii*, ‘*Coment la Terre sainte puet estre recouree par les Crestiens*’, pp. 224-5; Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione terre sancte*, pp. 182; ‘*Memoria*’, *Projets de Croisade*, ed. J. Paviot (Paris, 2008), pp. 239-40, 241.

The effect of the histories of the First Crusade was not limited to influence upon later campaigns. It also had considerable reverberations in the literature of the period. The crusade not only generated and left an impression on subsequent historical works but also transformed their content to reflect crusade ideology. The mid-twelfth century *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum* and the *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, for example, both gave particular tenth or eleventh century conflicts the characteristics of a crusade.<sup>4</sup> Hagiographical works and even pilgrim accounts could also be shaped by crusade ideology, and the crusade may have inspired epic literature, such as the *Queste del Saint Graal*.<sup>5</sup> The memory of the First Crusade thus played an important part and held a notable place in the culture of Western Europe.

Scholarship regarding the crusade has primarily focused on events and ideology, while work on memory has concentrated mainly on preservation and continuation.<sup>6</sup> This thesis has aimed to review, not so much how the memory of the crusade was preserved within texts, but how and why it changed or evolved. It has explored the ideas and influences inherent in the sources and how this affected the text produced, in order to provide a perspective on how medieval authors perceived the past and how their assessment of the importance, purpose or value of history directed what they wrote.

This thesis has also considered and compared later accounts of the First Crusade - often ignored - and demonstrated the value of these, not only in analysing the changing perceptions of the crusade and crusade ideology, but also in highlighting how and why history was written and used in the medieval period. Furthermore, while there have been some recent - individual - studies charting the evolution of certain themes or motifs in crusade texts by, for example, Purkis and Rubenstein on crusade spirituality or Throop on vengeance,<sup>7</sup> this study has attempted to pull some of these strands together and show how these ideas developed, not as separate units, but as part of the literary and

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<sup>4</sup> Wright, 'Epic and Romance', pp. 183-4; Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia Campaign', pp. 17-18, 21-2, 24, 25.

<sup>5</sup> See for example, Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors*, pp. 21-5, 250, 274-282; *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 123-25, 154, 156; Pratt, 'The Cistercians and the *Queste del Saint Graal*', pp. 69-96; Barber, 'Chivalry, Cistercianism and the Grail', pp. 3-12;.

<sup>6</sup> See introduction.

<sup>7</sup> Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*; Rubenstein, 'Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Gilles', pp. 59-75; Throop, 'Vengeance and the Crusades', pp. 21-38.

intellectual culture in which the authors were working, and how they might have reflected the social or political arena in which the authors lived.

The approach taken here has been to assess sources in a slightly different way, not just looking for information within the text but considering the text as a whole, analysing the situation and background of the author, even taking into consideration the book as a physical object and the meaning and value this had at the time. This has meant looking not only at statements made in the narrative, but also the form, the nuances of the content, and even the silences of the text. Historical works have been examined as literary constructs and the texts compared with other contemporary pieces, as well as with those that came before, in order to explore the relationship between texts in greater detail, which has allowed some insight into the ways and reasons why later authors modified earlier form and content.

This approach, regarding historical writing as literature, to some extent alters the value placed on the sources used. In this study the accuracy and reliability of the sources are not necessarily the most important points. Rather than analyse how and why an event happened, the focus is on the way a text was created, with consideration given to factors that affected the authors' perceptions and portrayals and how a contemporary audience might have received such works. This has opened the way for a reconsideration of sources that have previously been dismissed as simply derivative, and provided some ideas as to why such works were written. The changes - even small ones - that subsequent writers made to the text upon which they had based their own narrative were often deliberate, and indicate the changing priorities in the mind and world of the author.

This thesis has taken an examination of First Crusade narratives up to *c.* 1300. The First Crusade was not forgotten after this date, but far fewer Latin narrative histories of the expedition were produced; this study has focused on the memory of the First Crusade during the height of the age of crusading until just after the loss of the Crusader States in the Latin East. The structure of this thesis could have been a thematic one, or one divided along regional lines; certainly national and geographic divisions played a significant part in how the First Crusade was remembered. However, a

chronological structure was chosen to demonstrate the extent of variation between the texts, both within close contemporary narratives and among histories across the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and to propose reasons for these differences based on the time in which the author was living. This format has allowed greater emphasis on the development of the history and memory of the crusade over time, highlighting the changing presentation and perception of the crusade at different periods.

The subheadings used within this study - and the discussion of certain literary devices or artistic constructions - were chosen primarily to highlight and to correspond to the main themes: evolving literary traditions, revised theological concepts, the intentions of the authors and reaction of the recipients, and their culture and expressions of identity. These issues appeared to be the major factors governing change in the narratives. The themes and subheadings, therefore, also serve to illustrate the chronological progression of historical writing with regard to the crusade. They further underline the changing methods of historical writing, from the stand-alone narratives of the early twelfth century and larger chronicles of the late twelfth century to the alphabetically or dogmatically ordered texts and treatises of the thirteenth century. This structure also shows the persistence or disappearance of various themes and concepts in the narratives of the First Crusade.

The emphasis on French and Anglo-Norman texts throughout this thesis perhaps represents a weakness of this study, but reflects the preponderance, in terms of numbers as well as the influence in current historiography, of these texts. However, there is certainly room for further research and greater comparison with texts originating outside this area. Likewise, the attention in this thesis has focused on histories written in Latin, to the exclusion of vernacular works. While this served to limit the source material, both in terms of language and genre, an analysis and comparison of vernacular works on the First Crusade may have advanced the argument and is a topic which could reward further investigation. Even so, this examination has begun to highlight the influences on, and the changes in historical writing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The present thesis may also have benefitted from a greater use and analysis of manuscripts, particularly with regard to provenance and dating. As it is, only the total

number of manuscripts, where they have been mentioned in critical editions or secondary literature, but without reference to individual dates or places of composition, have been noted in the appendix. An investigation of when and where texts were being copied might, for example, have made it possible to chart interest in particular narratives and to ascertain the importance of copies of older texts, as well as the impact of the production of new ones. Nevertheless, the number of manuscripts provides at least some indication of the enduring popularity of the works and suggests how influential they might have been.

Only very limited linguistic analysis has been carried out in this study, primarily out of a desire to focus on broader themes influencing the authors and the creation of texts, rather than delving into minutiae of language. However, like the work on manuscripts mentioned above, there is scope here for further research. Bull's analysis of terms used to determine identities on the crusade,<sup>8</sup> for instance, could be extended into the thirteenth century in order to ascertain, not only how identity was viewed within the content of the narrative, but also how it was later articulated and what the author might have aimed to achieve through the use of these expressions. An examination of linguistic terms could be applied to a number of expressions or episodes within the narrative and could further highlight the more subtle differences in the way the crusade was remembered and portrayed.

As previously noted, there are several aspects of this study that have the potential to be extended. Apart from systematic linguistic analysis, closer examinations could be made of particular episodes of the crusade, examining both language and content, not only in medieval accounts but also in more recent historiography. Kedar, for example, has recently reviewed accounts of the Jerusalem Massacre utilising the longitudinal approach.<sup>9</sup> The study could therefore be extended chronologically as well as thematically.

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<sup>8</sup> Bull, 'Overlapping and Competing Identities', pp. 195-211.

<sup>9</sup> B. Z. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades', *Crusades*, vol. 3 (2004), pp. 15-75.

An analysis of continued memory and evolving historiography could also be applied to and compared with other episodes or events in medieval history; it would be interesting to see if similar conclusions might be drawn. Gabriele has recently written on the development of the legend of Charlemagne before the crusade, although he touches on the impact this memory might have had on the crusade and ideology of the participants.<sup>10</sup> While the history of Charlemagne is almost inextricably intertwined with legend, potential parallels can still be drawn with the historiography of the crusade. Charlemagne was not immediately the great hero of later legend; there was, as was later the case with the First Crusade, some initial criticism of his reign.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Gabriele has pointed out that in re-writing the history of Charlemagne, successive authors were ‘no slavish imitator[s]’.<sup>12</sup> Like subsequent authors of First Crusade narratives they adapted history or legend to serve political ends. The Ottonian rulers in the tenth century, for example, presented an almost entirely favourable image of Charlemagne, and to legitimise their dynasty drew a direct line from the empire of Rome through Charlemagne to their own rule.<sup>13</sup> On a smaller scale, we have seen, for instance, how Brian Fitzcount of Wallingford tailored the history of the First Crusade to justify his support for the Empress Matilda in the 1140s.<sup>14</sup> Histories of Charlemagne and of the crusade were likewise used in the establishment of identity, with authors at times claiming particular heroes - whether Charlemagne or the leaders of the crusade - as specifically their own.<sup>15</sup> Accounts of the famous emperor were also later linked with apocalyptic ideas. While this was the case for the First Crusade perhaps only very early in the twelfth century, such ideas remained associated with crusading in general, even if often rather muted.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, in time Charlemagne and First Crusade also came to be seen as superlative exemplars to be imitated. The evolving memory of the crusade could, therefore, bear comparison with the manner in which other episodes in medieval

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<sup>10</sup> M. Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks and Jerusalem Before the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 153-9.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p. 36, see also, pp. 30-40, 69.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>14</sup> Davis, ‘Henry of Blois and Brian Fitz-Count’, pp. 297-303.

<sup>15</sup> Gabriele, *Empire of Memory*, pp. 112, 139; See also, for example, *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 124-6; *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 1352.

<sup>16</sup> Gabriele, *Empire of Memory*, pp. 107-8, 110-11, 113, 15.



history were remembered and recorded. A further and more closely contemporary comparison might be made with the Norman Conquest of England in 1066. Such comparisons would allow the conclusions drawn here to be tested against, and possibly also extended, to medieval historiography in general.

The way the First Crusade was remembered changed considerably over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The social context in which these texts were written affected authors' viewpoints and helped to determine how they constructed their narratives. The primary influences governing the outlook of chroniclers and guiding their expressions were the religious, political and intellectual issues current at the time of writing. These factors appear to have carried different weight at different times, with one or the other having greater influence upon the authors according to circumstance. The main themes that have emerged from this study also mirror the primary influences upon the authors: theological ideas, literary traditions, purpose and audience, and the culture and identity of writers and the intended recipients of their works. These were the key points to have impact upon the form and content of the narratives and to dictate the issues chroniclers believed should be remembered.

Even within the first decades of the conclusion of the First Crusade, there was substantial variation and modification in the way it was remembered and portrayed. Benedictine monks had soon considerably refined the concepts of crusading in theological terms, and they imbued the expedition with a monastic character absent from the early eyewitness accounts. These authors reflected the ideas of the Reform Movement, which had begun in the mid-eleventh century. They therefore highlighted the role of the pope in calling the expedition. Baudri of Bourgeuil, Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent also underlined the ideas of *imitatio Christi* and *vita apostolica* in the context of the crusade, concepts which, up until the end of the eleventh century, had primarily been applied to monks.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, authors living within and sympathetic towards the cause of the Empire, drew less attention to the activities of the papacy and did not hold up the crusade as a singular work of God.<sup>18</sup> Subsequent authors also reduced the emphasis on monasticism as the role of lay leaders within the

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<sup>17</sup> Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 20-22.

<sup>18</sup> Morris, 'The Aims and Spirituality of the Crusade', pp. 105, 107, 109-110.

narratives increased in prominence. Theological ideas nevertheless had a significant impact upon crusade narratives produced at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The first decades of the twelfth century witnessed remarkable innovation in the production of early narratives of the crusade, reflecting the creativity of the so-called Twelfth Century Renaissance.<sup>19</sup> There was also, however, significant influence from classical literary traditions. The emphasis chroniclers placed on following precedent, and the effort to model their writing on the works of antiquity, aimed to give authority to their histories; such literary conventions may have been reinforced by the influence of the schools, which provided access to classical texts.<sup>20</sup> Literary traditions played an important part in shaping expressions used to portray the First Crusade, which continued throughout the twelfth century.

The creation of an identity for the crusade host also featured prominently in First Crusade narratives written at the beginning of the twelfth century in order to provide legitimisation and justification for the crusade. This was a theme which became prominent in the narratives once again at the end of period, by now aiming to provide motivation for men to take the cross. In these texts, Charlemagne was portrayed as the archetypal crusader, and crusaders were remembered and depicted as the chosen people of God after the ancient Israelites or Maccabees in both literature and art.

By the mid-twelfth century the majority of First Crusade narratives written at this time borrowed extensively from earlier works. The derivative nature of later texts does not necessarily reduce their value as sources; as we have seen, the authors of later works rarely simply copied their sources but significantly modified the narrative. Furthermore, the care with which the authors constructed their text, often using more than one source and adjusting and adapting the narrative, indicates that these writers felt the history required revision. The influence of Cistercian ideas in the mid-twelfth century, and the impact of the preaching of the Second Crusade, for example, may have prompted a change of emphasis in the narratives, encouraging the emulation of

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<sup>19</sup> Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life', pp. 38-9, 40, 62-3.

<sup>20</sup> On medieval authors imitation of classical works see Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing 1', pp. 177-195; Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 78, 80; See also Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History', pp. 140-1.

ancestors and giving greater prominence to individuals and to acts of heroism rather than focusing on the crusade host as a whole.<sup>21</sup>

During the mid-twelfth century in particular, contemporary politics and the authors' geographical location had a great impact on the texts. Emphasis was generally placed on the participation of those closest to the authors' own region in order to create and to highlight 'local' crusade heroes, which indicates a primarily local - and perhaps also a lay - audience.<sup>22</sup> To a certain extent, this dictated who was remembered and how. The focus on leaders can also be linked to the rise of chivalric ideas and romance literature.<sup>23</sup> The current political situation could also play a part in determining the content of narratives. The text could be significantly altered in light of political circumstances.

Political influence, however, occurred less frequently in the thirteenth century. The identity and education of authors - now primarily university-trained members of the mendicant orders - appears to have made them less susceptible to the current political situation as they geared their work towards preaching. Latin texts became less concerned with political circumstances, but instead focused increasingly on the needs of those with missionary zeal, and were written primarily for the clergy as an aid to preaching.<sup>24</sup>

Pope Innocent III's vision of crusading in the early thirteenth century also significantly modified theological ideas regarding the crusade. Especially evident in the texts became the pope's initiative to include all of society in the crusade movement. The majority of mid-to-late twelfth century texts had tended to play down the participation of non-combatants. In the thirteenth century however, the mendicants orders' espousal of the ideal of apostolic poverty and their emphasis on preaching may have further encouraged mention of non-combatants, as well as heightening Peter the Hermit's

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<sup>21</sup> On Cistercian ideology see, Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order*, pp. 36-7.

<sup>22</sup> See for example, Lamberti Ardensis, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, pp. 626-627; Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatem Orientis*, pp. 110, 111; Paul, 'Crusade, Memory and Regional Politics', pp. 128-31, 136, 138-9.

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>24</sup> Bird, 'The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry', pp. 58-9, 61-2; Nitert, 'Matière de France and the World Chronicle of Aubri de Trois-Fontaines', pp. 411-13.

prominence in the narratives. The influence of the ideals of the mendicant orders continued throughout thirteenth century.

The purpose and intended audience of historical narratives underwent considerable change from the twelfth to the thirteenth century. The expanding horizons of the thirteenth century world - with missions to the Mongols and the circulation of legends of the mystical Prester John - inspired authors to write more broadly about the Holy Land in general rather than focus solely on the history of the crusade. By the end of the period under discussion most of the texts referring to the First Crusade - particularly recovery of the Holy Land treatises - were also more specific in their purpose. These texts, initially intended for the papacy, could also be addressed to kings or lay elites. They did not, however, provide a complete narrative of the enterprise; they were not producing a work of history, but aiming to put history to practical use.

Perhaps one of the most significant impacts on literature in the thirteenth century was the increasing use of the vernacular for works in prose. Vernacular prose historiography tended to focus on contemporary events and may have encouraged authors of Latin texts to do the same.<sup>25</sup> Authors began to consider more recent episodes in history as exemplars rather than looking to the distant past. The First Crusade in general was less frequently noted in the thirteenth century than it had been in the twelfth. Vernacular texts may also have prompted a decline in the emphasis on the individual hero in Latin narratives; heroic anecdotes were now left for vernacular works and epic literature. The latter half of the thirteenth century also saw a shift in the way history was written; compilation and analysis of sources became more common and may have led authors to recount aspects of the story which had long been forgotten.<sup>26</sup>

Almost as interesting as what the chroniclers chose to remember is what they chose to 'forget' or exclude; the silences of the narrative. Apocalyptic ideas, for instance, were quickly passed over as they demonstrated the tensions existing within the crusade armies when authors wished instead to stress unity. Moreover, not all the ideas

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<sup>25</sup> Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 214-16.

<sup>26</sup> For example, *Memoria, Projets de Croisade*, p. 239; Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractus de praedicatione sancte crucis*, ch. 40.

expressed in the apocalyptic visions fitted entirely with tenets of the Church. Women were also often removed from the story from the mid-twelfth century onwards - even though it seems they played a significant part in remembrance of the past and preservation of family traditions - in order to portray the expedition as a knightly enterprise. For similar reasons narratives were also often silent regarding the poor and non-combatants. The silences of the narratives can be as instructive as the focus of the work in reflecting the preoccupations of - and the influences upon - the author.

Changes in narratives of the First Crusade demonstrate the ways in which history was used during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and how medieval authors understood and related to their past. Although the majority of authors, even if they were eyewitnesses, borrowed from earlier accounts to construct their narratives, they rarely copied the base text *verbatim*. History was not written or studied for its own sake, but it had an active function - and was adapted accordingly - for the benefit of contemporary society. The texts did intend to convey truth, but it was subject to current circumstances. Chroniclers were not necessarily interested in writing exactly what had actually occurred, but in representing what they believed should be remembered. Events were recorded, not because they happened, but because they were morally edifying and instructive.

Remembering and recording (a version of) the past was perceived to be important. There was considerable discontinuity between the way the First Crusade was portrayed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; changing circumstances dictated a new narrative should be remembered. The history of First Crusade continued to be written - or re-written - as it continued to be considered relevant. A large number of crusades to East were called and planned throughout this period. As the only successful expedition, the First Crusade provided an ultimate model or exemplar, even if the text needed some modification to fall in line with current theological thinking regarding crusading. Moreover, the ongoing prestige of the expedition meant that it could be used effectively in political propaganda.

Ultimately, it was the aspects which contemporaries considered *worthy* of memory and relevant to their own time that were written and remembered. The First

Crusade continued to have resonance - in social, in religious and in political spheres - throughout the medieval period. Describing the fall of Jerusalem to the crusaders in 1099, Fulcher of Chartres expressed his view that, 'this same work which the Lord chose to accomplish through his people, His dearly beloved children and family, chosen, I believe, for this task, shall resound and continue memorable (*memoriale*) in the tongues of all nations until the end of time.'<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 306; translated as Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, trans. Ryan, p. 123.

Appendix 1  
Narratives of the First Crusade

Author	Title	Origin	Date Written (finished)	No. of MSS	Based on	Used By	Notes
Various	<i>Letters of the Crusade Leaders to the West</i>	W. Europe/ Latin East	1097-1099		eyewitness accounts	Anon of Fleury; SGembloux; EA	
Anon	<i>Gesta Francorum et Hierosolimitanorum</i>	S. Italian Norman	1098-1100	7	eyewitness account	PT; RA; FCh; RM; BB; GN; WM	Ms D ( <i>Vatican Regimensis lat. 641</i> ) showed a desire to exalt Robert of Normandy, and 3 copies, all of English origin, demonstrated a similar emphasis on Duke Robert.
Raymond of Aguilers (with Pons of Balazun)	<i>Historia Francorum qui Ceperunt Iherusalem</i>	Toulouse	1102?	7	eyewitness account; may have had official documents; <i>GF</i>	FCh; <i>Historia Belli Sacri</i> ; WT; Stained glass windows at St Denis?	Mss of RA are usually found together with those of FCh and Walter the Chancellor.
Fulcher of Chartres	<i>Historia Hierosolymitana</i>	N. France/ Latin East	1101-1127	15	eyewitness account; <i>GF</i>	WM; BNangis; <i>Historia Nicaena et Antiochena</i> ; WT; OP; HRomans	
Robert the Monk	<i>Historia Iherosolimitana</i>	N. France	1106-7	100 (37 C12th)	<i>GF</i>	GPairs (possibly); <i>Historia Nicaena et Antiochena</i>	Only other source for the First Crusade to have been translated into the vernacular in the Middle Ages other than WT/JV. Seems to have been especially popular in Germany.
Baudry of Bourgeuil	<i>Historia Ierosolimitana</i>	N. France	1108	21	<i>GF</i>	OV; HH; <i>Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum</i> ; GVigeois; VB	BB also wrote poetry, some of which was addressed to Adela of Blois, wife of the crusader, Stephen.
Guibert of Nogent	<i>Gesta Dei Per Francos</i>	N. France	1108	8	<i>GF</i>	<i>Historia Belli Sacri</i> ?	GN also mentions FCh and may have had access to the letters of Anselm of Ribemont, but does not seem to have used them to construct his narrative.
Bartolf of Nangis	<i>Gesta Francorum Expugnantium Iherusalem</i>	N. France	1109	4	FCh	Lambert of St Omer	

Author	Title	Origin	Date Written (finished)	No. of MSS	Based on	Used By	Notes
Anon of Fleury	<i>Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsesso Dyrrachio</i>	N. France	1110	1	Letters	Hugh of Fleury	
Peter Tudebode	<i>Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere</i>	Angevin	1111 (written by ~)	10	eyewitness account; <i>GF</i>	<i>Historia Belli Sacri</i>	
Sigebert of Gembloux (Benedictine)	<i>Chronica</i>	Liège (within Empire)	1111		Letters	AT-F; VB; Primat?	Part of universal chronicle. His allegiance was to the Empire in Investiture Controversy.
Hugh of Fleury (Benedictine)	<i>Itineris Hierosolymitani compendium</i>	N. France	1114	2 (1 incomplete)	<i>GF</i> ; anon of Fleury		Part of a larger work by Hugh: <i>Modernum regum Francorum actus</i> (dedicated to the Empress Matilda). HF was lettered and well known. Acquainted with Adela of Blois (wife of First Crusader Stephen) - to whom he dedicated the 1st redaction of his <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> - and Henry I of England (Matilda's father) to whom he sent his <i>De regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate</i> .
Ekkehard of Aura (Benedictine)	<i>Hierosolymita</i>	German (Würzburg)	1114-17 (final redaction)	6	Letter of Daimbert of Pisa	OF?	First redaction of Universal chronicle written in 1102. <i>Hierosolymita</i> adapted from the chronicle and later developed into a separate text. His allegiance was to the Papacy in the Investiture Controversy.
Ralph of Caen	<i>Gesta Tancredi</i>	Latin East	1118	1		<i>Historia Belli Sacri</i>	A pangyric on Tancred. One of the few texts not influenced by the <i>GF</i> .
Albert of Aachen	<i>Historia Hierosolimitana</i>	German	1119 (books 1-6 possibly as early as 1102)	13	<i>chansons de geste?</i>	WT	One of the longest and most detailed accounts of the First Crusade. Not influenced by the <i>GF</i> .
Gilo of Paris (and anonymous continuator)	<i>Historia Vie Hierosolimitane</i>	N. France	1120 (or before)	7 (only 1 with anon continuator)			Latin poem



Author	Title	Origin	Date Written (finished)	No. of MSS	Based on	Used By	Notes
Lambert of Saint-Omer	<i>Liber floridus</i>	Flanders	1120	10 (including autograph ms)	FCh (through BNangis)		Narrative of the First Crusade forms significant part of disordered encyclopaedia.
Anon	<i>Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum in captione Jerusalem</i>	Pisa	1120	1			Very short narrative.
William of Malmesbury	<i>Gesta Regum Anglorum</i>	Anglo-Norman	1124-35	37	FCh (ms L)	HH?	WM produced several versions of his work. Account part of larger chronicle
Orderic Vitalis (Benedictine)	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	Anglo-Norman	1130s (Books IX-X probably 1135, revised 1139)	7 (mostly late, not complete)	BB	Robert of Torigni	Account part of larger chronicle
Geoffrey of Monmouth (archdeacon)	<i>Historia Regum Britanniae</i>	Anglo-Norman	1135	200+	GM's imagination		Not exactly a crusade history but there are literary descriptions definitely influenced by crusade texts, particularly passages relating to King Arthur.
Anon	<i>Historia Belli Sacri</i>	Monte Cassino	1130s (late ~)	1	PT; RC; also RA; RM; GF; GN?		
OV/Robert of Torigni	<i>Gesta normanorum ducum</i>	Anglo-Norman	1139-59				No narrative of the crusade, but several mentions of it.
Suger	<i>Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis</i>	N. France	1140s				Refers to the crusade and Bohemond's subsequent career. (Mentions prophecies of Merlin although not in connection with the crusade)
Anon	<i>Historia Jerosolymitana Nicaena vel Antiochena</i>	Latin East	1146-7	1	RM; FCh		Written for Baldwin III of Jerusalem.
Otto of Freising (Cisterian/bishop)	<i>Chronica sive duabus civitatibus</i>	German	1147 (and 1 revision 1157)	50	EA		Account part of larger chronicle.
Ralph of Diceto	<i>Abbreviationes chronicorum</i>	Anglo-Norman (?)	1147(?)	4	HH; SGembloux		Short account part of larger chronicle. Written like annals; not continuous narrative.

Author	Title	Origin	Date Written (finished)	No. of MSS	Based on	Used By	Notes
Henry of Huntingdon (archdeacon)	<i>Historia Anglorum</i>	Anglo-Norman	1130-1155 (6 versions)	30	GF; BB; RC; WM possibly	RDiceto; RHoveden	HH had connections with Saher of Achelle and Herve de Glanville who took part in conquest of Lisbon 1148. Account part of larger chronicle.
Anon	<i>Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum</i>	France	1153	9	BB (Ms G)		Not a comprehensive narrative, but wrote of the participation of the lords of Amboise and counts of Anjou. Borrowings from BB not limited to sections relating to the crusade.
Caffaro	<i>De Liberatione Civitatum Orientis</i>	Genoa	1155	2			Earliest non-clerical historian.
Geoffrey of Vigeois	<i>Chronicon</i>	S. France	1184 (finished by ~)		BB ?	Song of the Albigenian Crusade?	Short account, states there was no need to write more as it had already been described in detail by BB and other writers; part of larger chronicle.
William of Tyre	<i>Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum</i>	Latin East	1184 (finished by ~)	10 (+50 Fr trans from 1230 ff)	AA; RA; FCh, poss also GF	JV; OP; RWendover	Lengthy account, part of larger history.
Gunther of Pairs	<i>Solymarius</i>	German	1180-6	1 (fragment)	RM		Poem, only a fragment survives.
William of Newburgh (Augustinian canon)	<i>The History of English Affairs</i>	Anglo-Norman	1190s				Very short account, part of larger chronicle (Robert of Normandy is the only crusader mentioned by name.)
Lambert of Ardres	<i>Historia comitum Ghisnensium</i>	Flanders	1190s	11 (late M/A)			No narrative of the crusade, but several mentions of it.
Ralph Niger	<i>Chronicon</i>	Anglo-Norman	1200 (or before)			RCoggeshall	Referred only to the council of Clermont and the leaders of expedition to Jerusalem. Emphasis on Robert of Normandy.
Roger de Hoveden	<i>Annals</i>	Anglo-Norman	1201	9	HH ??		Very short and not a continuous narrative, intersperses it with events in England.
Gunther of Pairs	<i>Historia Constantinopolitana</i>		1205				Not strictly a narrative; he mentioned the First Crusade in connection with Abbot Martin's preaching of the Fourth Crusade.

Author	Title	Origin	Date Written (finished)	No. of MSS	Based on	Used By	Notes
Anonymous of Soissons	<i>De terra Iherosolimitana</i>						Brief mention of the First Crusade as a way of introducing his subject.
Jacques de Vitry (Augustinian canon and bishop)	<i>Historia Orientalis</i>	S. France ??	1219-21	24	WT	RWendover; AT-F; Humbert of Romans; Guibert of Tournai; Sanudo	Short account, part of larger chronicle.
Oliver of Paderborn	<i>Historia regum terre sancte</i>		1219-21	4	FCh; WT	poss RWendover;	Account part of larger chronicle.
Ralph of Coggeshall (Cistercian)	<i>Chronicon Anglicanum</i>	Anglo-Norman	1227 (finished by~)	3 ?			Short account, part of larger chronicle.
Roger of Wendover (Benedictine)	<i>Chronica</i>	Anglo-Norman	1235		WM; HH; WT; possibly also JV and OP	Matthew Paris	Lengthy account, part of larger history.
Alberic of Trois Fontaines (Cistercian)	<i>Chronica</i>	possibly Liège	1251 (finished by~)	8 (4 incomplete)	Guy of Bazoches; SGembloux; OF; also possible connections with JV		Account part of larger chronicle.
Vincent of Beauvais (Dominican)	<i>Speculum historiale</i>	N. France	1254	100+	SGembloux, WM, also possibly BB (notes his sources)		Part 4 of encyclopaedia. Written like annals, not a continuous narrative.
Odo of Chateauroux	<i>Sermons</i>		1261				Mentioned First Crusaders
Humbert of Romans (Dominican)	<i>Tractus de praedicatione sancte crucis</i>		1268	18	FCh; WT; JV (all mentioned by name). Some mss also contain BB's version of Urban's sermon at Clermont.		Part of a treatise on preaching.

Author	Title	Origin	Date Written (finished)	No. of MSS	Based on	Used By	Notes
William of Tripoli (Dominican)	<i>Tractus de Statu Saracenorum</i>	Acce	1273				Scattered mentions of First Crusaders and Charlemagne only.
Humbert of Romans (Dominican)	<i>Opus tripartitum</i>	Lyons	1274		JV		Part of treatise on how to recover the Holy Land, presented at the Council of Lyons.
Primat	<i>les grandes chroniques de France</i> (part 1, to 1274)	Abbey of St Denis	1274		Hugh of Fleury; SGembloux; Suger		Old French. But included here because they represented a semi-official history of the French kings.
William of Puylaurens	<i>Historia Albigensium</i>	S. France	1275				Mentions the crusading activities of Raymond of St Giles as part of a genealogy of the counts of Toulouse in the opening of his chronicle.
Fulk of Villaret (Master of the Hospitallers)	<i>Informatio et instructio super faciendis generalibus passagio pro recuperatione Terre Sancte</i>		1305	1			Part of a treatise on how to regain the Holy Land
Pierre Dubois	<i>De recuperatione Terre Sancte</i>	N. France	1306	1			Mentions First Crusaders. Part of treatise on how to regain the Holy Land
Hospitallers	<i>Tractum dudum habitus</i>		1307				Old French. Part of treatise on how to recover the Holy Land
Anon	<i>Memoria</i>	Acce?	1308				Part of treatise on how to recover the Holy Land, possibly based on an earlier French redaction.

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