

Anglo-Norman Studies

XXVII. PROCEEDINGS OF
THE BATTLE CONFERENCE 2004

Edited by JOHN GILLINGHAM

ANGLO-NORMAN STUDIES XXVII

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BATTLE CONFERENCE

2004

This volume contains the usual wide range of topics, and offers some unusual and provocative perspectives, including an examination of what the evidence of zooarchaeology can reveal about the Conquest. The other subjects discussed are the battle of Alençon; the impact of rebellion on Little Domesday; Lawrence of Durham; Thomas Becket; Gilbert Foliot; Peter of Blois; Anglo-French peace conferences; episcopal elections and the loss of Normandy; chronicles in the Abruzzi; Norman identity in southern Italian chronicles; and the Normans on crusade.

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ANGLO-NORMAN STUDIES

XXVII

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BATTLE CONFERENCE

2004

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The twenty-seventh annual Battle Conference was held, in sunny weather as usual, from 29 July to 2 August 2004, and with the support of the British Academy. On this occasion no less than six of the twelve speakers came from abroad: three from the USA, one each from Denmark, France and Germany. The fact that so many speakers could be invited from overseas, making this proportionately the most international Battle Conference so far, we owe to the Academy's generous grant.

Throughout the conference the delegates were, as always, made to feel at home, and well supplied with food and drink, by Alison Martin, Bob Banks and all the staff at Pyke House. I am particularly grateful to Alison for her help in the organisation of the conference, as well as to Hastings College of Arts and Technology for their provision of indispensable facilities and administrative backup.

By courtesy of the Headmaster of Battle Abbey School, the opening reception was held in Battle Abbey itself, on the terrace overlooking the battlefield, and was followed by the Allen Brown Memorial Lecture delivered by Simon Keynes in the splendours of the Abbot's Hall. Owing, however, to unforeseeable circumstances arising from the implementation of a savings exercise in the University of Cambridge, publication of the Memorial Lecture itself has regrettably had to be held over until next year. Some of the delegates were later able to inspect the medieval parts of Battle Abbey School under the expert guidance of Ian Peirce, a tower of strength both before and throughout the conference.

The annual outing took place on the last day of the conference. This year we visited the abbey and palace of Westminster. The fact that delegates were able to break their homeward journey in this most agreeable way is due to the kindness and organising skills of Malcolm Hay, Curator of the Palace of Westminster, and of Richard Mortimer, Battle veteran as well as Keeper of the Muniments at Westminster Abbey. After an introductory lecture by Dr Mark Collins, Architectural Archivist at the Palace of Westminster, Malcolm Hay guided us round both the great hall built by William Rufus and St Stephen's Chapel. After lunch in the palace, Tim Tatton-Brown, without whom few Battle Conference outings are complete, showed us backstage around the abbey for which he was acting as consultant archaeologist. The day was rounded off with an exhibition of some of the abbey's manuscript treasures specially arranged for us by Richard Mortimer. I am grateful to all of them.

The Battle Conference has come to rely a great deal on the continuity provided by Boydell & Brewer, our publishers ever since volume one of the Proceedings. As editor I am particularly indebted to the experience and skill of Vanda Andrews, Helen Barber, Alison Coles, Pam Cope and Caroline Palmer for maintaining both our website (<http://www.battleconference.co.uk>), and the unsurpassed record of publishing each volume of Anglo-Norman Studies by the time of the next year's conference. Thank you.

John Gillingham

ABBREVIATIONS

AA SS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> (of the Bollandists)
<i>Actes Henri II</i>	L. Delisle and E. Berger, <i>Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie</i> , 4 vols, Paris 1909–27
AD	Archives Départementales
ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>Antiqs. Journ.</i>	<i>The Antiquaries Journal</i> (Society of Antiquaries of London)
<i>Arch. Journ.</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal</i> (Royal Archaeological Institute)
ASC	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , ed. D. Whitelock <i>et al.</i> , London 1969
ASC, Swanton	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , trans. and ed. M. Swanton, London 1996
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
BAA	British Archaeological Association
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
Bates, <i>Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I (1066–1087)</i> , ed. D. Bates, Oxford 1998
<i>Battle Chronicle</i>	<i>The Chronicle of Battle Abbey</i> , ed. Eleanor Searle, OMT, 1980
BIHR	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
<i>Cal. Docs France</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents preserved in France . . .</i> , i, 918–1216, ed. J. H. Round, HMSO, 1899
<i>Cal. Pat. Rolls</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> , HMSO, 1891–
<i>Carmen</i>	<i>The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens</i> , ed. F. Barlow, OMT, 1999
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis</i>
CCM	<i>Cahiers de civilisation médiévale</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> , Turnhout 1953–
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
<i>Complete Peerage</i>	<i>Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom</i> , 13 vols in 14, London 1910–59
<i>De gestis pontificum</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>De gestis pontificum Anglorum</i> , ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS, 1870
<i>Diceto</i>	<i>Radulphi de Diceto Opera Historica. The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London</i> , ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS, 1876
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>Domesday Book</i>	<i>Domesday Book, seu liber censualis . . .</i> , i, ii, ed. A. Farley, 2 vols, 'Record Commission', 1783; iii, iv, ed. H. Ellis, 1816

<i>Domesday People</i>	K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, <i>Domesday People: a Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066–1166</i> , i, <i>Domesday Book</i> , Woodbridge 1999
Eadmer <i>HN</i>	<i>Historia Novorum in Anglia</i> , ed. M. Rule, RS, 1884
EEA	<i>English Episcopal Acta</i>
EHD	<i>English Historical Documents</i> , 2nd edn, i, 500–1042, ed. D. Whitelock; ii, 1042–1189, ed. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, London 1979–81
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>English Lawsuits</i>	<i>English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I</i> , ed. R. C. van Caenegem, 2 vols, Selden Society CVI–CVII, 1990–91
EYC	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , i–iii, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914–16), and iv–xii, ed. C. T. Clay, Yorks. Archaeological Soc., Record Soc., extra series I–X, 1935–65
<i>Fasti, 1066–1300</i>	John Le Neve, <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066–1300</i> , ed. D. E. Greenway, London 1968–
Fauroux	<i>Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie (911–1066)</i> , ed. M. Fauroux, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie XXXVI, 1961
<i>Gesta Guillelmi</i>	<i>The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers</i> , ed. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall, OMT, 1998
<i>Gesta Regum</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Regum Anglorum</i> , ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, OMT, 1998–9
<i>Gesta Stephani</i>	<i>Gesta Stephani</i> , ed. and trans. K. R. Potter and R. H. C. Davis, OMT, 1976
<i>Giraldi Cambrensis Opera</i>	ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, 8 vols, RS XXI, 1861–91
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
<i>Historia Novella</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Historia Novella</i> , ed. E. King and K. R. Potter, OMT, 1998
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
Howden, <i>Chronica</i>	<i>Chronica Rogeri de Houedene</i> , ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS, 1868–71
Howden, <i>Gesta Regis</i>	<i>Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Ricardi Primi</i> , ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS, 1867
Howlett, <i>Chronicles</i>	<i>Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I</i> , ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols, RS, 1884–9
HSJ	<i>Haskins Society Journal</i>
<i>Huntingdon</i>	Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: 'Historia Anglorum', ed. D. Greenway, OMT, 1996
ITS	Irish Texts Society
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
<i>John of Worcester</i>	<i>The Chronicle of John of Worcester</i> , ii–iii, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, OMT, 1995–8
<i>Journ. BAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
JRSAI	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</i>
<i>Jumièges</i>	<i>Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni</i> , ed. E. M. C. van Houts, 2 vols, OMT, 1992–5

<i>Lanfranc's Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , ed. H. Clover and M. Gibson, OMT, 1979
Liebermann	<i>Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen</i> , ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols, Halle 1903–16
<i>Med. Arch.</i>	<i>Medieval Archaeology</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>MGH SRG</i>	<i>MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum</i>
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>MGH Scriptores</i>
<i>Monasticon</i>	William Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols in 8, London 1817–30
<i>MRSN</i>	<i>Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae</i> , ed. T. Stapleton, 2 vols, London 1840–4
<i>MSHAB</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne</i>
<i>MTB</i>	<i>Materials for the History of Thomas Becket</i> , ed. J. C. Robertson, 7 vols, RS, 1875–85
<i>Newburgh</i>	<i>Historia Rerum Anglicarum of William of Newburgh</i> , in Howlett, <i>Chronicles</i> , vols 1 and 2
NMT	Nelson's Medieval Texts
ns	new series
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
<i>Orderic</i>	Orderic Vitalis, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , ed. M. Chibnall, OMT, 1969–80
os	old series
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1841–64
<i>PR</i>	<i>Pipe Roll</i> (as published by Pipe Roll Society)
<i>PRIA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>
<i>PRO</i>	Public Record Office
<i>Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum</i> , i, ed. H. W. C. Davis, Oxford 1913; ii, ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, Oxford 1956; iii, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis, Oxford 1968
<i>RHF</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , Paris 1738–1904
<i>RIA</i>	Royal Irish Academy
<i>Royal Writs</i>	<i>Royal Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvil</i> , ed. R. C. van Caenegem, Selden Society LXXVII, 1959
<i>RS</i>	Rolls Series, London
<i>S</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography</i> , ed. P. H. Sawyer, London 1968; revised edn, ed. S. E. Kelly <i>et al.</i> , available online at www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww .
<i>SATF</i>	Société des Anciens Textes Français
<i>ser.</i>	series
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>Torigni</i>	<i>The Chronicle of Robert de Torigni</i> , in Howlett, <i>Chronicles</i> , vol. 4
<i>Trans.</i>	<i>Transactions</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>
<i>Vita Ædwardi</i>	<i>The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster</i> , ed. F. Barlow, 2nd edn, OMT, 1992
Wace	Wace, <i>Le Roman de Rou</i> , ed. A. J. Holden, 3 vols, SATF, Paris 1970–73
<i>Waltham</i>	<i>The Waltham Chronicle</i> , ed. and trans. L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall, OMT, 1994

**PROBING THE PASSIONS OF A NORMAN ON CRUSADE:
THE *GESTA FRANCORUM ET ALIORUM*
*HIEROSOLIMITANORUM****

Emily Albu

When Pope Urban II preached the crusade at Clermont in 1095, he had good reasons to hope that Normans would volunteer for the mission. They were formidable fighters, a fine match against the Seljuq Turks, who had taken Jerusalem, overrun Syria, and swept through ‘Romania’ (the Byzantine heartland of Asia Minor) following the debacle at Manzikert in 1071. Surely Norman warriors could restore Jerusalem to the Christian world. Their journeys to Jerusalem would bring another benefit to Christendom, too: the disappearance of those fractious Normans from the west.¹

Urban must have been pleased, then, with the list of Norman knights and lords who took the cross. Normans arguably dominated the First Crusade. Of course, sizable contingents of others, notably Flemings and Lotharingians and Provençals, also joined the expedition that has been considered ‘largely a French enterprise’.² But the Investiture Conflict, the excommunication of Philip I, and the anti-clerical stance of William Rufus kept the German, French, and English rulers from heeding the pope’s call. Normans filled this vacuum. By one reckoning, six of the nine principal leaders were Norman by blood or allegiance.³ Among these was the duke of Normandy, Robert Curthose, who mortgaged the duchy to his brother, William

* I am grateful to John Gillingham for his invitation to give this paper at the Battle Conference 2004 and for his guidance. I owe a debt of gratitude to many at Battle for their probing questions and welcome advice – including Rick Barton, Matthew Bennett, Jim Bradbury, Marjorie Chibnall, Howard Clarke, Michael Davis, Valentine Fallan, and Ann Williams.

¹ In the prelude to his valuable account of the Council of Clermont, Fulcher of Chartres (eyewitness of the Crusade, if not of the Council) expressed the pope’s concerns about the mayhem that infested western Christendom of his day: *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913, 1.1.2 (cf. 1.3.7 and n. 10 below), English translation by H.S. Fink, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, Knoxville 1969. Fulcher’s account of the call to crusade suggests a papal wish that the crusade could alleviate that problem by directing misspent energies toward the recovery of Jerusalem. On the other hand, Jonathan Riley-Smith has argued that the pope and other leaders of the Church anticipated and tried to mitigate the anarchy that resulted in the west when nobles were no longer there to enforce order: *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131*, Cambridge 1997, 145–6.

² Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London 1986, 86.

³ These were ‘a son and son-in-law of William the Conqueror [Duke Robert of Normandy and Adela’s husband, Count Stephen of Blois], two sons of one of his tenants-in-chief in England [Godfrey and Baldwin, sons of Count Eustace of Boulogne], and a son and grandson of Robert Guiscard [Bohemond and Tancred]’: David C. Douglas, *The Norman Achievement, 1050–1100*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, 162. Sidney Painter left Tancred off his list of crusading leaders when he wrote, ‘that of the eight chief lay leaders of the First Crusade four were Normans and a fifth had a Norman wife who supplied most of his ardor’: ‘Western Europe on the Eve of the Crusades’, in *A History of the Crusades, I*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin, Madison 1969, 3–29, at 21. Lesser Norman princes joined them, including two more scions of the house of Hauteville: Tancred’s brother, William son of the marquis, and Bohemond’s cousin, Richard of the Principate.

Rufus, to raise his expenses. It was the southern Normans, though, who went with the keenest secular purpose. They inherited their ambitions as the legacy of Robert Guiscard, who had died in 1085 on campaign against Byzantium, still dreaming of eastern domination. His son Bohemond, already on full military alert, joined the expedition in 1096.⁴

Not all Normans marched east in search of wealth and power. In Bohemond's army was a humble crusader who kept a record of the journey, from the papal preaching in France in 1096 to the military victories at Jerusalem and Ascalon in 1099. It seems odd to imagine this chronicler in Bohemond's company. Their sensibilities were so disparate, with the writer displaying virtually no longing for worldly acquisitions. He knew poverty and had an abiding concern for the poor, who made up most of the crusading band. Perhaps he was a younger son originally marked for the church, then released from his vows when family circumstances changed. Whether he was *miles* or cleric, he held a distinctively monastic outlook.⁵

This eyewitness wrote the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, the very first of the crusading chronicles. My aim here is to probe the *Gesta* to examine the evolving sensibilities of the crusader, whose consciousness was demonstrably altered by the journey. The privations of the march, the terrors of moving through unfamiliar and dangerous places, the horrors of battle and exhilaration of victory, the sense of wonder at pilgrimage to the holiest sites in Christendom – all these highly charged encounters changed him quite radically, as we will see from his own words. His transparently shifting attitudes suggest that he wrote in stages along the journey.⁶ Finally, I will ask: Was the *Gesta* author unique? Did crusade modify, even civilize, the Norman character?

Repeated close reading of the *Gesta Francorum* with Latin students compelled me to ask these questions. As we read slowly, even the repetitive or unpleasant passages, we noted how pervasively the language of emotion filled the narrative. At first, the expressed passions belong to people in the crusaders' path. The Byzantine

⁴ Perhaps as early as 1102, Albert of Aix (Albertus Aquensis) wrote that, as Bohemond was preparing to set out for the East, he tried to enlist Godfrey of Bouillon in his plot to 'overcome the [Byzantine] emperor and invade his domain': *Historia Hierosolymitana* 2.14; *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux* 4, Paris 1879.

⁵ Colin Morris has suggested that the crusader was a cleric, arguing against Rosalind Hill's conclusion that he was a knight: Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History', *Reading Medieval Studies* 19, 1993, 55–71 (especially the Appendix, 67–8); Hill, ed., *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, London 1962, xiii. I have benefited from the lively discussion of this question by participants at the Battle Conference, especially Graham Loud. As many have noted, the lines between cleric and layman blurred within the crusading armies. The *Gesta* author seems to me to be a fighting crusader with some clerical training and a deep piety.

⁶ Following the early editor of the *Gesta*, Heidelberg 1890, Heinrich Hagenmeyer (who considered the work a *Tagebuch*, or at least an account closely derived from one, because its author almost never showed foreknowledge of coming events), Steven Runciman thought it was written 'probably as a diary': *History of the Crusades*, Cambridge 1953, vol. i, 329. Colin Morris has demonstrated how shifts in vocabulary, alongside disjunctions in the narrative, also give the impression that the crusader was writing on the journey: 'The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History' (n. 5 above), at 58–9. Analysis of the epithets likewise delineates clear stages of writing, marked by distinct changes of attitude. John France has shown that the *Gesta Francorum* (which 'seems to have been the first' of the crusading chronicles to appear) influenced the slightly later works of crusade participants Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres: 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade', in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, Aldershot, Hampshire, and Brookfield, Vermont, 1998, 39–69. Directly or indirectly, therefore, the *Gesta Francorum* influenced nearly every western crusading history.

emperor Alexios Komnenos became enraged ('iratus') at the havoc wreaked by the first band to pass through Constantinople (1.2), and the Turks came 'jubilantly' ('cum magno gaudio') to kill those unruly crusaders (1.2.). At the news of this disaster, Alexios rejoiced ('gausius est ualde', 1.2).⁷ Back in southern Italy, as Normans took the cross, Count Roger of Sicily 'grieved and mourned' ('dolebat et merebat', 1.4) to lose his army. Once the Normans were on the march, the *Gesta* increasingly reported their emotions along with those of their foes. The crusaders rejoiced equally in victory ('cum magno tripudio', 5.13; 'agente Deo triumphantes, et gaudentes de triumpho', 7.18; 'gaudentes felici triumpho', 10.30) or martyrdom ('letantes gaudentesque', 2.8). But delight could turn quickly to terror ('per nimium terrorem et pauorem', 10.37), panic ('nimio pauore correpti', 10.30), wrath ('accensi occisione nostrorum', 7.18), anxiety ('contristatus est ualde', 9.26), shame ('erubescendo' 6.15; 'maxima captus turpitudine', 6.15), grief ('nimis doluerunt', 5.12; 'tristes ualde fuimus', 7.18), or despair ('inter nos orta est immensa angustia et tristitia', 8.20).⁸ The frequency of these dramatic shifts in strong feelings is a primary feature of this emotive narrative, which exposes the volatile moods of its characters. Even God's angels share these passions. In a vision at Antioch, St Peter urges Jesus' aid for the crusaders by affirming, 'Just let your enemies be driven out, Lord, and the angels in heaven will at once rejoice.'⁹ All sides in the human conflict, meanwhile, play upon this volatility, waging psychological warfare to terrorize their foes. So the *Gesta* narrative becomes increasingly fraught.

Its crusaders began their journey already in a heightened state of emotion. According to the *Gesta* (1.1), the papal call was responding to 'a powerful agitation' ('motio valida') through all the lands of the Franks that propelled the faithful to heed Jesus' words (Matt. 16:24): 'If anyone wants to come after me, let him deny himself and take up his own cross and follow me.' Forms of the noun *motio* and the verb *moveo*, of course, mean 'movement'/'move' and often indicate physical motion. They can imply a quickening, a sudden renewal of activity. *Motio* can also mean 'emotion', and with this word the chronicler suggests both the spiritual agitation of his world and the physical movement that this stirring inspired. He frequently highlights the interdependence of these twin agitations, the physical and the spiritual, as the narrative works its way to emotional peaks at Antioch and Jerusalem.

From the first, suffering plays a prominent role in creating and defining this complex narrative structure. The *Gesta*'s opening chapter contains the pope's promise of suffering as the crusaders' road to salvation. In the first sentence Urban enjoins each participant to take up ('tollat') his own cross to follow God and faithfully bear the burden ('baiulare') of the cross. The *Gesta*'s summary of his preaching shows that this is no empty metaphor (1.1):

⁷ The *Gesta*'s early portrait of Alexios features intense emotionality. As the crusading leaders confer with him in Constantinople, for instance, and he plots how to trick them, Alexios is 'anxious et bulliens ira' (anxious and seething with rage, 2.6), fearful especially of Bohemond ('ualde timebat', 2.6). When Nicaea surrenders to his authority, he is 'really, really delighted' ('magis magisque gausius', 3.9). For their part, the Turks first appear gleeful (e.g. 'gaudentes et exultantes', 2.8), but this exhilaration soon turns to fear and lamentation as the Christians exult in victory at Nicaea ('Turci . . . timuerunt usque ad mortem, plorantes et lamentantes; Francique gaudebant', 2.8). All translations are my own.

⁸ I am acutely aware of the difficulties in translating from another language the passions of an alien culture and age. The *Gesta* author himself was, in many cases, attaching imagined emotions to unfamiliar peoples. I have benefited here from the scholarship on the history of emotions, especially the essays in *The Social Construction of Emotions*, ed. Rom Harré, Oxford 1986. Though *nimis* meant 'excessively' in Classical Latin, its meaning in the *Gesta* is 'very', as in 'nimis doluerunt', 5.12, cited here.

⁹ Modo uero expulsi inimici inde, Domine, letantur angeli in caelis (9.24).

Brothers, you must suffer many things for the name of Christ – misery, poverty, nakedness, persecution, want, weakness, hunger, thirst, and other such woes, just as the Lord said to his disciples, ‘You must suffer many things for my name.’ (Acts 9:16)

Students of the crusade, from its own day to ours, have observed that Urban was pressing a revolutionary and troubling idea, ‘salvation by a sustained act of violence’.¹⁰ The *Gesta*’s beginning chapter, however, never implicates murder or mayhem. It does not mention fighting or suggest an enemy. The *Gesta* author understood the pope to be offering salvation through suffering. For this participant, the enduring heroism of the crusade lay in the people’s suffering on behalf of Jesus and like the saints. These very travails that tested the crusaders’ faith ultimately proved their worth as champions of Christ. At Antioch they learned that Jesus has guided them on their journey and suffered along with them, as he revealed to a priest in a vision, saying, ‘I have led you all the way here, and I felt your misery which you have suffered in the siege of Antioch’ (9.24). These crusaders found their reward, near the *Gesta*’s close, with the survivors entering Jerusalem as the hour drew near ‘when our Lord Jesus Christ deigned to suffer the yoke of the Cross for us’ (10.38). The evidence of the *Gesta* shows how human suffering also wrenched the sufferers into a new state of consciousness.

Already in its second chapter, the *Gesta* offers an example of the misery that increasingly dominates the narrative. Early in the march a group of Italians and Germans left their main army, finding the *Franci* intolerable traveling companions. This splinter group, commanded by the Italian Rainald and an unnamed German leader, met a Turkish ambush and fled to a nearby stronghold. Here is the *Gesta*’s account of their agonies as they themselves were trapped (1.2):

The Turks besieged it [the fort] at once and cut off their water supply. Our men suffered so greatly from thirst that they bled their horses and asses and drank their blood. Some let down belts and small garments into a sewer and squeezed out the liquid into their mouths. Some urinated into one another’s cupped hands and drank. Others were so parched with thirst that they dug up moist earth, then lay on their backs and spread the earth on their chests.

This scene repeats itself, with terrible variations, throughout the *Gesta*’s account, most memorably at Antioch.

This episode taught the crusaders the value of staying in relatively large units in order to deter assailants. In the early stages, while the crusaders traveled through rich lands that offered abundant food, their great armies could in fact sustain themselves.¹¹ As they neared Constantinople, an imperial escort supplied some provi-

¹⁰ John France, ‘Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade’, in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips, Manchester and New York 1997, 5–20, at 5. As France notes, this idea unnerved many wary participants, as evidenced by the frequency with which they performed penance for their bloodshed. Note, too, how the *Gesta* author’s fellow crusader, Fulcher of Chartres, relates the pope’s call at Clermont (1.2.1–1.3.8), especially 1.3.7: ‘procedant, inquit, contra infideles ad pugnam iam incipi dignam et trophaeo explendam, qui abusive privatum certamen contra fideles etiam consuescebant distendere quondam. nunc fiant Christi milites, qui dudum exstiterunt raptores; nunc iure contra barbaros pugnent, qui olim adversus fratres et consanguineos dimicabant . . .’ (Those, he said, who have actually been engaging wantonly in their own private habitual warfare against the faithful should advance against the infidel for a combat worthy to be begun now and to be completed in victory. Let those who have long been plunderers now become soldiers of Christ. Let those who once brawled against brothers and kin now lawfully battle against the barbarians.)

¹¹ The *Gesta* describes the three routes of the main contingents on this leg of the journey (1.2–3).

sions. But when they left the Byzantine capital and entered Asia Minor, the journey became more arduous, over nearly impassable mountains and through waterless wastelands where food and water enough for this massive host became a constant preoccupation.¹² Still, the crusaders had to fight exhaustion and stay on the move so they could pillage fresh territories every day.¹³ The *Gesta* explains how one group broke off to blaze a new trail where a preceding band had consumed the resources along the main road (2.7). Such detours through wilderness further exhausted the weary men, who had to hack their way with axes and swords, and the smaller size of such a company left it even more vulnerable to attack.

Threats of hunger and thirst intensified when the army halted and reassembled to besiege a fortification in its path. Because the crusaders could not risk leaving enemy fortresses at their back, they had to capture and hold a series of towns, castles, and strongholds, including massively fortified and heavily populated cities in Asia Minor and Syria, especially Nicaea and Antioch.

Nicaea was the first great obstacle, and here the entire force gathered together for the first time. The *Gesta* author marveled at the countless soldiers in this army of Christ – ‘the largest number of most valiant warriors (*milites*) that the world has ever seen or can ever see in future’. John France has estimated their total numbers at sixty thousand, including six or seven thousand knights.¹⁴ The vast size of this army, however, presented one huge problem. Camped for seven weeks in one spot, the crusaders experienced severe want. Mustered at Nicaea, they quickly ran low on supplies. It is natural to imagine how siege warfare tormented civilians – the women, children, and men trapped in besieged cities and towns. The *Gesta* author notes their distress, but he also shows the nightmare endured by the besiegers. His rhetoric of suffering accelerates at Nicaea.

But these travails, he believed, bought a priceless reward. So the *Gesta* concludes its account of the redemptive suffering at Nicaea (2.8):

We besieged this city for seven weeks and three days, and many of our men suffered martyrdom there and gave up their blessed souls to God with joy and gladness, and many of the poor starved to death for the Name of Christ. All these entered Heaven in triumph, wearing the robe of martyrdom that they have received, saying with one voice, ‘Avenge, O Lord, our blood which was shed for thee, for thou art blessed and worthy of praise for ever and ever. Amen.’

Leaving Nicaea in the hands of the Byzantine emperor, the surviving crusaders crossed Asia Minor to Antioch, whose massive walls and four hundred towers made it the best-fortified city in their path.

While the heroism of the crusaders’ hunger and thirst and fatigue often dominates the narrative, the *Gesta Francorum* also features the terror of battle, the carnage and taking of prisoners, public executions and enslavement. In this war, all is fair, including psychological torture of civilians caught in the great sieges. At Nicaea the crusaders decapitated the Turkish dead and flung the heads into the city to horrify the Turks inside (2.8). This is the first example in the *Gesta* of a practice that the

¹² E.g. 4.11; 5.13; 6.14; 6.15.

¹³ On plundering as the routine method of provisioning the armies of the First Crusade, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London 1986, 62. This chapter, ‘Conditions on the March’ (58–90), offers an exemplary description of the crusaders’ suffering and assesses the effects of that experience on the participants.

¹⁴ ‘Patronage’ (n. 10 above), 6.

Christians refined and made a part of their siege repertoire. At Antioch they paraded captured Turks before the city gate and beheaded them in plain view of the citizens (5.12).¹⁵ Later in that siege they dug up the enemy dead, decapitated the corpses, and loaded four horses with their heads – a gift for the emir of Cairo – as Turks wailed in grief (7.18). When they took cities, the crusaders showed no mercy ‘to men or women, the great and the small’. So at Antioch the Christians filled the streets with their bodies until no one could endure the stench (8.20), at al-Bara, Count Raymond of St Gilles killed ‘omnes Saracenos et Saracenas, maiores et minores’ (10.30), and in Jerusalem the crusaders burned mountains of corpses, so many that only God could number them, including people slaughtered in the Holy Sepulcher itself (10.38–39).

On their journey to Jerusalem, these brutal crusaders themselves were moving through perilous spaces. Enemies threatened even in a presumed safe haven, as at Constantinople or in the fortified encampments that Saracens harried with arrows (5.12). Beyond Constantinople, the local Christians of Asia Minor and the Levant (the generic ‘Armenians and Syrians’ of the *Gesta*) could prove friend or foe. Their loyalty shifted with the vagaries of warfare. Sometimes they delighted in turning on their Muslim overlords, silently applauding Christian successes (7.18) or ambushing Turks as they fled in defeat (6.17). When the Turkish governor of Antioch, Yaghi Siyan, escaped from the city as it was falling to the crusaders, local ‘Syrians and Armenians’ apprehended him and cut off his head, which they offered to Bohemond in exchange for their liberty (8.20). But such people were not to be trusted even by fellow Christians. When Armenians and Syrians posed as friendly merchants, trading in the crusader camp, they were really spying for the enemy (5.12) or selling scarce food at extortionate prices, apparently indifferent to the plight of the poor, who died from starvation (6.14). Sometimes they freely supplied the Saracens (8.19) or even joined them in battle against the crusaders (3.9; 8.20; 9.21; 10.34). The unpredictability of these eastern Christians kept the crusaders in a perpetual state of anxiety.

Muslims at least offered a clear enemy. Yet this was no ordinary foe, but a demonic force whose howling intensified the terror of any encounter (3.9; 7.18).¹⁶ Not every crusader could endure such torment. Some fled home or surrendered to the enemy. The *Gesta* author first reports a deserter as early as its second chapter (1.2), at that ambush of Rainald’s contingent outside Nicaea. When a group of survivors holed up in a fortress, their German commander made a deal with the Turks ‘to betray his companions to them, and pretending to go out to battle he fled to them, and many went with him’. Their leader’s duplicity abandoned many men to death, with the rest being used for target practice by their captors or sold off into slavery and led away to Khorosan, Antioch, and Aleppo.

The *Gesta* repeatedly emphasizes the uncertainty of the crusaders’ world, where even comrades and commanders might prove false. It was a tenuous landscape of sudden extremes, expressed by hunger or terror in one sentence, abundance or jubilation in the next. Just before reaching Antioch, for instance, the crusaders had to climb a steep mountain, accessible only by a narrow path with space for but one person or beast at a time (4.11). Horses lost their footing and careened off the cliff. Pack

¹⁵ Mortui sunt uero multi ex nostris inimicis, et capti alii ducti sunt ante portam urbis, ibique decollabantur, ut magis tristes fierent qui erant in urbe. (We killed many of our enemies; others we captured and led before the city gate, and we beheaded them there to inflict misery on those in the city.)

¹⁶ On the *Gesta*’s language, likening Turks to devils and demons, see my *Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth, and Subversion*, Woodbridge 2001, 170–1.

animals, roped together, dragged others with them over the side. Unable to carry their heavy armor up the slope, knights sold it for a pittance if they could, or abandoned it along the side of the path. One sentence of the narrative has them wringing their hands in despair. But in the very next, these same crusaders have rejoiced to reach a town whose farmers rushed out to meet them, bringing abundant produce.

When they arrived at Antioch at last, after many months of alternating joy and anguish, the crusaders met the truest test of their suffering. They invested that seemingly impregnable city for seven and a half months. In order to feed the army now camped in one depleted place, they had to send out foraging parties continually, at greater and greater distances. Bands of Turks terrified these isolated men, falling on them again and again with 'a sudden screeching and jabbering and yelling with ferocious yelling'.¹⁷ Finally on 3 June 1098, in desperation because they knew that Kerbogha, emir of Mosul, was only days away with his huge Muslim army and supplies, the Christians discovered a way inside the city. Bohemond had bribed a commander named Firuz to let the Normans up the walls and into the tower that he held.¹⁸ The crusaders slaughtered the city's inhabitants, except the men in the citadel, which they could not take. On 5 June the Muslim army arrived, greatly outnumbering the crusaders, who now found themselves starving and dying inside Antioch, surrounded by Muslims and harried from the citadel, with little hope and fewer provisions. In these weeks the Christians faced the worst ordeal of the crusade.

Antioch occupies the center of the *Gesta Francorum*. The crusaders' tribulations there fill almost exactly the middle half of the *Gesta's* pages, chapters 12–32 out of its 39. Though the crusaders did in fact spend nearly half of their three years' journey in northern Syria, some readers have assumed this Norman writer featured Antioch because the city became his lord Bohemond's Norman principality.¹⁹ As we will see, however, the *Gesta* author opposed Bohemond's hold on Antioch, which kept the Norman lord from fulfilling his vow to march on Jerusalem. For the chronicler, Antioch was an obstacle on the way to Jerusalem and by no means a final destination. But Antioch became the *Gesta's* centerpiece because it was the culmination of the crusaders' suffering.

Here the language of suffering overwhelms the narrative, lingering on hunger, thirst, and terror as the Christians' constant companions.²⁰ Camped outside Antioch, the crusaders had already endured unspeakable famine. In those months many died because they could not afford to buy food that the Syrians and Armenians were selling at inflated prices. Knights who still had horses could not feed them. The

¹⁷ 7.18. The *Gesta* elsewhere notes the demonic howling of Turks in battle, as here in Anatolia/Dorylaeum: Continuo Turci coeperunt stridere et garrere ac clamare, excelsa uoce dicentes diabolicum sonum nescio quomodo in sua lingua. Sapiens uir Boamundus uidens innumerabiles Turcos procul, stridentes et clamantes demonica uoce . . . (At once the Turks began to screech and yip and yell, in a loud voice making some devilish sound in their own language. The wise hero Bohemond, seeing countless Turks in the distance screeching and yelling in a demonic voice . . . ; 3.9).

¹⁸ The *Gesta* calls this collaborator a Turkish emir, but the evidence of Raymond of Aguilers, Anna Komnene, and Muslim sources suggests, more plausibly, that he was an Armenian and erstwhile Christian. Having secretly secured the pact with this disaffected tower-defender, Bohemond proposed to the other crusading leaders that they cede the city to anyone who could engineer its capture. The *Gesta* frames that meeting with Bohemond's changing expression, from his smug assurance when he entered the room ('gauius serenaque mente, placido uultu uenit') to his unsmiling face when he left, his plan foiled for the moment ('paulominus subridens protinus recessit', 8.20).

¹⁹ Kenneth Baxter Wolf, 'Crusade and Narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*', *Journal of Medieval History* 17, 1991, 207–16.

²⁰ 9.26; cf. 9.23; 10.33; 10.37.

Gesta reports that barely one thousand horses still had the stamina for battle (6.15). The suffering only increased when the Christians captured Antioch (9.26):

These profane enemies of God held us shut up in the city of Antioch so that many died of hunger since a small loaf of bread sold for one bezant. I will not even speak of wine. They sold and ate the meat of horses and asses. And they sold a hen for 15 *solidi*, an egg for two, and a nut for a denarius. Everything was very expensive. So intense was their hunger that they cooked and ate leaves from figs and vines, and thistles and all the trees. Some cooked and ate the skins of horses and camels and asses and cattle or oxen. These afflictions and many other agonies that I cannot name we suffered for the name of Christ and to free the way to the Holy Sepulcher . . . and we suffered such tribulations, starvation, and terrors for twenty-six days. (Tales quoque tribulationes et fames ac timores passi sumus per viginti sex dies.)

For some who had endured month after month of hardship, the torment was finally unbearable. Stephen of Blois deserted at Antioch and fled back to his disapproving wife, Adela, who would badger him until he returned to join the crusade of 1101, the so-called crusade of the faint-hearted, and die at Ramla. Bohemond's brother-in-law, William of Grandmesnil, also escaped through the Muslim blockade. Many others, now starving inside the city, let themselves down from the walls on ropes, fearing the Muslims less than their own hunger. The *Gesta* tells of still others who cowered in Antioch's homes, listless and forsaken, until Bohemond literally smoked them out and forced them to fight (9.26).

It would not be surprising if these psychological tortures, after months of deprivation and fear of death, altered the mental states of the crusaders. The charged atmosphere of the besieged and desperate army bred dreams and visions that brought the army's salvation. The sober author of the *Gesta Francorum* admits no miracles anywhere but at Antioch, where he has Jesus and Mary and St Peter appear to a priest as he lay cowering in the Church of St Mary (9.24).²¹ Jesus rebuked the crusading army for 'taking your wicked pleasures with Christian women and wicked pagan women, so that a vast stench goes up to heaven'. Jesus promised 'great help' to the crusaders within five days if they would return to him and signal that renewal with daily singing of a psalm. When they heard this, the crusading leaders – Bohemond first – duly took an oath. Instead of agreeing to eschew pleasures with wanton women, however, the secular leaders pledged to avoid the sin that was apparently on their own guilty minds: They would not abandon their people and flee to safety. They would remain at Antioch. This remarkable episode thus offers a window into the minds of the beleaguered crusaders. When Jesus rebuked a priest, Stephen heard a charge of forbidden sex, while the lay princes, with their oath, disclosed fantasies or plans of desertion.

Other sacred appearances to a poor priest named Peter directed the crusaders to the holy lance that pierced Jesus's side as he lay on the cross.²² Somehow this sacred relic had found its way to Antioch's Church of St Andrew the Apostle, where crusaders dug it up. The *Gesta* emphasizes the thrill of this discovery by first directing the reader to a dramatic encounter beyond the city. In a distinctively cine-

²¹ From other sources we learn his name, Stephen of Valence.

²² 9.25. Other sources give his full name, Peter Bartholomew. On the significance of this episode see Colin Morris, 'Policy and Visions: The Case of the Holy Lance at Antioch', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J.O. Prestwich*, ed. John Gillingham and J.C. Holt, Woodbridge 1984, 33–45.

matic series of episodes, the *Gesta* author takes his audience to the scene of the Byzantine army, led by the emperor Alexios Komnenos himself, marching to relieve the crusaders in Antioch. But Stephen of Blois has intercepted that army as he was fleeing the siege, and he has persuaded the emperor that the crusaders, recently trapped inside the city, were doomed to die, if indeed they had not already perished. So Alexios reluctantly turned back, while Bohemond's half brother, Guy, and his companions wept and pleaded with the emperor to continue his mission of mercy.²³ Western crusaders with the Byzantine army moaned in grief, and the weakest of them lay down at roadside to die. Just at this point in the narrative the author cuts back to Antioch and the excavation of the lance.

The *Gesta Francorum* conveys the energizing effects of this discovery, which rescued the crusade from its lowest depths, moving the crusaders themselves from despair to euphoria: 'And they took up [the lance] with great joy and awe, and tremendous rejoicing arose in the whole city' (9.28). So the starving and depressed men who had been sulking inside houses and unwilling even to defend the walls now exchanged contemptuous insults with Kerbogha. They turned from passive starvation – the *Gesta* calls this hunger 'excruciating' ('cruciabilis fames', 9.28) – to purposeful fasting. They fortified themselves further through processions, confession, communion, almsgiving, and masses. Then they rushed out to fight the Great Battle for Antioch. In the heat of this battle, the soldier saints, George, Mercurius, and Demetrius, rode down from the hills, leading a band of knights all in white. This heavenly army helped the crusaders crush the Muslim forces, offering the 'great help' that Jesus had promised (9.29).

White-robed warrior saints, divine apparitions, the unearthing of the holy lance – for the *Gesta* author the near-death experience at Antioch, after two years of deprivation, uniquely evoked miracles, and miracles so potent that they delivered the crusaders from the brink of extinction. Here, too, at Antioch, the chronicler's language discloses the crusaders' deepest fears, that Jesus knows their individual sins, and their dearest hope, that their suffering has brought them closer to Jesus, closer to salvation.

With the discovery of the lance the *Gesta* displays confidence in a miracle featuring Provençals favored with heavenly guidance. If this narrative lacks the fervor of the account by the Provençal chronicler Raymond of Aguiliers, still the *Gesta*'s belief in this miracle is a significant marker, signaling a genuine mental shift for the writer.²⁴ Because the Provençals were touting this discovery as their own, and because the lance might therefore legitimize Provençal claims on Antioch, the authenticity of the lance became an intensely partisan issue. Tancred and Bohemond

²³ 'Cum Wido miles honestissimus talia audisset, cum omnibus statim coepit plorare, atque uehementissimo ululatu plangere . . . Nemo namque poterat consolari Widonem plorantem et ferientem se manibus suosque frangentem digitos . . .' (9.27). These are not the only men to cry in the *Gesta*. Most often the weepers are Turks. Fleeing in fright ('tremefactus') after his defeat at Dorylaeum, Suleiman (Qilij-Arslan II, emir of Rum) tearfully ('lacrimabiliter') explained why his men were running away in terror ('timentes tam mirabiliter, ut uix euaserimus de illorum manibus, unde adhuc in nimio terrore sumus', 4.10). When Turks inside Antioch watched the crusaders exhume and decapitate the Muslim dead, they 'grieved every day and did nothing but weep and howl' ('nam cotidie dolentes, nichil aliud agebant nisi flere et ululare', 7.18). Entreating his aid against the crusaders, the son of Antioch's emir pleaded tearfully ('lacrimabiliter', 9.21) with Kerbogha, governor of Mosul. Crusaders weep the last tears in the *Gesta*, when they cry for joy as they worship at last at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem ('Venerunt autem omnes nostri gaudentes et prae nimio gaudio plorantes', 10.38).

²⁴ The *Gesta* author has gone to considerable effort to affirm the truth of all the miracles he reports at Antioch, but especially of the vision of the Lance, where he invokes truth three times: Jeanette M.A. Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages*, Geneva 1981.

were already feuding with Count Raymond of Toulouse, and the lance became the focal point of their dispute.

We see the hostile view of Norman lords in the quite different account of the *Gesta Tancredi* ('The Story of Tancred') by another Norman historian, Ralph of Caen.²⁵ Ralph arrived in Norman Antioch in 1107 or 1108. He was then in his late twenties and a veteran of Bohemond's Epirot campaign of 1107. But he had not experienced the First Crusade, and he did not share the crusader's hard-earned sensibilities. Instead, writing after Tancred's death in about 1113, he packaged Tancred's deeds from the standpoint of a Norman court historian, using – so he claimed – the testimony of Bohemond and Tancred themselves.²⁶

Ralph often betrays a fondness for miracles (e.g. chapters 120, 196). So it is memorable when he attacks the lance as a hoax, an Arabic spear point planted in the cathedral by Peter on behalf of the Provençals (chapters 100–102). Ralph is here presenting the Norman revisionist view, which has an immediately skeptical Bohemond cry: 'Who hid the lance, and why? *O rusticitas credula!*'²⁷ Ralph's Normans delight when Peter's death, after an ordeal by fire, exposes the fraud (chapters 108–110). The *Gesta Francorum*, on the other hand, never mentions the ordeal or questions the authenticity of the lance. If he heard Norman complaints as he was writing, this author did not report them. His silence may reveal a growing disillusionment with Bohemond, whose partisan scheming at Antioch imperiled the mission to Jerusalem.

By this time the *Gesta* author has learned that ordinary crusaders could not count on their lay princes to stay the course or respect their common interests. At the death of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, the *Gesta* mourns the loss of the people's defender (10.30):

There was great trial and tribulation and terrible grief in the whole army of Christ since he was a supporter of the poor and a counselor of the rich, and he used to keep the clergy within proper bounds and preach to the knights and admonish them, saying: 'None of you can be saved unless he honors the poor and succors them. You cannot be saved without them, and they cannot live without you. They ought to offer daily prayers for the forgiveness of your sins to God whom you offend in many ways every day. And so I beg you, for the love of God, that you love them and aid them as much as you can.'

These are the convictions of the *Gesta* author himself, feelings honed by the experience on crusade.

For this writer the heroes most often were common folks in the Christian host, not only soldiers but also the women who aided them (3.9). He treats them with dignity as the moral center of the crusading army, and he grieves for their suffering. Of course, no crusading chronicle could neglect the pain and terror that dog the army. Even Ralph of Caen with his eagerness to please an elite audience, repeatedly noted the hunger, thirst, cold, and inadequate supply of weapons and horses (e.g. chapters 54, 57, 60, 64, 73, 97, 123). All this the anonymous crusader experienced first-hand.

²⁵ *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, 1866, reprint Farnborough 1967, 3.589–716.

²⁶ He also used the history of Fulcher of Chartres but not the *Gesta Francorum*. On this omission see my *Normans in their Histories* (n. 16 above), 164.

²⁷ Colin Morris has shown Ralph's version to be a later reconstruction of events by Normans who needed to discredit Provençal claims to Antioch: 'Policy and Visions' (n. 22 above), 37–9.