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# The Count of Saint-Gilles and the Saints of the Apocalypse: Occitanian Piety and Culture in the Time of the First Crusade

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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Thomas Whitney Lecaque entitled "The Count of Saint-Gilles and the Saints of the Apocalypse: Occitanian Piety and Culture in the Time of the First Crusade." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in History.

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The Count of Saint-Gilles and the Saints of the Apocalypse:  
Occitanian Piety and Culture in the Time of the First Crusade

A Dissertation Presented for the  
Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Thomas Whitney Lecaque

August 2015

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## Abstract

This dissertation examines Raymond of Saint-Gilles' regional affiliation in Occitania (modern southern France) and the effect of that identity on his conduct of the First Crusade. Crusade historiography has not paid much attention to regional difference, but Raymond's case shows that Occitanians approached crusading in a fundamentally different manner from other crusaders. They placed apocalyptic eschatology in the forefront of the First Crusade and portraying the First Crusade as bringing about the New Jerusalem. To be Occitanian was not merely to be a speaker of Occitan. It was to be part of a Mediterranean culture, halfway between classical Roman and medieval Frank, with a religious culture influenced by Greek saints, Egyptian monasticism, an intellectually and culturally vigorous Jewish population, and repeated Arab invasions and pirate raids. It was also to be imbued with *romanitas*, a close connection to Rome, to both the Papacy and the material, legal, and cultural legacy of the Roman Empire. At the same time, Raymond was not the only important figure to go on the First Crusade from Occitania. The papal legate, Adhemar of Le Puy, came from the Auvergne, a radically different region where the reaction to the collapse of the Carolingian empire led to a region ruled by the clergy, supported by idol-like statues of saints and organized through the Peace of God. These two disparate identities came together in the First Crusade, a Gregorian Reformist venture conceived and organized with Occitanian leadership. This team, the new Moses and Aaron of the crusaders, effectively followed papal policy in the early stages of the crusade. With the traumatic siege of Antioch and the "discovery" of the Holy Lance, however, a radical shift in the crusade occurred, following the eschatological visions of a handful of Occitanian priests. Though the Kingdom of God did not, in the end, appear, the apocalyptic eschatology that the Occitanians brought with them on the First Crusade led to Raymond of Saint-Gilles refusing the crown of Jerusalem, preferring to leave empty-handed than risk becoming the Antichrist.

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## Introduction

When Raymond of Saint-Gilles died in the castle of Mons Peregrinorum, in what is today Lebanon, he left behind a realm that had grown from a fortress, a single town and a half share of a monastery to fourteen counties, covering much of southern France and across the Mediterranean and included even a significant holding on the Syrian and Lebanese coast. Throughout this journey, the unique identity of his home region, Occitania, shaped not only his personal development and the development of his realm, but the response of a large contingent of the First Crusade. Taking a cultural-religious perspective on the history of eleventh-century southern France, this dissertation will identify the unique contributions of the Occitanians to the Crusade, showing clearly that regional history and crusade history need to be thought through and written as one. Focusing largely on the figure of Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his core territories, this study enhances our understanding of the plurality of Latin Christian cultures in the Middle Ages and examines how the unique nature of the regions of medieval Occitania shaped the cultural, religious, and political experience of their inhabitants and their participants in the early crusades.

Raymond of Saint-Gilles is a critical figure for not only the First Crusade, but for the history of Occitania. He began his life with almost no territory, given a small piece of his mother's dower lands, but by the time he left on the First Crusade around the age of fifty-five he was in all but title a prince: Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, duke of Narbonne, and marquis of Provence (hereafter Raymond of Saint-Gilles). The wealthiest and most powerful noble in Occitania and founder of the crusader county of Tripoli, Raymond was the subject of a biography by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill in 1959 and is a central character in

every chronicle of the Crusade.<sup>1</sup> The Hills' interests were largely political or biographical, and focused on the First Crusade, with only a single chapter on the first fifty-some years of his life in Occitania, and six chapters on his time in the Levant. They made this choice in part due to an absence of source material, but it is symptomatic of a larger problem in Crusade studies, a focus on the First Crusade from its own perspective rather than as part of the greater context of the eleventh-century.<sup>2</sup>

The Hills' focus on the First Crusade is a result of their own interests as Crusade historians, and their work with the two best-known Occitanian chronicles of the First Crusade, Peter Tudebode and Raymond d'Aguilers.<sup>3</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers was chaplain to Raymond IV and likely canon at the church of St. Michel d'Aiguilhe in Le Puy-en-Velay. He is best known as the author of an eyewitness account of the First Crusade. He has almost exclusively been studied within the context of the crusade as a whole, rarely, if ever, in a regional context. This has made him, and to some extent his lord the count, a peripheral character, as the concerns of his chronicle do not fit with those of most of his contemporaries. It is this perceived gap between his concerns and those of the other crusaders, however, that makes him so interesting. These differences result from his particular Occitanian milieu. The portrayal of Raymond of Saint-

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<sup>1</sup> John Hugh Hill and Laurita Lyttleton Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles, 1041 (ou 1042)-1105*, (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1959); English translation, *Raymond IV Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1962). There is also a French non-fiction novel written about him: Dominique Baudis, *Raimond d'Orient* (Paris: Éditions Grasset, 1999). I became aware of this too late to look at it for the dissertation; my thanks to Anne-Hélène Miller for the reference.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the use of charters in Crusade studies usually looks only at charters by Crusaders themselves and what they can tell us about the First Crusade itself, rather than looking at them as part of the greater context of charters from that time period or region.

<sup>3</sup> They would later publish both critical editions and translations of both works: Petrus Tudebode, *Petrus Tudebodus, Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, tr. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 101 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974) and Petrus Tudebode, *Petrus Tudebodus, Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. J.H. Hill and L.L. Hill (Paris: Geuthner, 1977); Raymond d'Aguilers, *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J.H. Hill and L.L. Hill (Paris: Geuthner, 1969) and Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, tr. J.H. Hill and L.L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968).

Gilles in Raymond d'Aguilers chronicle is a highly inflected one, and the cultural differences between the Auvergne and Provence help explain some of the complexities of the portrayal. I propose, in the first part of this dissertation, to situate both Raymonds in their own place, time and culture, using the study of eleventh-century Occitania to highlight the regional identity and trans-Mediterranean experiences of these two men.

In order to construct a true biography for Raymond of Saint-Gilles, we have to explore the majority of his life and career before the crusade. Unfortunately, there is a genuine paucity of documents related on the subject. In literary sources, with very few exceptions he is only mentioned in the context of the First Crusade. If his early life is dealt with it is only as a prelude to the crusade.<sup>4</sup> The only other contemporary sources are a handful of charters scattered across the archives of southern France and in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and these, unlike sources for later Counts of Toulouse, have yet to be collected into a single edition.<sup>5</sup> Despite the seeming paucity of written sources, enough remains to localize Raymond of Saint-Gilles' power, areas of influence, and socioreligious circles. By placing him firmly within the religious, cultural, and political context of the regions he inhabited and ruled, a portrait of the worldviews that influenced him can be constructed, following the methodology used by Frederic Cheyette in his magisterial book, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*.<sup>6</sup> By combining

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<sup>4</sup> One of the few exceptions is Geoffrey Malaterra, who describes the marriage of Raymond of Saint-Gilles to Matilda of Sicily, daughter of Count Roger I in 1080. Geoffrey Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his brother Duke Robert Guiscard*, tr. Kenneth Baxter Wolf (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005)

<sup>5</sup> A number of those charters are listed in the preliminary bibliography. There is a significant body of secondary literature dealing with individual charters, but much of that is either Crusade-oriented or based on the charters previously collected in the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*. For later counts, there are editions such as Laurent Macé, *Catalogues raimondins (1112-1229). Actes des comtes de Toulouse, ducs de Narbonne et marquis de Provence* (Toulouse : Archives municipales de Toulouse, 2008), which begins just after the period of my dissertation.

<sup>6</sup> Frederic L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2001).

careful regional studies with a biographical approach, a clearer and truer portrait of this important eleventh-century noble can be painted than one that focuses solely on the First Crusade.

Occitania has benefited previously from many regional studies.<sup>7</sup> Most comprehensive and popular texts, however, have focused on later periods and the sensational subjects of troubadour culture and the Catharism: a story of heresy or secular love, of a beautiful society crushed under the heel of French monarchs.<sup>8</sup> Certainly the mythos of the anti-ecclesiastical, worldly Occitanians appeals to modern sensibilities, but it misinterprets the fundamental character of the region. Southern France was populated heavily with a wide assortment of pilgrimage shrines, cathedrals, monasteries, churches, and passionate crusaders to the Holy Land.<sup>9</sup> It was a region of

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<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Frederic Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2001); Claire Taylor, *Heresy, crusade and inquisition in medieval Quercy* (York: York Medieval Press, 2011); Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *La Société laïque et l'Église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cispyrénéenne) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIe siècle* (Toulouse: Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1974) ; Eliana Magnani, *Monastères et aristocratie en Provence - milieu Xe- début XIIIe siècle* (Münster-in-Weisbaden : Lit-Verlag, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> Most English-language texts concerning southern France are either literary and musicological studies of the troubadours (such as the journal of the Société Guilhem IX, *Tenso*, or works of such scholars as Simon Gaunt, William Paden, and Sarah Kay) or studies of heresy and the inquisition (especially the Albigensian crusade, such as by Jonathan Sumption, Joseph Strayer, Elaine Graham-Leigh, Mark Pegg, or Laurence Marvin). For the Cathars, among others, see Peter Biller, "Cathars and the Material World", in *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*, Studies in Church History 46 (Boydell and Brewer: Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 89-110, cf. with Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001; paperback, 2005); for the troubadour and society discussions, see Moshe Lazar, "Fin'amor," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, eds. F.R.P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1995), 61-100; Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: the Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1065-1135 A.D.* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002); William Paden, "Troubadours and History," in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, eds. Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 157-76; Paul Zumthor, "An Overview: Why the Troubadours?," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, eds. F.R.P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1995), 11-18; among many, many others.

<sup>9</sup> The eleventh century was a period of incredible church-building in southern France, as described by Rodolphus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and tr. John France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), 114-117. See April Jehan Morris, "Imag[in]ing the 'East': Visualizing the Threat of Islam and the Desire for the Holy Land in Twelfth-Century Aquitaine," PhD diss, The University of Texas at Austin, 2012; Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, "Les élites et l'architecture dans le centre de la Gaule durant le haut Moyen Âge: L'exemple de Clermont en Auvergne de la cathédrale de Namace (Ve s.) à celle d'Étienne II (Xe s.)," *Hortus Artium Mediev.* 13:1 (2007): 39-50; Michael Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present : Building with Antiquities in the Mediaeval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2009): 483-522; Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "Carolingian Architecture in Southern France: Some Observations in

intensely personal and passionate religious movements, of which the Peace of God and apocalyptic anxieties starting at the first millennium were particularly important. The first council of the Peace of God was held in the late tenth century in the Auvergne, before spreading into Aquitaine and Languedoc. In the early eleventh century this effort morphed into the Truce of God in Roussillon, before the two merged in the mid-eleventh century, again in Languedoc.<sup>10</sup>

The apocalyptic anxieties of the millennium, though heavily debated, are usually supported with evidence from Occitania, especially the chronicles of Ademar of Chabannes and Rodulfus Glaber.<sup>11</sup> There exist small but potent examples of apocalyptic thought in song, charter and artistic evidence in the eleventh-century throughout Occitania.<sup>12</sup>

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Light of the Excavations at Psalmodi,” *Gesta* 16:1 (1977): 23-7; Vivian Paul, “The Beginnings of Gothic Architecture in Languedoc,” *The Art Bulletin* 70:1 (Mar. 1988): 104-122; Jenny H. Shaffer, “Psalmodi and the Architecture of Carolingian Septimania,” *Gesta* 44:1 (2005): 1-11; Damien Martinez and David Morel, “L’Architecture Religieuse de l’Auvergne entre Antiquité Tardive et Haut Moyen Âge à travers la documentation archéologique,” *Hortus Artium Mediev.* 18:1 (2012): 97-121; Caroline Frésard, “La relation du texte et de l’image en Occident au XIème siècle : l’architecture du texte et l’architecture de l’image chez Raoul Glaber, » MA thesis, Université de Neuchâtel, 2011.

<sup>10</sup> The location of the first Peace council in Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “Peace from the Mountains: The Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God”, in *The Peace of God. Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, edited by Thomas Head and Richard Landes, (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), 104-134; the first Truce of God was proclaimed in 1027 in Toulouges in Roussillon, and the two merged together in 1054 at the council of Narbonne.

<sup>11</sup> See among many others, *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Studies in the mutation of European Culture*, eds Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and D. Van Meter (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003); Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes (989-1034)* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); idem., “Roosters Crow, Owls Hoot: On the Dynamics of Apocalyptic Millennialism,” in *War in Heaven, Heaven on Earth: Theories of the Apocalyptic*, ed. Glen S. McGhee & Stephen O’Leary (London: Equinox Press, 2005): 19-46; idem., “The Historiographical Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian History Medieval and Modern,” *Speculum* 75 (2000): 97-145; ibid., “Apocalyptic Expectation, Anti-Semitism, and the Dynamics of Western Culture at the Approach of the Year 2000,” in *A New Millennium: From Dialogue to Reconciliation, Christian and Jewish Reflections*, ed. Eugene J. Fisher and Leon Klenicki (New York: ADL, 2000): 43-50; ibid., “Rodulfus Glaber and the Dawn of the New Millennium: Eschatology, Historiography and the Year 1000” *Revue Mabillon* n.s 7 (1996): 1-21; Dominique Barthélemy, *La mutation de l’an mil a-t-elle eu lieu ?* (Paris, Fayard, 1997) ; ibid., *L’an mil et la paix de Dieu. La France chrétienne et féodale, 980-1060* (Paris, Fayard, 1999) ; Pierre Riché, *Les grandeurs de l’An Mille* (Paris : Éditions Bartillat, 1999) ; and Sylvain Gougenheim, *Les fausses terreurs de l’an Mil. Attente de la fin des temps ou approfondissements de la foi* (Paris : Picard, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> Ademar of Chabannes and Rodolphus Glaber are the two chroniclers, from Aquitaine and Burgundy; for charters, see, for example, Clermont, AD Puy-de-Dôme, 3 G, arm. 18, s.A., c. 12 and c. 21, and for music, Montpellier, Médiathèques de Montpellier Agglomération, MS 6, a tenth-century song of the Apocalypse. In art, there are also the scenes of the Last Judgment St. Michael d’Aiguilhe from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, before the wave of tympanums of the Last Judgment that permeate Romanesque churches. For detailed photos, see Fabienne and Philippe Bousseaud, *Saint-Michel d’Aiguilhe* (La Tronche: Editions Jardin des Arts, 2008); for a detailed study of the church, see the

This dissertation shows that the Peace of God and the apocalyptic anxieties that seemed to shadow it were at the core of southeastern French crusading piety, one of the unique aspects of the mentality of the Occitanian crusaders—not only among the poor, but also affecting the nobility, including Raymond of Saint-Gilles. The “Holy Trinity” of eleventh-century causes for the First Crusade are typically the Reform movement, the early *Reconquista* and the increasing practice of penitential pilgrimage in the eleventh century, all three of which were important in southeastern France. To this list can be added apocalyptic anxieties and socioeconomic problems.<sup>13</sup> The crusade may have been a turning point in European history, one which affected the shape of all future historiography; but rather than marking a complete break with the past, it grew out of these earlier movements.

The single largest and wealthiest contingent to go on the First Crusade came from southeastern France. Usually described as “Provençal” by primary chroniclers, its leaders, Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Adhemar of Le Puy, bishop and papal legate from the Auvergne were Urban II’s first recruits to the expedition. Their respective contingents, grouped together into a single army, were extremely different, both spiritually and culturally, from the other groups on the First Crusade. The regional variations of Christian practice and spirituality found in southern France gave them a markedly different approach to crusading from their Franco-German counterparts. The crusade chronicle of Raymond d’Aguiliers has long been acknowledged for having a view of the crusading mentality different from other contemporary

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volume of collected essays *Saint-Michel d’Aiguilhe: Commémoration du Millénaire de l’Érection de la Chapelle de Saint-Michel d’Aiguilhe* (Le Puy: Éditions de la Société Académique du Puy et de La Haute-Loire, 1962).

<sup>13</sup> For the “Holy Trinity” and apocalyptic anxieties, see the discussion of crusader historiography below. For socioeconomic problems see Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris: A. Colin, 1953).

chronicles, with its emphasis on the poor, visions and apocalyptic thought.<sup>14</sup> The influence of cultural practices peculiar to the region, however, has not been sufficiently recognized.<sup>15</sup> Instead, historians have tended to write about a generalized crusading phenomenon, one shared by all the Franks and one whose characteristics, customs, and motivations are uniform.

Carl Erdmann's work serves as the starting point of many of these modern studies on the First Crusade.<sup>16</sup> His book laid the groundwork for modern Crusade historians to explain the popularity of the First Crusade and its eleventh-century roots. The conceptual framework he established reached a broader audience still when it was adopted by Hans Eberhard Meyer in his

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<sup>14</sup> See Jean Flori, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes. Introduction critique aux sources de la Première croisade* (Geneva : Droz, 2010), chapters 9 and 10. There is a growing bibliography on Raymond d'Aguilers ; see, among many others, Kristen Skottki, "Vom 'Schrecken Gottes' zur Bluttauf. Gewalt und Visionen auf dem Ersten Kreuzzug nach dem Zeugnis des Raimund d'Aguilers," in *Gewalterfahrung und Prophetie*, eds Peter Burschel and Christoph Marx (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013): 445-490; *ibid.*, "Der Antichrist im Heiligen Land. Apokalyptische Feindidentifizierungen in den Chroniken des Ersten Kreuzzugs," in *Antichrist. Konstruktionen von Feindbildern*, eds Wolfram Brandes and Felicitas Schmieder (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010): 69-98. John France, "Two types of vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholemew," *Crusades* 5 (2006): 1-20; Steven Runciman, "The Holy Lance found at Antioch," *Analecta bollandiana, revue critique de hagiographie* 68 (1950): 190-207; 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 James Clarke Holt (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1984): 33-45; Wolfgang Giese, "Die lancea Domini von Antiochia (1098/99)," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 5 vols. (Hanover, 1988): 5: 485-504; Luigi Russo, "Il Liber di Raimondo d'Aguilers e la Sacra Lancia d'Antiochia," *Studi medievali* XLVII, fasc. II (2006) : 785-837 ; Thomas Asbridge, "The Holy Lance of Antioch: Power, Devotion and Memory on the First Crusade," *Reading medieval studies* 33 (2007): 3-36; Paul Alphandéry, "Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première Croisade," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 99 (1929) : 139-157; Susanna Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095-1216* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), chapter 2, "Early Years: Crusading as Vengeance, 1095-1137," 43-72; Jean Flori, "Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L'exemple de la première croisade," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34e année, no. 134 (Avril-juin 1991) : 121-139 ; Barbara Packard, "Remembering the First Crusade: Latin Narrative Histories 1099-c. 1300," PhD Royal Holloway University of London (2011), chapter 1, 23-77; Conor Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 27-39; N. Iorga, *Les Narreurs de la Première Croisade* (Paris: J. Gamber, 1928), 1-16; Oliver Thatcher, "Critical Work on the Latin Sources of the First Crusade," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900* (Washington : Government Printing Office, 1901), I : 499-509; Klemens Klein, *Raimund von Aguilers: Quellenstudie zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1892); and the introduction to John France's dissertation, "A Critical Edition of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers," PhD, University of Nottingham (1967): I-C.

<sup>15</sup> The discussions, for the most part, focus on the Holy Lance controversy; John France, "Two Types of Vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholemew," *Crusades* 5 (2006): 1-20, is a good example of the typical approach—he examines the visions contained within as contrasts between two types of piety, but ignores the apocalyptic elements and does not address the regional identity that went into the writing of the text.

<sup>16</sup> Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, tr. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart, foreword and additional notes Marshall W. Baldwin (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977).

one-volume textbook study of crusading.<sup>17</sup> According to the Erdmann thesis, the crusades were the culmination of an ongoing series of institutional and religious changes in Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries, including the Peace of God. In the Peace of God, Erdmann saw the leaders of the church asserting their authority over the warrior class. The peace councils, held in the presence of saints' relics and led by bishops, made "direct leadership by the church" over the use of war an achievable goal.<sup>18</sup> When combined with hagiographies, such as Odo of Cluny's life of St. Gerald of Aurillac, which sought to create a saintly ideal for warriors, the Peace of God and clerical control of war created the basis for a future chivalric ethos.<sup>19</sup> Erdmann identified the Gregorian Reform, the *Reconquista*, and, to a lesser extent, chivalry as the sources of the First Crusade, with pilgrimage to the Holy Land as a theme used by the Papacy to garner support for holy war.

Jonathan Riley-Smith and his extensive network of students have taken Erdmann's thesis as foundational. The crusade was a product of church idealism and warrior piety. Riley-Smith specifically sees the idea of crusades as derived from the development of penitential pilgrimages in the eleventh century.<sup>20</sup> To Riley-Smith, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was the primary motivation, and it was the connections between families and monastic institutions, combined with the growing penitential conceptions, that made the First Crusade so successful. His book *The First Crusaders* connects this to the importance of family traditions in crusading, work that has been significantly expanded upon by Nicholas Paul.<sup>21</sup> These two points emphasize a very

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<sup>17</sup> Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1972)

<sup>18</sup> Erdmann, 76.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>20</sup> See especially Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London and New York: Continuum, 1993) and *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997).

<sup>21</sup> Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2012).



normative vision of crusading, a focus on piety, tradition, and “positive” intentions, as outlined in his foundational article “Crusading as an Act of Love.”<sup>22</sup> In this way, the dominant view of the crusade has become something that was almost exclusively a product of reformist faith rather than any of the other potential motivations.

The most significant recent work from the Riley-Smith school of thought on the origins of the crusade comes from Marcus Bull, who uses cartulary evidence as his primary source.<sup>23</sup> Bull’s work has become a template for looking at crusader motivations writ large, but what he wrote was a very careful regional study, couching his conclusions in the particular institutions of south-western France. Thus his study treats only marginal regions of Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ territory and army, rather than the core of his and his army’s beliefs. For Bull, the Peace of God and the *Reconquista* have no place in the development of the First Crusade, and the first two chapters of his book refute the importance of each concept in turn. Instead, he champions the role of pilgrimage and penance, rooted in the contact between the laity and the “professed religious” “in the commonplace and unexceptional”.<sup>24</sup> The First Crusade is not “a necessary consequence of the nature of Latin Christian society at the end of the eleventh century,” but Pope Urban II’s appeal succeeds as spectacularly as it does because it responds to the common religious and cultural concerns of the period and locality.<sup>25</sup> The notion of the afterlife was foremost in the minds of the crusaders. Penance and embryonic notions of Purgatory “have a direct bearing upon the response to the First Crusade appeal,” and as a result pilgrimage of the

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<sup>22</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Crusading as an Act of Love,” *History* 65 (1980): 177-192.

<sup>23</sup> Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c. 1130* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993).

<sup>24</sup> Bull, 20.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

“traditional trinity of crusade origins” is still relevant and important in the discussion.<sup>26</sup> The other important part of Bull’s argument is the importance of monastic networks as conduits for spreading the message of and enthusiasm for crusading.<sup>27</sup>

The Riley-Smith model of crusade history has little patience for less orthodox practices and less structured expressions of spiritual enthusiasm. Apocalypticism, in particular, has been downplayed by this dominant, English strand of crusading historiography. French scholars, by contrast, have been more willing to champion it. The earliest modern work on the topic was Alphonse Dupront’s research, drawn from Paul Alphandéry’s course at the *École des Hautes Études* in the 1930s, *La Chrétienté et l’idée de Croisade*.<sup>28</sup> Alphandéry was a historian of “mentalités”, writing a psychohistory of the First Crusade that looked at popular religious movements, in which apocalypticism played a substantial part. The work, however, did not significantly shift the direction of crusade studies. Recently, however, the argument has been taken up by two historians, Jean Flori and Jay Rubenstein, who approach it from very different angles. Flori’s work began with the rehabilitation of the reputation of Peter the Hermit, and the apocalypticism that came out of the German contingents for the First Crusade.<sup>29</sup> In his later work, this expanded to a much broader look at the apocalyptic discourse of the time, even to the point of suggesting the Urban II discussed eschatology at Clermont.<sup>30</sup> Rubenstein’s book, *Armies of Heaven*, and his article “Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Gilles: How

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 19; it was Jonathan Riley-Smith who took this particular model and applied it broadly to the entire crusading movement.

<sup>27</sup> Marcus Bull, “The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade,” *History* 78 (1993): 353-72.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l’idée de Croisade* (Paris : Éditions Albin Michel, 1954-9159), 2 vols.

<sup>29</sup> Jean Flori, *Pierre l’Ermitte et la première croisade* (Paris : Éditions Fayard, 1999). The negative image of Peter comes largely out of Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Le vrai et le faux sur Pierre l’Hermite : Analyse critique des témoignages historiques relatifs à ce personnage et de légendes auxquelles il a donné lieu* (Paris : Librairie de la Société Bibliographique, 1883), which subsequently influenced most modern interpretations of Peter.

<sup>30</sup> Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade, XIe-XIIIe siècle. Communication et propagande* (Paris : Perrin, 2012).

Carolingian Kingship Trumped Millenarianism at the End of the First Crusade”, takes a much more comprehensive look at the apocalypticism of the First Crusade, not only in the so-called “People’s Crusade” but also in the influence of both the Last World Emperor story and the millenarian apocalypticism of the Provençal contingent.<sup>31</sup> Philippe Buc’s new book, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror*, builds on his important recent articles to examine a number of the aspects of Raymond d’Aguilers chronicle, including vengeance, martyrdom, eschatology, and the relationship between typological exegesis and the crusade.<sup>32</sup> The importance of Raymond d’Aguilers’ account for the millenarian march from Antioch to Jerusalem puts Raymond of Saint-Gilles into an important role, but it is one of the few contemporary studies to do so. Barring the examples cited above, scholars remain largely skeptical of apocalypticism as an important phenomenon before the age of Joachim, as noted above.

This is, by and large, the state of the field—the First Crusade was rooted in eleventh-century ecclesiastical, spiritual and political worldviews. Disagreement centers on which parts of that worldview one ought to stress. In considering this question, it is well to remember that Latin Christendom was not a monolithic structure. What many of the studies on the origins and impacts of the First Crusade have in common is that they search for universal motivations, and as

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<sup>31</sup> Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011); Rubenstein, “Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Gilles: How Carolingian Kingship Trumped Millenarianism at the End of the First Crusade”, in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, ed. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 59-75 is an excellent introduction to the specific mechanism of the difference between the two apocalyptic visions.

<sup>32</sup> Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror : Christianity, Violence, and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); idem., “La Vengeance de Dieu: De l’exégèse patristique à la Réforme ecclésiastique et à la première croisade,” in *La vengeance, 400-1200*, eds Dominique Barthélemy, François Bougard, and Régine Le Jan (Rome: École française de Rome, 2006): 451-486 ; idem., “Martyrdom in the West: vengeance, purge, salvation and history,” *Resonances* (2011): 21-56 ; idem., “Some Thoughts on the Christian Theology of Violence, Medieval and Modern, from the Middle Ages to the French Revolution,” *Rivista die storia del cristianesimo* 5 (January 2008): 9-28; idem., “Exégèse et violence dans la tradition occidentale,” *Annali di Storia moderna e contemporanea* 16 (2010): 131-144; and idem., “Religion, violence, pouvoir, vers 1050-vers 1500: doute et contrainte,” in *Formes de convivència a la baixa edat mitjana*, ed. Flocel Sabaté Curull (Lleida : forthcoming).

a result, the major theoretical models can be undercut by specific studies. It is clear that the First Crusade comes out of—not the “eleventh-century worldview,” but—eleventh-century worldviews, variously products of particular culture and regions. The region on which I focus, Occitania, is located along the Rhône River, encompassing the Auvergne and the Bas-Rhône valley.<sup>33</sup> While this approach may seem at first geographically confined, its denizens have provided us with some of the richest source material for the crusade and also played a crucial role in directing the course of the crusade and shaping its ideology.

Much of the surviving documentary evidence from Occitania in the Middle Ages comes in one of three forms: hagiography, music, or charters. Hagiographies are self-evidently part of the spiritual culture of the region, overlapping with visual culture through art and iconography, but being most informative of the religious ideas of the literate bodies of monks and canons. Music is reflective of the culture of the region in which it was written and performed, and liturgical music was one of the most varied and regionally diverse forms of monastic text. By looking at liturgical books from southern France, we can get a sense of the official religious expression of a church, combining hagiography and cultural performance.<sup>34</sup> Unlike many types of sources, extant liturgical books are relatively plentiful for eleventh-century southern France.<sup>35</sup> While the troubadour songs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are certainly the best known forms of Occitanian music, the rich legacy of Latin music from the region is equally important,

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<sup>33</sup> In using the regional description “Bas-Rhône”, I am following Damien Carraz, *L’Ordre du Temple dans La Basse Vallée du Rhône (1124-1312): Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales*, préface d’Alain Demurger (Lyon : Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2005), 15.

<sup>34</sup> On this field of inquiry, see the excellent book by Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), and the introductory bibliography for liturgical studies in his *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, Paris, BNF, MS 776 (Graduel de Gaillac, 3e quart du XIe siècle), Paris, BNF, MS lat. 793 (Lectionarium officii ad usum ecclesiae Arelatensis. Fin du XIe-XIIe siècle), and Paris, BNF, MS lat. 889 (Lectionarium missae et officii ad usum monasterii Montis Majoris. Fin du XIe-XIIe siècle.), all three contemporary books for use in the Mass in Occitania just before the First Crusade.

especially in Aquitaine—the *versus* musical tradition of monastic music, the Aquitanian form of musical notation, and the incredibly rich legacy of music left by Ademar of Chabannes.<sup>36</sup> This musical heritage not only has religious and cultural implications, but political ones, especially the use of music by Ademar to construct a politico-religious argument for the apostolicity of St. Martial.<sup>37</sup> There is also tiny extant corpus of songs written by crusaders from southern France, the troubador songs of William IX of Aquitaine and a small number of Marian hymns by Adhemar of Le Puy.<sup>38</sup> The rich musical legacy of Occitania, combined with mentions of hymns and singing in southern French crusade chronicles absent in more northern sources, make these sources especially important for examining the lived religious experience of the crusaders.

As for cartularies, their importance as a source for crusading has received increasing recognition, beginning with a seminal article by Giles Constable and continuing through the more recent work of Bull and Riley-Smith.<sup>39</sup> Much recent Crusade scholarship looks at the formulas and the language of donations used within charters to discuss motivations for

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<sup>36</sup> For the *versus* tradition, see Rachel Golden Carlson, “Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Twelfth-Century Aquitanian Versus.” Ph.D. diss. (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2000); David A. Bjork, *The Aquitanian Kyrie Repertory of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, ed. Richard L. Crocker (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003). For southern French liturgical music in general, see the excellent volume *Liturgie et musique (IXe-XIVe s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 1 (Toulouse : Édouard Privat, 1982).

<sup>37</sup> For the musical repertoire of Ademar of Chabannes, see James Grier, “Liturgy and Rhetoric in the Service of Fraud: Adémar de Chabannes and the Apostolicity of Saint Martial,” in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies. Cambridge, September 9-12 1998*, ed. Michael W. Herren, C.J. McDonough and Ross G. Arthur. Vol. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pP. 384-397 and *ibid.*, *The musical world of a medieval monk: Adémar de Chabannes in eleventh-century Aquitaine* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006).

<sup>38</sup> For William IX, see *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine*, ed. and tr. Gerald Bond, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Volume 4 Series A (New York & London: Garland Publishing Co., 1982), and George T. Beech, “Contemporary Views of William the Troubadour, IXth Duke of Aquitaine, 1086-1126,” in *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publication, 1986), 73-89. For Adhemar of Le Puy, see the example poem in *One Hundred Latin Hymns: Ambrose to Aquinas*, ed. and tr. Peter G. Walsh with Christopher Husch, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 18, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski. (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard UP, 2012), p.272-3 and 475.

<sup>39</sup> Giles Constable, “Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades,” in *Crusade and Settlement. Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985) 73-89 started the entire trend of charter-dominated crusader studies.

crusading. This is certainly a useful exercise, but charters are, by their very nature, formulaic documents.<sup>40</sup> Instead of retreading this ground, I use these charters as the building blocks for a limited social network analysis. The term “social network” was coined by social anthropologist J.A. Barnes in the 1950s, but has become particularly prominent through computer modeling.<sup>41</sup> An excellent example of the use of social network analysis in premodern history is the work of Adam Schor, using the epistolary records of late antique Syria to show a complex network of friends, allies, and enemies within the camp of Theodoret of Cyrhus.<sup>42</sup> In seeing the documents as the basic building blocks, rather than focusing on the individuals, he shows how social network analysis differs from prosopography and how, within certain source-rich genres, it can be more useful for premodern history.<sup>43</sup> In employing this type of framework Jonathan Riley-Smith has used the data acquired from charters to map out networks of crusaders, usually through kinship links. I ask a different question here, one aimed not at connecting crusaders to each other but crusaders to ecclesiastical institutions, and through those institutions to other notables who may or may not have gone on the crusade. The connections among individuals, institutions, and places, especially places with specific patron saints, is used to chart the networks of spiritual and secular power between monks, saints and lords in the region controlled

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<sup>40</sup> Among others, see Stephen White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The "Laudatio parentum" in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); J. Monfrin, “Le latin medieval et la langue des chartes,” *Vivarium* 8 (1970): 91-98; J. Viellard, *Le latin des diplômes royaux et chartes privées de l'époque mérovingienne* (Paris: Champion, 1927); Arthur Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique; diplôme et chartes, chronologie technique, éléments critiques, et parties constitutives de la teneur des chartes, les chancelleries, les actes privés* (New York : B. Franklin, 1925) ; O. Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale, L'atelier du médiéviste 2* (Leiden : Brill, 1993).

<sup>41</sup> J.A. Barnes, “Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish,” *Human Relations* (1954): 39-58.

<sup>42</sup> Adam Schor, *Theodoret's People: Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 48 (University of California Press, May 2011).

<sup>43</sup> I am more comfortable with the methodology of social network analysis than with prosopography, but the similarities between the two fields have been recognized and explored. See Giovanni Ruffini and Shawn Graham, “Network Analysis and Greco-Roman Prosopography,” in *Prosopography approaches and applications: A handbook*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), 325–36 and Christophe Verbruggen, “Combining Social network analysis and prosopography,” in *ibid.*, 579-601.

by Raymond of Saint-Gilles. Rather than viewing Raymond's realm as a state I use charters to map nodes of influence and power under his control and those of his allies, as well as nodes of influence of particular saints.<sup>44</sup>

This dissertation is broken into five main chapters, with an introduction and conclusion, covering the period from the turn of the millennium until the battle of Ascalon at the end of the First Crusade. The first chapter, "The Count of Saint-Gilles: *Romanitas*, Eastern Saints and the Urban World of Raymond IV" situates Raymond of Saint-Gilles in the context of his early territorial holdings in the Bas-Rhône region. This is the territory that encompasses the inheritance of Raymond of Saint-Gilles—Saint-Gilles, Tarascon, and Beaucaire initially, with the thin strip of territory that connects them. The Bas-Rhône region would be very important in his future development, especially during his time in the Levant. The major monasteries of the region, the major saint-cults and the major cities all played a role in his spiritual and political worldview. These include Nîmes, Arles, and Avignon, and the monasteries of St. Gilles, Psalmodi, St. Roman de Beaucaire, St. Andre d'Avignon, and St. Victor de Marseilles. This region is particularly rich in material remnants, not just medieval monasteries and churches in most of the cities listed above, but also the great detritus of Roman civilization. The medieval cities of Arles and Nîmes were both built onto the old Roman arena, and Provence itself was the first of the Roman conquests outside of Italy. Raymond's life was deeply affected by the eastern origins of the major saints in Provence, of the saints important to him, and the urban, Roman landscape that shaped his political views. By focusing on the territories he inherited as a young

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<sup>44</sup> See Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Charters: The West Frankish Kingdom, 840-987* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) for one of the best examples of the theoretical model of using charters as a public performance and locus of memory—much more interesting and useful than viewing from a purely textual/legal lens; see also Stephen White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France 1050-1150*, Studies in Legal History (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

man, many of which he donated land to in his charters from the Levant at the end of his life, we can see that the nexus of Roman cities around the mouth of the Rhône formed the most important enduring connections in his life. By focusing on the swath of territory around his original inheritance, taking his chosen name of Saint-Gilles seriously, we discover the full importance of the Rhône river valley and the territories of Provence for his own powerbase and for his worldview.

The second chapter, “The Mountains of God: Incarnate Saints and the Auvergnat *Pax*,” examines the Auvergne in terms of both a spiritual and physical topography to show the worldview that influenced Raymond d’Aguilers’ chronicle. Raymond’s chronicle of the First Crusade is the only complete eyewitness account from the perspective of the Provençal army, and shows significant differences from other chronicles: an emphasis on visions, the poor, the role of the clergy and the saints. The Peace of God originated in the Auvergne, and the region was one where there was a tradition, established through the *vita* of Gerald of Aurillac, of a powerful nobleman becoming the champion of the poor. Such is the spiritual culture of the Auvergne. It combines ideas of the Peace with practices that seem primitive or indigenous. These include the tendency to try to embody saints and their relics in figural golden statues. This is where the crusading piety of the chronicler Raymond d’Aguilers seems to come from. The origins of the Peace of God, especially, in the councils of the late tenth century bishop of Le Puy Guy II of Anjou, and its form as a bishop-led council of the knights, poor and saints, was influential in a region where small lordships abounded and fought with the bishopric for temporal control. The art and architecture of the surviving eleventh-century churches, especially saintly iconography, provides a sense of the saints’ vitality in the immediate vicinity where Raymond d’Aguilers worked and lived. The liturgical value of majesty statues, such as Gerald



of Aurillac's and the Marian statues of Clermont and Le Puy, help compensate for a relative poverty of documentary evidence. The region directly around Le Puy-en-Velay and the monastery of La Chaise-Dieu link the spirituality of eleventh-century Auvergne and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, exploring not only the differences between regions of Occitania but how those differences shaped the growth of Raymond's power.

The third chapter, "The Making of a Gregorian Crusade: Pope Urban II, the Count of Saint-Gilles and the Construction of a Papal Crusade Movement," examines the events that led to Raymond of Saint-Gilles becoming the first noble to pledge himself to the crusade. Raymond was a reluctant supporter of the Gregorian Reform, implementing it where and when it suited him and only slowly embracing the spiritual impetus of reform in the 1080s. He had been excommunicated twice by Gregory VII, had benefitted from and defended his association with two simoniac archbishops, Guifred of Narbonne and Aicard of Arles, and had maintained his rights over numerous churches and monasteries throughout his accumulated lands in defiance of clerical and papal decree. Only in the 1090s had he begun loosening his grip on the ecclesiastical patrimony of the areas he controlled, and slowly began obeying the demands of papal legates, thus earning the title of *milite sancti Petri* bestowed upon him by Gregory VII.<sup>45</sup> This track record did not make him an obvious choice to serve as Urban II's champion and potential leader of the First Crusade. The relative lack of sources from this period of Raymond's life means that this chapter focuses heavily on Urban II and the construction of the First Crusade from a papal point of view, emphasizing the role of southern French clergy and culture in its inception. By the time Urban II finally made his appeal at Clermont, the pope had already been in Occitania for months. He had organized other councils, consulted with local rulers and bishops, issued papal

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<sup>45</sup> *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085*, tr. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 1.46, pp. 50-51.

bulls and charters, and met with Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Adhemar of Le Puy. The road to Clermont, and Raymond's role there, had been plotted well before Urban crossed the Alps, at the Council of Piacenza where, arguably, the spark of the first Crusade was ignited.<sup>46</sup> Despite Raymond's checkered record as a reformer, when he decided to join the expedition, he would have understood it as part of broader, longstanding Gregorian program.

The fourth chapter, "The Papal First Crusade: Raymond of Saint-Gilles, *Milites Sancti Petri*, and the Road to Saint Peter of Antioch," follows the First Crusade from its inception to the capture of Antioch, focusing on the role of the Gregorian Papacy and the planned Byzantine-Latin expedition in the early Crusade. Moving beyond Urban II's recruiting program, this chapter examines how the early crusade was conducted by these leaders—Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Adhémar of Le Puy, and their lieutenants. Looking at the path taken by the Provençal army through Dalmatia, the role of the Provençals as papal liasons can be seen in the choice of routes—going through Latin rite Dalmatia not for the practical route of the march, but as a show of strength by the Reformist pope. The fraught relationship with the Byzantines that the other crusading experienced was not necessarily different for Raymond of Saint-Gilles's, despite the near panegyrics that the Byzantine princess historian Anna Komnena would write about him.<sup>47</sup> Throughout these stages of the march, the crusade would remain a Gregorian expedition. This would change radically during the siege of Antioch.

The fifth chapter, "The Saints of the Apocalypse and the Lance of the Passion: The Prophets' Crusade, the Peace of God, and the Coming of the Kingdom of God," focuses on the

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<sup>46</sup> An early interaction between the two is a letter from Urban II to Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Aymeric, viscount of Narbonne, telling them to respect the rights of the Archbishop Dalmatius. See Mansi 20, 678. For the Council of Piacenza as a sparking point for the crusade, see Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2012), 87-100.

<sup>47</sup> Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, 170-1.

apocalyptic, millenarian ideology that drove the Provençal crusaders, and the ways in which the Peace of God and Provençal saints' cults shaped their experience. The performative aspects of the First Crusade are very important—the way the group maneuvered, conceived of themselves as a body, the way they approached military and spiritual decisions, were a performance like a liturgical or penitential rite, or a re-enactment of sacred history. The performance of the First Crusade by the Provençal contingent was very different from the approaches of crusading groups from other regions. Whereas the dominant, modern historiographical interpretations sees most participants experiencing the crusade as an armed pilgrimage, the Provençals, by and large, approached the Crusade as an itinerant Peace council, complete with relic processions, incarnate saints, barefoot penitential marches, and ecclesiastical song.<sup>48</sup> From these aspects, I draw out the apocalyptic elements within the Provençal contingent to demonstrate how they originate from a particular Occitanian context. Of particular interest is the way the actions of Raymond of Saint-Gilles were interpreted by Raymond d'Aguiliers, an Auvergnois priest, especially the interactions with the Arlesien preacher, Peter Bartholomew. What was created was a crusade within a crusade. What began in the Auvergne as a Gregorian call to papal warfare transformed

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<sup>48</sup> Beyond discussing it specifically from the descriptions of Peace councils, it is worth examining these from the point of view of studies of the use of processions. The best theoretical model comes from Susan G. Davis, *Parade and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). For a premodern example, see Jacob A. Latham, "From Literal to Spiritual Soldiers of Christ: Disputed Episcopal Elections and the Advent of Christian Processions in Late Antique Rome," *Church History* 81.2 (2012): 298-327 and his forthcoming *The pompa circensis and the Urban Image of Rome: Processions, Topography, and Collective Memory from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity*. An examination of Occitanian liturgical books from the eleventh century would be helpful on this count, especially as regards the use of ecclesiastical song—some examples include the gradual of St-Michel de Gaillac in the Tarn, but under the control of La Chaise-Dieu (Paris, BNF MS lat. 776) and the tropairum of Moissac (Paris, BNF MS NAL 1871), studied in Marie-Noël Colette, "Le graduel de Gaillac (BnF, lat. 776) et le tropaire de Moissac (BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 1871) Deux manuscrits aquitains contemporains (3<sup>e</sup> quart du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)," in *Les manuscrits liturgiques*, eds. Olivier Legendre and Jean-Baptiste Lebague. (Ædilis, Actes. Séminaires et tables rondes, 9) (Paris-Orléans : IRHT, 2005). [En ligne] [http://aedilis.irht.cnrs.fr/liturgie/03\\_1.htm](http://aedilis.irht.cnrs.fr/liturgie/03_1.htm) A more thorough study using the liturgical books available to Raymond d'Aguiliers and Peter Tudebode is still needed.

into intensely spiritual, miraculous, millenarian movement more characteristic of the region where that sermon was preached than of the pope who preached it.

## **Chapter 1: The Count of Saint-Gilles: *Romanitas*, Eastern Saints and the Urban World of Raymond IV**

In the early 1040s, Count Pons of Toulouse and his wife Almodis had a second son, ensuring stability in the line of the House of Toulouse should Pons' first-born and heir, William, die. The event was not important enough to survive in contemporary documentation, so the birth of the child, Raymond, remains imprecisely dated. Over the course of the tenth century, the House of Toulouse had allowed its territories to be inherited by multiple lines, leading to a dangerous dilution in their core power. Pons, in an attempt to rectify this mistake, gave almost all of his territory, the counties of Toulouse, Albi, Lodeve, and Quercy, to William. His second son, Raymond, would inherit a tiny strip of his mother's dowry, the area of the Argence, including the castle of Tarascon, the town of Beaucaire, a partial holding of the bishopric of Nîmes, and the lay abbacy of Saint-Gilles.<sup>49</sup> From this small area, a territory easily covered today in under thirty minutes by car, Raymond of Saint-Gilles would come to control fourteen separate counties in Occitania and the beginning of a county in the Levant, forging an ambitious but ephemeral trans-Mediterranean principality. It was in this region of the Bas-Rhône, engulfed in the detritus of the Roman Empire, surrounded by ancient cities and the vast waters of the Rhône, the Camargue, and the Mediterranean, that Raymond's identity would be shaped.

The Argence, the band of territory between Beaucaire and Saint-Gilles that made up the vast majority of Raymond's holdings, was surrounded by historical ghosts, of Roman ruins, scars of Arab invasions and pirate raids, saints, apostles, and deep-rooted conflicts between monks,

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<sup>49</sup> For the dowry to Pons' first wife, including all these territories, see *HGL* V, col.428-9, no. 211.

clerics and nobles. The impact of the land around the castle of Beaucaire on Raymond's psyche would have been profound, and would shape the way he viewed the world. The physical detritus of the Roman Empire and the *romanitas* still claimed by the population of the Bas-Rhône region, his first marriage into the family of the counts of Provence, his immersion in the history of that region and memory of repeated Arab invasions, and the variety of eastern saints and Provençal variants of Latin Christianity that he grew up in—these factors together would create a particularly Provençal prince for an Occitanian principality, and a unique leader for the First Crusade.

### **The Count of Saint-Gilles: The Bas-Rhône Holdings of the Toulousain Second Son**

Raymond was born, one assumes, in the Toulousain where his father was count. His father, Pons of Toulouse, was the son of Emma of Provence and William Taillefer of Toulouse.<sup>50</sup> His mother, Almodis of La Marche, was a member of a small principality in the northern Limousin, allied to the House of Toulouse, whose family controlled the county of Périgord and much of the Limousin.<sup>51</sup> We have no certain date for his birth; it is assumed it was sometime in the early 1040s.<sup>52</sup> Raymond was a second son, and in many other circumstances would have been doomed to obscurity in history. He was important enough for the lineage not to be shunted off to a monastery, as is theorized happened to his younger brother Hugh, for Pons of Toulouse attempted to hold on to the fading power of the House of Toulouse by instituting primogeniture

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<sup>50</sup> Jean-Pierre Poly, *La Provence et la Société Féodale 879-1166: Contribution à l'étude des structures dites féodales dans le Midi* (Paris : Bordas, 1976), 34 ; *HGL* III, no. 49, 107 ; no. 79, 127.

<sup>51</sup> Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society 718-1050* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 346.

<sup>52</sup> John Hugh Hill and Laurita Lyttleton Hill, *Raymond IV Count of Toulouse* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1980), 4.

in the inheritance of his children.<sup>53</sup> The rise of primogeniture meant that instead of inheriting the core of the county of Toulouse, like his brother William, Raymond received a small inheritance culled from the dowry given to his mother: the castle of Tarascon, the town of Beaucaire, the territory of the Argence, and the lay abbacy of Saint Gilles.<sup>54</sup>

This background points to one of the key differences between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the other nobles who went on the First Crusade: language. Raymond's identity, in all its facets and ancestry, was Occitanian, geographically and linguistically. His grandmother was Provençal, his grandfather Toulousain; his father Toulousain, and his mother Limousin—all Occitanian-speaking regions. Each region would have had a distinct dialect, but they all differed linguistically from the langue d'oïl spoken north of the Loire. The mix of languages spoken around the court of Toulouse is hard to reconstruct, especially in the eleventh century when the records of Occitan are still vague, but there is evidence of the kind of Occitan spoken around the Argence via the langue d'oc dialect spoken in Avignon.<sup>55</sup> Six charters survive from the cartulary of Notre-Dame des Doms of Avignon from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, all within the first quarter century, primarily in a dialect of Occitan.<sup>56</sup> The version of the language is not all that different from the standard version of Provençal, one of the major branches of Occitan, found east of the Rhône. We also have proof that Raymond of Saint-Gilles spoke Provençal in his business life. One of his final charters, given in 1103 from the Holy Land, is the oldest act in Occitan held in the

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<sup>53</sup> Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, 6. The specific terms of the primogeniture is contained in the charter of Pons confirming the union of Moissac to Cluny in 1053; *HGL* V, no. 235, col. 470-1.

<sup>54</sup> Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, 8. See *HGL* III, no. 102, 144, for the terms of the dowry to Pons' first wife, Majore, likely the daughter of the counts of Carcassonne or Foix.

<sup>55</sup> See P. Pansier, *Histoire de la Langue Provençale a Avignon du XII<sup>me</sup> au XIX<sup>me</sup> siècle*, tome 1 (Avignon : Librairie Aubanel Frères, 1924), 1-34.

<sup>56</sup> Pansier, *Histoire de la Langue Provençale*, 1-6.

Archives Nationales in Paris, a “serment” between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Pons for the castles of Fos, Hyeres and Aix, all in the near area of the east bank of the Rhône.<sup>57</sup>

The region was as geographically distinct as the dialect was linguistically so. There are no surviving vestiges of what Tarascon would have looked like in the eleventh century. Where Raymond’s castle stood has long since been replaced by the picturesque castle of the Roi Rene. As a result, we have only the barest knowledge of Raymond’s first castle, which controlled the eastern bank of the Rhône crossing at Beaucaire. There was no bridge connecting the two sides, though it was an important river-port in the High Middle Ages and a riverine crossing point from the Roman period.<sup>58</sup> There was, presumably, a small town around the castle itself to support the port and some of the trade that passed through. Tarascon would also become, in the twelfth century, an important depot for the salt trade. The earliest surviving document to demonstrate the point comes from the Counts of Barcelona in the mid-twelfth century, but there is reason to assume that, like the lords of Baux and the archbishops of Arles, the ruler of Tarascon was a minor “Lord of Salt,” *domini salis*.<sup>59</sup> The region on both sides of the Rhône was also rich in the agricultural products that made Provence wealthy: olives and olive oil, grapes and wine, a variety of herbs, and plentiful fishing along the river.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Paris, Archives Nationales J329/22,

[http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran\\_fr?ACTION=RETROUVER&FIELD\\_5=MOTS-MAT&VALUE\\_5=%20langue%20fran%20E7aise&NUMBER=2&GRP=0&REQ=%28%28langue%20fran%20E7aise%29%20%3AMOTS-MAT%20%29&USRNAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=3&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=100&DOM=All](http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran_fr?ACTION=RETROUVER&FIELD_5=MOTS-MAT&VALUE_5=%20langue%20fran%20E7aise&NUMBER=2&GRP=0&REQ=%28%28langue%20fran%20E7aise%29%20%3AMOTS-MAT%20%29&USRNAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=3&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=100&DOM=All)

<sup>58</sup> Robert Vignal, “Le Passage du Rhône à Tarascon, » *Provence historique* 157 (1989) : 385-389 ; Philippe Leveau, « La cité romaine d’Arles et le Rhône : La romanisation d’un espace deltaïque, » *American Journal of Archaeology* 108, no. 3 (July 2004) : 352.

<sup>59</sup> J. de Romefort, “Aux origines provençales de la gabelle. Le monopole du sel à Tarascon en 1150, » *Provence historique, Mélanges Busquet*, Numéro spécial 6 (1956) : 59-63.

<sup>60</sup> James C. Anderson, Jr, *Roman Architecture in Provence* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 5-6; A. Trevor Hodge, *Ancient Greek France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 51.



In terms of spiritual life, there was a church dedicated to Saint Martha, possibly as early as the tenth century.<sup>61</sup> Saint Martha, best known for her connection to Jesus in Palestine, became part of the Provençal cult of saints through an interconnected group of Biblical figures who, according to legend, came to southern France after the Resurrection. These were Mary Magdalene, the most famous of the three, Martha, and Lazarus. Mary Magdalene was the most important of these, with a tenth-century legend recorded of their arrival in southern France, her life in Gaul and burial in Aix-en-Provence, appearing in Odo of Cluny's sermon "In veneration Sanctae Mariae Magdaleneae."<sup>62</sup> By the eleventh century, this had been fleshed out into a *vita* that included most of the proper elements of the Provençal legend of Mary Magdalene.<sup>63</sup> The importance of Martha in the period before the development of the Tarasque legend was based on the story of Christ's visit to her house, and the conflation of Mary Magdalene with Martha's sister Mary of Bethany. The story of Mary and Martha was found in two places in the Gospels, in Luke 10:38-42 and John 12:1-8.<sup>64</sup> Mary would come to represent a contemplative life, and Martha one of service, a role that would have had an appeal to someone like Raymond of Saint-Gilles' who would develop a program of "active Christianity".<sup>65</sup> The role of Martha as one of good service over perfect faith made a better role model for the laity than Mary, whose pure

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<sup>61</sup> The earliest surviving manuscripts for the legend of St. Martha and the Tarasque, which the town is known for, date from the late 12th c. See Veronique Olivier, "La Vie de Sainte Marthe de Tarascon: Édition, Traduction et Analyse Historique," M.A. Thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 2010 ; Noël Coulet, «Un dragon nommé Tarascon,» *Provence historique* 166 (1991) : 574.

<sup>62</sup> Jane Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene & Her Sister Martha: An Edition and Translation of the Medieval Welsh Lives* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013), 16; *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of her Sister Saint Martha*, tr. and annotated David Mycoff (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1989), 5-6.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*; Christopher Olaf Blum, «Vezelay: The Mountain of the Lord," *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 8 (Summer 2005): 146-7.

<sup>64</sup> Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ, The Orders of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), 3.

<sup>65</sup> See especially Katherine L. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999)" 50-4; François Bovon, *Luke 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 9:51-19:27*, tr. Donald S. Deer (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 67-80, esp.74-7; Constable, 14-22. John Cassian's interpretation of their story in his *Conferences* would have been important, placing Martha's focus on hospitality and humanity; Constable, 17.

contemplation was monastic. The active life exemplified by Martha would come to be understood as including “marriage as well as charitable activities like caring for the poor, sick, prisoners, and guests,” all of which could be done by a lay aristocrat.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, by the central Middle Ages, the sisters were seen as a binary pair symbolizing monks and hermits on the side of Mary and the clergy and laity on the side of Martha.<sup>67</sup> We can guess, though it must remain a guess, that the importance of the active life in Martha’s Provençal context would influence Raymond’s vision of the church, something that would come back in his patronage of the monastery of La Chaise-Dieu.<sup>68</sup>

On the other side of the Rhône from the castle of Tarascon, now connected by a bridge, sat the small town of Beaucaire, Raymond’s largest holding. The town had Roman origins, though it was and remains a relatively small town today. The Roman settlement, *Ugernum*, had been built as a fortress and waystation on the *Via Domitia* from Rome to Spain, and in the Middle Ages the section of the road between Beaucaire and Nîmes was still intact and in use.<sup>69</sup> The original *raison d’être* of the dual towns of Beaucaire and Tarascon was as the crossing point for the *Via Domitia* on the Rhône. In the eleventh century, with competing river-ports on both sides and the surviving Roman road-ways connecting Beaucaire down towards Spain and Tarascon towards Italy, the small territory Raymond inherited was immensely profitable in terms

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<sup>66</sup> Constable, 24.

<sup>67</sup> Constable, 32.

<sup>68</sup> This will be discussed in further detail in chapter 2.

<sup>69</sup> Cécile Carrier, “Les statues de la route de Beaucaire à Nîmes,” in *Les ateliers de sculpture régionaux : techniques, styles, et iconographie : actes du Xe Colloque international sur l’art provincial romain, Arles et Aix-en-Provence, 21-23 mai 2007* (Aix-en-Provence : Centre Camille-Jullian, 2009) : 95-104 ; Swanzie Agnew, « The Cultural Heritage of Bas Languedoc, France, » *Geography* 36 (March 1951) : 45 ; Maurice Contestin and Olivier Lombard, « Développement Urbain et Grand Commerce. Beaucaire Ville de Foires du Moyen Age à l’époque contemporaine, » *Congrès Archéologique de France 134<sup>e</sup> session, 1976, Pays d’Arles* (Paris : Société Française d’Archéologie, 1979) : 28-29 ; Anderson, jr, 8.

of trade.<sup>70</sup> The current castle that overlooks the city was built in the twelfth century and would remain one of the favorite residences of the counts of Toulouse throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>71</sup>

Outside of the temporal structures in Beaucaire, there was also the troglodyte monastery of Saint-Roman, some five kilometers to the north, built into the top of the tallest of three hills just west of Beaucaire.<sup>72</sup> The remnants of the monastery reveal a small but fascinating site, built into multiple layers of the rock, the only troglodyte monastery in France. The presence of this style of monastery, common in Byzantium and eastern Christian monasteries, would have impacted Raymond's worldview, the spiritual foundation integrated literally into the landscape of the Argence. In 1102 the monastery would become a priory of the great Camargue monastery of Psalmodi, itself now largely destroyed or part of private residences.<sup>73</sup> The charter of that donation remains the earliest surviving document from Saint-Roman, but there are small mentions in other sources that can give a sense of what kind of place it was when it was intact. Saint Roman was, according to local tradition, a fifth-century disciple of John Cassian, the founder of Saint-Victor of Marseilles and the importer of Eastern-style monasticism to southern

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<sup>70</sup> M. le marquis de Roys, « Quelques anciens documents sur la ville de Beaucaire, » *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* 2 Série, Vol. 1 (Jan. 1857-Dec. 1858) : 149.

<sup>71</sup> There are a number of charters in Laurent Macé, *Catalogues raimondins: Actes des comtes de Toulouse, ducs de Narbonne et marquis de Provence (1112-1299)*, Sources de l'Histoire de Toulouse 1 (Toulouse : Archives municipales de Toulouse, 2008), no. 5, Alphonse Jordan in 1125, 63-5 ; no. 7, Alphonse Jordan in 1125, 65 ; no. 106, Raymond V in 1165, 124 ; no. 107, Raymond V in 1165, 124-5 ; no. 160, Raymond V in 1176, 155 ; no. 165, Raymond V in 1178, 158-9 ; no. 170, Raymond V in 1180, 162-3 ; no. 210, Raymond V in 1185 or 1186, 184 ; no. 211, Raymond V in 1185 or 1186, 185 ; no. 314, Raymond VI in 1202, 247-9 ; no. 326, Raymond VI in 1203, 259-60 ; no. 333, Raymond VI in 1203 or 1204, 263-4 ; no. 414, Raymond VI in 1215, 316 ; no. 417, Raymond VI in 1217, 317 ; no. 418, Raymond VI in 1217, 318 ; no. 419, Raymond VI in 1217, 318 ; and no. 454, Raymond VII in 1216, 339.

<sup>72</sup> Jean Roche, « L'Abbaye de Saint-Roman de l'Aiguille, » *Congrès Archéologique de France 134<sup>e</sup> session, 1976, Pays d'Arles* (Paris : Société Française d'Archéologie, 1979), 114.

<sup>73</sup> Poly, *La Provence*, 279. The donation was made by Bertrand of Saint-Gilles. The monastery had previously appeared in an 1008 charter of Psalmodi as *Sanctus Romanus*; Domergue, *Saint-Roman*, 1-2; Roche, 115-6

Gaul.<sup>74</sup> While there are no primary texts surviving from the monastery, this potentially legendary connection would explain why the monastery was built along the lines of the Desert Fathers' cell structure along the three hills, a rupestrian structure more common in the East than the West.<sup>75</sup> Sometime between its foundation and the beginning of the eleventh century, the monastery adopted the Benedictine Rule.<sup>76</sup> From the summit of the monastery, one can see Nîmes, Avignon, Tarascon and Beaucaire, Arles, Montmajour, and even as far as the edges of the territory of Saint-Gilles.<sup>77</sup> It was thus not only the most imposing spiritual structure in Beaucaire, but it also lay at the heart of the territory with which Raymond started his career, cementing his minor realm between the three great cities and important monasteries.<sup>78</sup>

The 1102 charter donating Saint-Roman to Psalmodi shows that the abbey was the head of fifteen priory-churches in the region and was thus in Raymond's time not an insignificant holding for the lord. Eight of these were within the immediate region of the Argence, on both sides of the Rhône but within close distance.<sup>79</sup> The closest was the church of Saint-Laurent de Jonquières, still extant today, on the *Via Domitia* from Beaucaire to Nîmes. Architectural evidence suggests that it was built in the third quarter of the eleventh century, and thus during Raymond's lifetime, and was a good example of early Provençal Romanesque.<sup>80</sup> Saint-Roman also controlled a portion of the church of Saint Nazaire of Beaucaire, though this claim was

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<sup>74</sup> Paul Courbon, « Abbaye de Saint-Roman, Beaucaire (Gard), » accessed 3-17-2015, [http://www.chroniques-souterraines.fr/dossiers/Sites\\_Rupestres/99\\_Et\\_Ailleurs/saintroman.pdf](http://www.chroniques-souterraines.fr/dossiers/Sites_Rupestres/99_Et_Ailleurs/saintroman.pdf). Merovingian monasticism was based either on the lines of Saint Martin-Aquitaine or the lines of Lérins-Marseille. Saint Roman clearly followed that eastern lines promulgated by Honoratus and Cassian. See Patrick J. Geary, *Before France & Germany: The Creation & Transformation of the Merovingian World* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988), 145.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. ; Charles-Mathieu Domergue, *Saint-Roman en Argence*, Bulletin Historique et Archéologique de Vaucluse III (Avignon : Seguin, 1881), 8-9 ; Roche, 114.

<sup>76</sup> Courbon, « Abbaye de Saint-Roman. »

<sup>77</sup> Roche, 114-5.

<sup>78</sup> Domergue, 3.

<sup>79</sup> Domergue, 12; *HGL* V, no. 412, col. 775-6

<sup>80</sup> André Michelozzi, "L'église romane Saint-Laurent à Jonquières-et-Saint-Vincent (Gard), » *Archéologie du Midi Médiéval* 22 (2004) : 27-44.

subject to some dispute.<sup>81</sup> While the 1102 charter claimed the entire church for Psalmodi, in 1095 Raymond of Saint-Gilles had given part of the church and his holding in Beaucaire to La Chaise-Dieu in the Auvergne.<sup>82</sup> Much less is known about the others churches attached to Saint-Roman, with five more in the Argence and seven other spread in the dioceses of Aix, Sisteron and Maguelonne, showing a spread through the Bas-Rhône region, but concentrated in the core territories of Raymond of Saint-Gilles.<sup>83</sup>

The heart of Raymond's inheritance was the Abbey of Saint-Gilles, some twenty-five kilometers south-west of Beaucaire on the edge of the Camargue swamp. As it stands today, the famous Romanesque abbey is a twelfth-century construction, but the previous structure was already a pilgrimage site in the 10<sup>th</sup> century for Occitania and, after 1029, the north as well.<sup>84</sup> It would in the course of the later eleventh and twelfth century become an international pilgrimage destination. We can see the international recognition achieved by the church and the saint in northern Europe through the fact that a neighborhood in London was named after St. Giles, and a church was dedicated to him there in 1090.<sup>85</sup> The prestige of the church and saint in Eastern Europe is also present, as there are records of Polish nobility in the twelfth century obituary of the abbey of Saint-Gilles, and there is even Old Church Slavonic graffiti inside the church from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.<sup>86</sup> The expansion of the abbey's holdings would

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<sup>81</sup> Domergue, 13-5.

<sup>82</sup> Domergue, 14; *HGL* V, no. 394, col. 746; Constestini and Lombard, 34. This will be discussed further in chapter 2.

<sup>83</sup> Domergue, 11, 15-19. 57-8. *HGL* V, no. 412, col. 775-6.

<sup>84</sup> Pierre-Gilles Girault, "Observations sur le culte de saint Gilles dans le Midi," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 37 (2002) : 431-454. Nothing survives of the pre-twelfth century church; even the foundation of the current structure can be dated to 1116. See Carra Ferguson O'Meara, "Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: The Relationship of the Foundation to the Façade," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 39 (March, 1980): 57-60, and Meyer Schapiro, "New Documents on St.-Gilles," *The Art Bulletin* 17 (Dec. 1935): 423-4.

<sup>85</sup> See Elizabeth Howe and David Lakin, *Roman and medieval Cripplegate, City of London: Archaeological excavations 1992-8* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2004), 61.

<sup>86</sup> Pierre David, "La Pologne et les pays slaves dans l'Obituaire de Saint-Gilles au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," » *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 83<sup>e</sup> année, n. 6 (1939) : 614-6 and --, « La Pologne dans

mirror this success, though for all the increase of priories across Europe its status remained deeply contested.

The abbey actively fought against outside interventions in its affairs throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, specifically against the bishops of Nîmes, the monks of Cluny, and the counts of Toulouse.<sup>87</sup> Well studied by Amy Remensnyder, their cartulary is organized in sequential sections dealing with each of the abbey's foes individually, but in the eleventh-century there was no clear delineation between the three oppressors of the monastery.<sup>88</sup> Not only did the count of Saint-Gilles feel free to use the lands of the monastery, but he was also one of the major controllers of the bishopric of Nîmes, the traditional rivals of Saint-Gilles. He was also, along with his mother, Almodis of La Manche, partly to blame for the church's troubled relationship with Cluny. In 1066, when Raymond was in his twenties and beginning to expand his territory out of the Bas-Rhône, he witnessed a charter placing the abbey of Saint-Gilles under the control of Cluny. The charter was written from the church of Saint Baudile in Nîmes, and was witnessed by a long list of the nobility of the region, from Toulouse to Marseilles.<sup>89</sup> Based in large part on this donation, John and Laurita Hill have argued that Raymond was particularly attached to the Cluniac order.<sup>90</sup> After 1066, however, Raymond never again donated territory to Cluny. Indeed, he never made an independent donation to Cluny, only as a co-signatory with his mother, who through her other charters clearly supported Cluny in a variety of regions. His connections to

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l'obituaire de Saint-Gilles en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle, » *Revue des études slaves* 19, fasc. 3-4 (1939) : 217-226. The manuscript is London, BL Add. 16979, which begins just before the First Crusade in 1085; Anne-Sophie Brun, Andreas Hartmann-Virnich, Estelle Ingrand-Varenne, and Savva M. Mikheev, "Old Russian Graffito Inscription in the Abbey of Saint-Gilles, South of France," *Slovene* 2 (2014): 110-129.

<sup>87</sup> Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1995), 218-243.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* The cartulary is now Paris, BNF lat. 11018.

<sup>89</sup> *HGL* V, col. 542-4, no. 276.

<sup>90</sup> *HGL* V, col. 531-2, no. 270; Along with his involvement in the integration of the abbey of Goudargues into the network of Cluny, and its church of Saint-Saturnin on the Rhône, this is the basis of the claim.

churches and monasteries were distinctly regional, not to the continually expanding network of Cluny.

Saint-Gilles would spend significant time and energy fighting off Cluny's attempts to implement the union, and, despite being witness to the donation, Raymond does not seem to have made any attempt to give up his control of the abbey. Nor would the union with Cluny have any substantial impact on the bishops of Nîmes attempts to assert their control. The conflict with the bishops of Nîmes was long-standing, potentially as early as 814, the first mention of the monastery in a charter of Louis the Pious where it is referred to as one of the bishopric's *cellae*.<sup>91</sup> In what is likely an eleventh or twelfth century falsified charter, an 878 entry claims that Saint-Gilles, like Cluny, had been made a papal possession.<sup>92</sup> This made the papacy a factor in all further discussions, and was used repeatedly by the abbey against the bishops of Nîmes—the monastery was not claiming independence, but that it had the same rights and privileges as Cluny, being directly under the Pope and not the bishop of Nîmes.<sup>93</sup> In this context, the idea of a papal monastery was understood via the position of Cluny, allowing Saint-Gilles to claim independence from Nîmes, from the laity, and from Cluny itself through its direct relationship with the Pope.<sup>94</sup>

For Raymond, the abbey would be the source of his enduring title, the Count of Saint-Gilles. This appears in the first written record of his existence, a charter to the abbey of Lezat, where the final signatory is “Raimundus Sancti Egidii comes,” in 1058.<sup>95</sup> If, by the end of his

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<sup>91</sup> Remensnyder, 221-2; Emile Lesne, “Les ordonnances monastiques de Louis le Pieux et la Notitia de servitio monasteriorum,” *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise en France* 6 (1920) : 161-175, 449-493.

<sup>92</sup> Remensnyder, 222.

<sup>93</sup> Remensnyder 222-5.

<sup>94</sup> Remensnyder, 225-7. See the *Register of Gregory VII*, 1.68, p 71-2 for Gregory VII ordering Froterius II of Nîmes to leave the abbey alone, March 1074.

<sup>95</sup> *HGL* V, col. 503-4, no. 252 part 2. Paris, BNF lat. 9189, f. 62r—this is a 13<sup>th</sup> c. copy of the charter.

teens, he was already the count of Saint-Gilles, we can assume that the actual cult of Saint-Gilles must have made an impression of Raymond. The counts of Toulouse for most of the eleventh century had treated the abbey as their personal property, starting in a charter issued in 1037 by Raymond's father, Pons, giving the monastery to his first wife.<sup>96</sup> Raymond would spend significant time dealing with affairs of the monastery, first his alienation of his rights over it and then his attempts to reclaim them. Economically, the town that formed around the monastery was incredibly important for Raymond. It was a prosperous port, where Raymond held several buildings, including a mint that Raymond himself had started.<sup>97</sup>

More than just another powerful township and abbey, however, the actual religious practice and hagiographic background of Saint Gilles would influence Raymond. The only pre-crusade surviving liturgy of Saint-Gilles is from the early eleventh century, written by Fulbert of Chartres, and thus does not necessarily tell us what was practiced at the monastery itself.<sup>98</sup> Fulbert used part of the Latin *vita* in his liturgy, giving us a *terminus ante quem* for the text of 1028. According to the Latin *vita*, Gilles was born to a noble Greek family in Athens. He began performing miracles, donated his family's lands to the church when they died, and became famous throughout Greece. Like any good saint, this fame was terribly troubling to him; therefore he decided to cross the ocean in order to live as an obscure hermit. God sent him a boat, which promptly took him to Marseilles. From there, he went to Arles, where he met Caesarius and performed miracles. Because of the miracles, Arles grew crowded with admirers,

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<sup>96</sup> Remensnyder, 230-1; *HGL* V, col. 428-9, no. 211.

<sup>97</sup> Remensnyder, 231; H. Rolland, "La monnaie de Saint-Gilles," *Provence historique* 5 (1955) : 32-38 ; Etienne Cavalié, « Le type numismatique de Saint-Gilles, » *Revue française de numismatique* 162 (2006) : 417-442. <halshs-00272900> ; Christophe Calmés, « Étude documentaire, » [https://www.academia.edu/5290583/R\\_Carme\\_2013\\_-\\_Saint-Gilles\\_Saint-Pierre\\_Ch\\_Calm%C3%A9s\\_%C3%A9tude\\_documentaire](https://www.academia.edu/5290583/R_Carme_2013_-_Saint-Gilles_Saint-Pierre_Ch_Calm%C3%A9s_%C3%A9tude_documentaire)

<sup>98</sup> For the Chartres liturgy of Saint Gilles, see Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale MS na4, f. 96r-98r.



so he once again retreated into the wild, living on the milk of a deer, herbs and water. Eventually, he was found by Flavius, king of the Goths, who convinced him to build a monastery. Later on King Charles (either Charles Martel or Charlemagne in this version, though it is definitely Charlemagne by the twelfth century) convinced him to go north to Orléans to hear his confession. Finally, before dying, he went to Rome to get an exemption from external interference anachronistically modeled after Cluny's.<sup>99</sup>

Not only does the *vita* explain the spread of the cult, with its connections to the universalizing Latin empires of Rome and Charlemagne, but the figure of Saint Gilles connected the Mediterranean to the greater European world. The life has several connections to the title of Count of Saint-Gilles, especially considering Raymond's later exploits. First and foremost, Saint Gilles is a Greek saint. Raymond, who was one of a handful of crusading leaders who got along well with the Byzantines, and forged a lifelong partnership with them, thus carried the name of a miracle-working Greek nobleman. Secondly, in his *vita*, St. Gilles manages to unify East and West, as well as several layers of history. His is the story of southern France: from the Greco-Roman East to the Visigothic Kingdom of southern France to the Carolingians. The connection to the monastery placed Raymond in extremely elevated company. Finally, Saint Gilles is also a very Mediterranean, and particularly Provençal saint, in a way that Raymond's own life would seem to echo. As someone who started in the Bas-Rhône and ended up by creating a principality spanning the Mediterranean, the life of Saint Gilles was a powerful symbol. Raymond's later career would show an enduring connection to the relatively small stretch of territory around the mouth of the Rhône, with the church of Saint-Gilles at its heart.

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<sup>99</sup> The Latin *vita* is in Guillaume de Berneville, *La Vie de Saint Gilles*, tr., intro and annotations by Françoise Laurent (Paris : Honoré Champion, 2003), 244-271.

### ***Romanitas* and Raymond: Memories of Empire in Mediterranean Occitania**

The importance of Raymond's early holdings was accented by the three major cities around his original territory — Nîmes, Arles and Avignon. All three were former centers of Roman culture. In Raymond's day, they constituted a pair of bishoprics and an archbishopric, and were all more important sites than Saint-Gilles, despite the latter's spiritual value.<sup>100</sup> They were also centers for the memory of antiquity, with Nîmes and Arles in particular preserving physical and memorial remnants of the Roman Empire that continued to stand and were used in the Middle Ages. From the small core of the Argence, Raymond would eventually come to control almost all of Gallia Narbonensis, the official name of what was often referred to by Roman historians as "provincial nostra," "our province," the origin of the modern Provence.<sup>101</sup> Pliny the Elder described the region as:

separated from Italy by the river Var and by the ranges of the Alps—very positively for the Roman Empire—and from the rest of Gaul on the north side by the Cevennes and Jura mountains. In agriculture, in worthiness of men and manners, in greatness of wealth, it should be placed second to none of the provinces; in short [it is] Italy more than a province.<sup>102</sup>

The region as understood by the Romans covered much more than the modern region of Provence, stretching along the Mediterranean littoral from the Alps to the Pyrenees, bounded in the northwest by the Cevennes Mountains, reaching Toulouse in the west, and up the Rhône to the area around Vienne.<sup>103</sup> By the end of his life, Raymond of Saint-Gilles would have reunited

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<sup>100</sup> Avignon will be discussed in detail later in the chapter; it was actually a pre-roman city, and while there was certainly a Roman settlement there, it never achieved the size and majesty of its southern neighbors. See Paul-Albert Février, « The Origin and Growth of the Cities of Southern Gaul to the Third Century A.D.: An Assessment of the Most Recent Archaeological Discoveries, » 15.

<sup>101</sup> Anderson, Jr, 3.

<sup>102</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 3.31.4, quoted in *ibid*.

<sup>103</sup> Anderson, Jr., 5.

most of this territory under his grasp, from links to the county of Cerdagne in the Pyrenees, the greater county of Toulouse, the duchy of Narbonne, the marquisate of Provence, and in the north the counties of Rouergue and Gevaudan, and links as far north on the Rhône as the southern reaches of the Drome. He would, in effect, recreate “provincia nostra” as a semi-independent principality under his rule.

The region around Raymond was steeped in the power of *romanitas*, a Roman-ness, and this legacy would affect him while he was building an independent principality. Nîmes, Arles, and Orange to the north were all Roman sites mentioned by Greek historians and geographers in their description of southern Gaul, and all contained remnants of the architectural program of Augustus Caesar.<sup>104</sup> Outside of the city of Rome itself, the relatively small area between Orange, Nîmes, Arles and Saint-Rémy, all around the Bas-Rhône, contains the most impressive collection of surviving Roman monuments today, with a number of other less well-preserved sites along the Provençal coast and in the area of the lower Rhône.<sup>105</sup> The city of Marseilles, though outside of the direct territory of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, was one of the great Greek colonies and remained an important port city through the Middle Ages.<sup>106</sup> Within Nîmes and Arles, flanking the Argence, the vestiges took on even greater memorial importance.

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<sup>104</sup> Charles Picard and George Yanitelli, “The Romans in Paris,” *Archaeology* 3 (June 1950): 112; Gilbert Picard, “La Romanisation de la Gaule: Problèmes et Perspectives,” *Revue Archéologique*, nouvelle série, fasc. 2 (1993): 356-362; Charles Ebel, “Southern Gaul in the Triumviral Period: A Critical Stage of Romanization,” *The American Journal of Philology* 109, no. 4 (Winter 1988): 572-590.

<sup>105</sup> H.V. Canter, “Roman Remains in Southern France,” *The Classical Journal* 30 (Oct. 1934): 5; Gustaf Sobin, *Ladder of Shadows: Reflecting on Medieval Vestige in Provence and Languedoc* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2009) for a poetic-scholarly appreciation of the vast quantity of Roman and medieval vestiges in the region.

<sup>106</sup> Canter, 6-7; S.T. Loseby, “Marseille: A Late Antique Success Story?,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992): 165-185; Picard, 353-4; Hodge, *Ancient Greek France* which focuses on Marseilles; and Fernand Benoit, “The New Excavations at Marseilles,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 53 (Jul.-Sept. 1949): 237-240.

Nîmes, in particular, was influential in Raymond's early life as the site of the bishopric controlling the Argence. The western bank of the Rhône was part of the bishopric of Nîmes, and his holdings may have stretched, at least in part, as far as the edge of the city, and the diocese itself covered the original Roman territory of the Nîmois.<sup>107</sup> In the Middle Ages, temporal power in the city was in principal divided between the bishop of Nimes, the viscount, and the knights of the Arena, the urban aristocracy. In reality the families of the viscount and bishop were often related; in the eleventh century, they were often both members of the Trencavel family, hereditary viscounts of Albi and Nîmes. When Raymond was young, the Trencavel leader was Raymond Bernard, hereditary viscount of Albi and Nimes, and, through marriage, the count of Carcassonne and viscount of Beziers and Agde until his death in 1074.<sup>108</sup> During this same period, until 1077, the bishop of Nimes was Frotharius, Raymond Bernard's uncle, a position inherited from that Frotharius's uncle, also named Frotharius.<sup>109</sup> The city, then, was Trencavel in all aspects, both secular and ecclesiastical, and was contested territory for Raymond.

Nîmes as a medieval city was more important as a *lieu de memoire* than as a site of political or religious importance, but it was a memory of the glory of the Roman Empire. A colony of 60,000 citizens in the time of Augustus Caesar, it was one of the most important Roman cities of Narbonese Gaul.<sup>110</sup> Nîmes has more Roman ruins standing above ground than any other city in southern France, and more than in any of the other cities in Gallia Narbonensis

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<sup>107</sup> Céline Chulsky Monceix, "Notables Nîmois, Magistrats, chevaliers et sénateurs issus de la cité de Nîmes à l'époque romaine, » PhD diss., Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2013, 11.

<sup>108</sup> Hélène Débax, "Les comtés de Carcassonne et de Razès et leurs marges (IX-XIIe siècle), in *La pierre, le métal, l'eau et le bois : économie castrale en territoire audois (XIe-XIV siècle)*, eds Marie-Christine Bailly-Maître and Marie-Elise Gardel (Carcassonne : Société d'études scientifiques de l'Aude, 2007), 6-8.

<sup>109</sup> Hélène Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne XIe-XIIIe siècles: Serments, hommages et fiefs dans le Languedoc des Trencavel* (Toulouse : Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2003), 46.

<sup>110</sup> Picard, 357-9; Canter, 13-4; Monceix, "Notables Nîmois, » 9. For the Roman-era architecture of the city, see Anderson Jr, 50-54.

the Roman structures were reused for contemporary purposes.<sup>111</sup> The numerous public buildings in Nîmes, including massive city walls, a theatre, a basilica, a circus, the arena, public baths and extensive aqueduct system, give the indication of one of the richest cities in Roman Gaul.<sup>112</sup> The center of the viscounts' power, and the urban aristocracy, was the old Roman amphitheater, which was transformed into a fortified medieval citadel-city.<sup>113</sup> The amphitheater of Nîmes is the second best-preserved Roman arena still standing, a monument to the glory of the Empire.<sup>114</sup> The amphitheater, somewhat smaller than the one in Arles and significantly smaller than the Coliseum in Rome, was still capable of holding 20,000 spectators.<sup>115</sup> After the capture of Nîmes by Arab raiders in the early eighth century, it was used as their stronghold, and the interior ravaged by fire when it was recaptured by Charles Martel in 755. It was later rebuilt for the use of the urban aristocrats, with great archways transformed into residences for aristocrats, often divided into multiple stories.<sup>116</sup> Only a handful of these medieval modification survive today.<sup>117</sup>

This was not the only impressive Roman monument to be re-used during the Middle Ages. Rising above the city, the Tour Magne, one of the strongpoints of the Augustan wall, likewise served as a reminder of the power of Rome. In Raymond's day it was used as an urban fort much like the Arena.<sup>118</sup> In a similar fashion to the Arena and Tour Magne, and almost

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<sup>111</sup> Michel, 45-6; Février, "The Origin and Growth," 1; Canter, "Roman Remains," 13.

<sup>112</sup> Canter, 13-4.

<sup>113</sup> Robert Michel, "Les Chevaliers du Chateau des Arenes de Nîmes aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, » *Revue Historique* t. 102, fasc. 1 (1909) : 45-61 ; Marc Boone, « Medieval Europe, » *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), Oxford Handbooks Online, Accessed 4 December 2013, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199589531.013.0012 ; Canter, 14.

<sup>114</sup> Ebel, 575; Anderson jr, 163-8.

<sup>115</sup> Canter, 14.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> See Figure 1.

<sup>118</sup> Michel, 46; J.B. Ward-Perkins, "From Republic to Empire: Reflections on the Early Provincial Architecture of the Roman West," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 60 (1970): 1; for the Roman-era description, see Anderson Jr, 64-5.

identically to the palace of the counts of Toulouse in that city, the Augustan gate-complex on the road leading towards Arles also became a fortified aristocratic palace.<sup>119</sup>



Figure 1. The Arena in Nîmes

This complex was right outside of the important church of Saint-Baudile, and on the surviving route of the *via Domitia* towards Beaucaire.<sup>120</sup> The Maison Carrée, between the Arena and the Tour, was the house of an urban aristocrat in the twelfth century, but had been built by Augustus Caesar as part of the first wave of great Roman construction. It is the best-preserved Roman

<sup>119</sup> Ward-Perkins, 12.

<sup>120</sup> M. Schwaller and L. Vidal, “La *via Domitia* aux abords de la porte d’Arles et de Beaucaire, à Nîmes, » in *Voies romaines du Rhône à l’Èbre : via Domitia et via Augusta*, eds G. Castellvi, J.-P. Comps, J. Kotarba and A. Pezin (Paris : Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1997), 186-190 ; Anderson jr, 68-70.

temple still surviving anywhere in the world.<sup>121</sup> The area around it shows traces of a Roman basilica, and it was thus in the heart of the old Roman district.<sup>122</sup> The remnants of the so-called “Temple of Diana” below the Tour Magne became a priory of the abbey of Saint-Saveur de la Font; the structure was connected to the *Augusteum* religious complex and may have been the only example of a Roman *bibliothecae*, a library, from Gallia Narbonensis.<sup>123</sup> All of these Roman monuments, still standing today, were preserved and used in the Middle Ages by people fully cognizant of the Roman legacy they were inhabiting, and presumably intent on making use of it to increase their own prestige.

On the other side of the Rhône, Arles stood as another important reminder of the legacy of the Roman Empire in Provence, beginning as one of the five colonies settled by veterans of Caesar’s Gallic legions.<sup>124</sup> Its military character was conserved and cultivated throughout the Roman period, with epigraphic notes honoring the “knights,” the *milites*, of Arles’ elite surviving to the present.<sup>125</sup> Even more than Nîmes, whose Roman vestiges stood as stark visual reminders of the imperial past under Augustan, Arles could claim a history as an imperial capital.<sup>126</sup> By the beginning of the fourth century, Arles was the most important city in the *diocesis Viennensis*, the region created by Diocletian during the Tetrachy.<sup>127</sup> While the area was nominally controlled from Vienne, the expansion of Arles and the establishment of its bishopric soon showed that it was the ecclesiastical and secular power in the *diocesis*. The first general ecclesiastical council in

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<sup>121</sup> Ebel, 575; Canter, “Roman Remains,” 10; Anderson jr, 104-111; Jean Ch. Balty, *Études sur la Maison Carrée de Nîmes* (Brussels-Berchem : Latomus Revue d’Études Latines, 1960) ; Nîmes, AD Gard, MS G 113.

<sup>122</sup> Canter, 15.

<sup>123</sup> Michel, 46; Canter, 15 ; Anderson jr, 128, 172-4, 186-190.

<sup>124</sup> Ebel, 576.

<sup>125</sup> Michel Christol, Patrice Faure, Marc Heijmans and Nicolas Tran, “Les élites de la colonie et de l’Empire à Arles, au début du Principat: nouveaux témoignages épigraphiques,” *CHIRON* 44 (2014) : 341-391.

<sup>126</sup> For the Roman-era architecture of the city, see Anderson Jr, 41-45.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

the West was held in Arles in August 314, a clear signal of the city's increasing importance.<sup>128</sup> Around this same time, the elaborate and still-extant bathing complex was built by Constantine. Later in the fourth century the imperial mint was moved there from Trier, “clearly making it the most important city of the former ‘provincia nostra’ during later antiquity.”<sup>129</sup> The city, then, provided a backdrop for Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ ambitions, a very direct link to the Roman Empire in its physical landscape and historical memory.

Nîmes could claim the imprint of Augustus on its physical and memorial landscape, but Arles had been rebuilt in large part by Constantine, infusing it with the spirit of the first Christian emperor.<sup>130</sup> In 395, given the troubles further north, “the entire military and administrative apparatus of the western Empire” was moved to Arles, making it the official capital of the Western Roman Empire.<sup>131</sup> Honorius decreed in 418 that “an annual meeting of provincial governors and leaders” would take place annually in Arles, another clear sign of its importance at the end of the Empire.<sup>132</sup> The city had been called, in the late antique period, the “Little Rome of the Gauls”:

Open thy havens with a gracious welcome, two-fold Arelate—Arelas, the little Rome of Gaul, to whom Martian Narbonne, to whom Vienne, rich in Alpine peasantry, is neighbor—divided by the streams of headlong Rhone in suchwise that thou mak’st a bridge of boats thy central street, whereby thou gatherest the merchandize of the Roman

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<sup>128</sup> W.H.C. Frend, “Pagans, Christians, and ‘the Barbarian Conspiracy’ of A.D. 367 in Roman Britain,” *Britannia* 23 (1992): 121; Innocenzo Mazzini, “Lettera del Concilio di Arles (314) a Papa Silvestro tradita dal codex Parisinus Latinus 1711 (Dubbi intorno alla sua autenticità),” *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (1973): 282-300.

<sup>129</sup> Anderson, Jr, 15.

<sup>130</sup> Marc Heijmans, “Arles, résidence impériale sous Constantin,” in *L’Antiquité Tardive en Provence (IVe-VIe siècle) : Naissance d’une chrétienté*, eds Jean Guyon and Marc Heijmans (Arles : Actes Sud, 2013), 34 ; *ibid.*, « Constantina urbs. Arles durant le IVe siècle : Une Autre Résidence Impériale ?, » in *Konstantin der Grosse : Geschichte—Archäologie—Rezeption*, eds Alexander Demandt and Josef Engemann (Trier : Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 2006) : 209-220.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> Anderson, Jr, 16.



world and scatterest it, enriching other peoples and the towns which Gaul and Aquitaine treasure in their wide bosoms.<sup>133</sup>

The author, Ausonius of Bordeaux, was writing at the end of the fourth century, the twilight of Roman Provence, but the richness of the city did not end with Rome.<sup>134</sup> With the fall of the Empire and the occupation of the former Gallia Narbonensis, Arles would become part of the Visigothic kingdom and begin a decline in population and size, though the physical structures of the region would remain vivid reminders of their Roman past.<sup>135</sup> There are almost no surviving sources for the city between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the Visigothic invasions between 427-587 being one bookend and the beginning of Magyar, Viking and Arab raids in the ninth century on the other.<sup>136</sup>

Like Nîmes, the core of the medieval city of Arles was built into the Roman arena, the third best-preserved arena. Comparable to Nîmes, the medieval citizens turned it into a large condominium complex with a pair of chapels inside the central pit.<sup>137</sup> During the Merovingian era, the essential components of the center-city remained Roman, though with increasing modification.<sup>138</sup> Though not to the same extent as in Nîmes, its Roman architecture beyond the arena was used for purposes of fortification. The now-destroyed basilica of Saint-Pierre and Saint-Paul of Arles was built on the site of a subterranean temple of Mars.<sup>139</sup> The so-called

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<sup>133</sup> Ausonius, Decimus Magnus, *Ausonius I*, Loeb Classical Library (London: W. Heinemann, 1919), 277; Latin: “Pande, duplex ARELATE, tuos blanda hospita portus, Gallula Roma Arelas, quam Narbo Martius et quam accolit Alpinis opulenta Vienna colonis, praecipitis Rhodani sic intercisa fluentis, ut mediam facias navali ponte plateam, per quem Romani commercia suscipis orbis nec cohibes, populosque alios et moenia ditas, Gallia quis fruitur gremioque Aquitania lato, » 276.

<sup>134</sup> For Ausonius, see Hagith Sivan, *Ausonius of Bordeaux: Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) and *The Works of Ausonius*, ed. with intro. and commentary R.P.H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

<sup>135</sup> Anderson, Jr, 16, 236.

<sup>136</sup> Louis Stouff, *Arles à la fin du Moyen-Age* (Aix-en-Provence : Publications de l’Universite de Provence, 1986), 81-4.

<sup>137</sup> Michel, 45 ; Anderson Jr, 163-8.

<sup>138</sup> Heijmans, “*Arelatensis urbs*,” 121.

<sup>139</sup> Fernand Benoit, “La Basilique Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul à Arles. Etude sur les Canceleds Paleochrétiens, » *Provence Historique* 27 (1957) : 8-21

“Palais de la Trouille,” next to the more famous baths of Constantine, was the fortress of the counts of Provence in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and had been an imperial basilica constructed during the time of Constantine.<sup>140</sup> The *cryptoporticus* system that existed under the Roman forum continued to be used in medieval times, both as a storage place and later with a chapel dedicated to St. Lucien.<sup>141</sup> The Augustan walls remained intact and were expanded by the Visigoths.<sup>142</sup> The Roman theater in Arles was built during the age of Augustus, and when it was still whole it rivaled the better-known theater in Orange in size; the great entryway was converted into a medieval tower-fort, the Tower of Roland.<sup>143</sup> The cathedral of Saint-Trophimus itself was built on the ruins of the Roman praetorium, and is next to the *cryptoporticus* and old forum area.<sup>144</sup> Raymond did not need to look far in search of material to nurture grand imperial aspirations.

The re-use of Roman structures in the Middle Ages was certainly evocative in a physical sense, but the vestiges of the Empire, the sense of *romanitas* that they created in the cities and in the area around them, was the most important result of the survival of Roman buildings in the post-Roman period. The city of Rome itself in the post-Imperial period has been well-studied as a *lieu de memoire* of the Roman Empire and of the glory of the past, but places like Arles and

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<sup>140</sup> Marc Heijmans, “Le ‘Palais de la Trouille’ à Arles: Palais Impérial ou Palais du Préfet? Le Centre Monumental durant l’Antiquité Tardive à la lumière des recherches récentes, » *AnTard* 6 (1998) : 209-231 and idem., « La Basilique Civile d’Arles, Travaux 1998-1999, » in *Mélanges d’Antiquité Tardive : Studiola in honorem Noël Duval*, eds Catherine Balmelle, Pascale Chevalier and Gisela Ripoll (Leiden : Brepols, 2004) : 27-35. For the Roman baths, see Anderson jr, 180-1.

<sup>141</sup> Anderson Jr, 144-5.

<sup>142</sup> Marc Heijmans, « *Arelatensis urbs*. La ville d’Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône) à l’époque mérovingienne, » in *La Méditerranée et le monde mérovingien : témoins archéologiques. Actes des XXIIIe Journées internationales d’archéologie mérovingienne, Arles, 11-13 octobre 2002*, eds Xavier Delestre, Patrick Périn, and Michel Kazanski in collaboration with Armelle Guilcher et Mireille Pagni (Aix-en-Provence : Éditions de l’APA, 2005), 117-8.

<sup>143</sup> Anderson Jr, 156; Heijmans, « *Arelatensis urbs*, » 118.

<sup>144</sup> Canter, 17.

Nîmes, while less impressive perhaps in their wider history, provoked the same reflection for those who lived in Provence.<sup>145</sup> As one architectural historian described Rome:

The built landscape of the city of Rome is a powerful engine of cultural memory. The visitor can pick out elements of buildings two thousand years old woven into the fabric of the modern city at every street corner in the *centro storico*. But there is more to Rome than picture- postcard images of crumbling columns juxtaposed with modern development. In Rome, perhaps more than anywhere else, ancient architecture is experienced not only as isolated and picturesque ruins but also as an integral part of the living city.<sup>146</sup>

In the Middle Ages, in Nîmes and Arles, the experience for visitors and citizens would have been roughly comparable. Vestiges of history caused one to reflect not only on the physical, concrete past of the object, or on the imaginative memory of its past, but also to reflect on the present and the world in which the viewer and the vestiges co-exist.<sup>147</sup> The result was a continuing sense of *romanitas* in the parts of the West where these traces were most visible.<sup>148</sup> In many ways, for the Roman Empire, “city life had once embodied the very essence of *Romanitas*,” and in the cities of

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<sup>145</sup> For the remembrance of Rome in the Middle Ages, there is a vast historiography. See, among others, Julia M.H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 253-292; *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500-1400*, eds Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011); Amy Russell, “Memory and Movement in the Roman Fota from Antiquity to Metro C,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73 (December 2014): 478-506; Stefano Riccioni, “Rewriting Antiquity, Renewing Rome. The Identity of the Eternal City through Visual Art, Monumental Inscriptions and the *Mirabilia*,” *Medieval Encounters* 17 (2001): 439-463; *Roma e la Riforma gregoriana. Tradizioni e innovazioni artistiche (XI-XII secolo), colloque, Lausanne, Université de Lausanne, 10-11 décembre 2004*, eds Serena Romano and Julie Enckell (Rome: Viella, 2007); Stefano Riccioni, “La décoration monumentale à Rome, XIe-XIIe siècles: Révisions chronologiques, stylistiques et thématiques,” *Perspective. La revue de l’INHA* 2 (2010-2011): 319-360; Maria Fabricius Hansen, *The Eloquence of Appropriation. Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome* (Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 2003); Dale Kinney, “Rome in the Twelfth Century: Urbs fracta and *renovatio*,” *Gesta* 45, no. 2 (2006): 199-220; and *ibid*, “Spolia as signifiers in Twelfth-Century Rome,” in *Spolia in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Ideology, Aesthetics and Artistic Practice, Hortus artium medievalium* 17 (2011): 151-166, among a wide range of others.

<sup>146</sup> Russell, “Memory and Movement,” 478.

<sup>147</sup> François Bougard, “Le Moyen Âge face aux vestiges du passé: ce que disent les textes,” *Cahier des Thèmes transversaux ArScAn* 10 (2009-2010), 23-9, <http://www.mae.u-paris10.fr/arscan/IMG/pdf/VolumeX.pdf> ; for the use of these vestiges throughout the Medieval Mediterranean in the building of new cities, see Michael Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present : Building with Antiquities in the Mediaeval Mediterranean* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009).

<sup>148</sup> See Emily Albu, “Viewing Rome from the Roman Empires,” *Medieval Encounters* 17 (2011): 495-511 for how the Byzantiens and Germans dealt with the legacy of Roman *imperium* in the twelfth century.

Nîmes and Arles, *romanitas* remained very much alive.<sup>149</sup> Raymond then grew to adulthood controlling a small territory in the midst of a very real Roman world; one can imagine that this same *romanitas* was a deeply rooted part of his own identity.

### **A Land of Violence: Muslim Invasions of the Midi and the Counts of Provence**

At some point, when Raymond was relatively young and before he began expanding outside of the region, he married his first of three wives. We have no definite information about his wife. The few references only say “and his wife,” with no hint of a name or lineage. She could have been a member of the family of the viscounts of Narbonne. This is possible because they were cousins to the counts of Toulouse, and our only firm knowledge of his wife is that he was excommunicated twice for consanguinity.<sup>150</sup> But this is unlikely because Raymond of Saint-Gilles spent significant effort supporting the archbishop of Narbonne, Guifred of Cerdagne, against the viscounts, which would have made bad marital politics. More probably, (although it is only a probability), she was the daughter of Bernard, count of Venaissin, and thus an heiress to

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<sup>149</sup> David Frye, “Aristocratic Responses to Late Roman Urban Change: The Examples of Ausonius and Sidonius in Gaul,” *The Classical World* 96 (Winter 2003): 186. One example of how this *romanitas* remained alive through these vestiges is in the birth of Romanesque architecture, which has been convincingly argued to have come from the *romanz* understanding of Roman architecture, “an imaginative interplay among antique forms, elevated themes, vernacular subjects, and novel modes of narration,” and coming largely out of the southern France. See Linda Seidel, “Rethinking ‘Romanesque’: Re-Engaging Roman[z],” *Gesta* 45, no. 2 (2006): 109-123. There is also an extensive bibliography on the survival of Roman law in the south; see especially Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “La Romania de l’an Mil ou les persistances de la romanité dans les terres du Midi de la Gaule aux lendemains du millénium,” in *Parole et Lumière autour de l’an Mil*, ed. Jean Heuclin (Villeneuve d’Ascq, France : Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2011) : 241-258 ; and *ibid.*, « *Theodosyanus nos instruit codex...*’ : Permanence et continuité du droit romain et de la romanité en Auvergne et dans le Midi de la Gaule durant le haut Moyen Âge, » in “*Traditio Juris*”, *Permanence et/ou discontinuité du droit romain durant le haut Moyen Âge*, eds A. Dubreucq and Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, Cahiers du CHM (Lyon : Centre d’histoire médiévale, 2006) : 15-32.

<sup>150</sup> *Register of Gregory VII*, 3.10a, Record of the Lent synod of 1076, p. 192; 6.5b, Record of the Autumn synod of 1078, p. 282.

the venerable line of the counts of Provence.<sup>151</sup> This would have made her his cousin, as Bernard was Raymond's uncle, a more likely scenario than the other options given Raymond's close relationship with Provence and the speed of his appropriation of regional territories.

Marrying into the family of the counts of Provence would have had a number of advantages for Raymond. First and foremost, it gave him a claim on much of modern-day Provence, significantly expanding his sphere of influence. Looking at the map of the Kingdom of Arrelat, the counts of Provence not only controlled the county of Provence, but also the county of Venaissin and the margraviate of Provence, and links to the county of Forcalquier. Considering the small amount of land Raymond began with, his marriage made him a major noble. For the counts of Provence, it also offered the possibility of making sure their lands remained within the extended family, and, in the event of Raymond's brother not having heirs, of becoming part of the ruling family of the Midi.

More than increasing the size of his territory, Raymond's marriage into the family of the counts of Provence offered him a link to a tradition of independent dominion over lands and resistance to Arab invasion. In the case of the counts of Provence, these two were deeply intertwined. Starting in the eighth century, across southern France, the repercussions of the Arabic conquest of Visigothic Spain reverberated over the Pyrenees and led to centuries of raids and attempted conquest, up through the tenth century.<sup>152</sup> Shortly after the beginning of the rebellion against Louis the Pious in Aquitaine in 838, the city of Marseilles was attacked by Arab

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<sup>151</sup> Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, 9.

<sup>152</sup> Among many others, see Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), 144-80; idem., *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710-797* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 1995); and Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (Oxford : Routledge, 1996).

pirates for the first time in a quarter century.<sup>153</sup> Shortly thereafter, Vikings attacked Aquitaine, prompting Louis to create a new duke of Bordeaux to deal with the Vikings, and to make a new duke and marquis of Provence.<sup>154</sup> Arab pirates hit Marseilles in 838, Arles in 842, 850, 859, and 869, Nimes in 859, and Greek pirates hit Marseilles in 848.<sup>155</sup> By the end of the next decade, the raids had become so common that Arles was refortified against their attacks in 859, around the same time that the monks of Psalmodi abandoned their original monastery in the Camargue delta to the south of Saint Gilles.<sup>156</sup> The continued attempts by the Carolingian kings to provide strong local leadership would eventually give rise to the Bosonid kingdom of Provence, which would, by the tenth century, become part of the kingdom of Arles-Burgundy.

Fraxinetum was established by Arab pirates in 887.<sup>157</sup> They captured the village of Freinet and refortified the Roman-era fort of Fraxinetum on the mountain above the city.<sup>158</sup> From the village, the Arab forces not only raided along the Provençal coast but inland, depositing bands of raiders in the Alp passes, raiding cities, and making the entire region unsafe for most of a century. By 923, Marseilles was no longer safe, with the territories between Marseilles and Arles essentially being abandoned to the Arab raiders by Bishop Drogon as they could no longer defend them.<sup>159</sup> The situation only got worse as the century continued. Along the Provençal coastline, Toulon, Fréjus and Antibes were all devastated to various degrees, and

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<sup>153</sup> Lewis, *Development*, 97.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> Poly, *Provence*, 5.

<sup>156</sup> Lewis, *Development*, 102.

<sup>157</sup> Poupardin, *La royaume de Provence*, 250-1 ; Poly, *La Provence*, 6-7 ; Kees Versteegh, "The Arab Presence in France and Switzerland in the 10<sup>th</sup> Century," *Arabica* 37 (Nov. 1990): 361-3; the primary source is Liutprand of Cremona, *Retribution* I.3 in *The Complete Works of Liutprand of Cremona*, tr. Paolo Squatriti (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 45-6.

<sup>158</sup> Mohammad Ballan, « Fraxinetum : An Islamic Frontier State in Tenth-Century Provence, » *Comitatus* 41 (2010): 26; Jacques Dalmon, *La Garde en Freinet: D'or et sinople* (La Garde-Freinet : Universud, 1994), 20-7.

<sup>159</sup> *Cartulaire de Saint-Victor*, no. 1, 3-4 ; Poly, *Provence*, 8-9.

the countryside practically emptied.<sup>160</sup> Having looted the areas accessible by sea, the forces based at Fraxinetum followed their successful sack of Novalense by moving deeper into the Alps and north. In 921 they were deep in the Alps, controlling many of the passes, allowing them to destroy Oulx, attack Aqui in 931, sack Saint-Gall and the area around it in 936, take the town around the abbey of Saint-Maurice-d' Agaune in 940, and by 942 reclaim the passes over the mountains. In this period there were at least ten distinct raids on the mountain routes through the Alps, without counting the brief passage of the Magyars through the region in 925.<sup>161</sup> Arab raiders would keep this hold until they were finally driven out of Provence at the end of the tenth century. In their most famous incident, already well covered, they captured the abbot of Cluny, Maiolus, in 972.<sup>162</sup>

Throughout this period, there was a king of Arles-Burgundy, but throughout the latter part of the ninth and the whole of the tenth century, those kings became progressively more and more concerned with affairs in Francia and Germany, leaving the immediate responses, or lack thereof, to local nobility and magnates. Liutprand of Cremona, whose chronicle is the best source for the attacks out of Fraxinetum, maintained that the primary cause of the Arab success was the internal crisis throughout the region.<sup>163</sup> Every so often, the kings of Arles would head back south from Burgundy and their struggles against the kingdoms of France and Germany, or return back over the Alps from their machinations in Italy, and attempt to deal with the continuing Arab threat. Starting in the 930s, the pirate threat had become enough of a nuisance

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<sup>160</sup> Poly, *Provence*, 10-13,

<sup>161</sup> Poly, *Provence*, 12-3. Among others, *The Annals of Flodoard*, 5, for English pilgrims to Rome killed in Alps; 11-2, for the Magyar invasion of Gothia; 18, for another Arab pass blockage; 20, for a Greek response to Arab raids and for the death of Bishop Robert II of Tours at the hands of Arab raiders; 24, for Arab occupation of the passes; 28, for the attack on Saint-Gall; 34, Arab attack on St-Maurice-en-Valais and attacks in the Alps.

<sup>162</sup> Scott G. Bruce, « An abbot between two cultures: Maiolus of Cluny considers the Muslims of La Garde-Freinet, » *Early Medieval Europe* 15:4 (2007): 426-440 is the most recent and comprehensive treatment.

<sup>163</sup> Poly, *Provence*, 14-18.

throughout the Mediterranean for the Byzantine navy to offer their services to King Hugh of Arles.<sup>164</sup> The campaign, as so many before, failed, though in this case due to politics rather than power—Hugh made a peace treaty with the Arab of Fraxinetum in order to continue to deny access to the Alp passes to his rival, Berengar of Italy.<sup>165</sup>

The treaty, and the continued Arab raids that culminated in the capture of the Abbot of Cluny, were the last straw for the local aristocracy. Seeing clearly that they could not wait for a king more interested in Vienne and the north than in Arles, the new counts of Provence, William and Roubaud, and their ally Ardouin, the count of Turin, decided to take matters into their own hands.<sup>166</sup> As the chronicler Raoul Glaber described it, “As for the Saracens, they were eventually surrounded a little later by the army of William, count of Arles, in the place called La Garde-Freinet, and in a short space all perished, so that not one returned to his country.”<sup>167</sup> Other than this brief reference in a source from Burgundy, the only other accounts of the liberation of Fraxinetum come from later Cluniac hagiographies, which describe it as avenging the insult done to Maiolus. The impact on the region, however, was vast. Not only did the counts of Arles and their ally bring to an end a century-long occupation of Provence by Arab forces, but in doing so they accumulated significant spiritual and political prestige at the expense of the King of Arles-Burgundy.<sup>168</sup> Conrad, king of Arles-Burgundy, would eventually return to the region to attempt to assert his authority through a grand assembly in Arles between April 976 and August 978.<sup>169</sup> One part of the council was dedicated to what may be seen as an aborted

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<sup>164</sup> Poly, *Provence*, 25; Liutprand, *Retribution* 5.9, 175-6 ; Flodoard, 36.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid. ; Liutprand, *Retribution* 5.16-17, 181-2.

<sup>166</sup> Martin Aurell, Jean-Paul Boyer and Noël Coulet, *La Provence au Moyen Âge* (Aix-en-Provence : Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2005), 10-5.

<sup>167</sup> Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of History*, ed. and tr. John France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), I.4.9, 23; Bruce, “An abbot between two cultures,” 432.

<sup>168</sup> Poly, *Provence*, 28-9.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 37-9.



attempt at an early Peace of God, crushed by the power of the Lyonnais and Valentinois nobility over the Provençal clergy.<sup>170</sup> Of more direct interest is the acceptance by Conrad of the taking of the title of Marquis of Provence by the count of Arles, a title that would be held by the family and later taken by Raymond of Saint-Gilles.<sup>171</sup> Claiming the role of distant suzerain to the new marquis would keep Conrad mentioned in charters until around 980, but meant in practice that the family of the counts of Provence were the independent rulers of the region.

This was the family that Raymond married into and by doing so gained the right to a title that captured both the independent spirit of Provence and the prestige of the family that could claim to have driven Arab forces out of the region. For Raymond, it provided a significant increase in territorial ambition: the counts of Provence, while based in Arles, had been extraordinarily powerful individuals, controlling the *fisc* of the kings of Arles-Burgundy as his deputies after the council in 976-8, and ruling Provence as independent lords after 980.<sup>172</sup> This lineage connected Raymond back to the Gallo-Roman Patricians who ruled the region under the Merovingian kings, and to a family who ruled as overlords over the separate counts and viscounts of Arles, Venasque and Marseilles, much like the duke of Septimania over the various lords of the Narbonnais.<sup>173</sup> By the turn of the millennium, and throughout the eleventh century, direct power in Provence would continue to fragment into the hands of twenty different noble families.<sup>174</sup> The counts would continue to be theoretical overlords of the region, even as their practical power diminished; Raymond's marriage, then, allowed him to tap into the titular

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 37-8.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 38-9.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 39-40.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 40-3; this is a direct line back to Abbo of Provence described in Geary's *Aristocracy in Provence*. For the viscounts of Marseilles, see Florian Mazel, *La noblesse et l'Église en Provence, fin Xe-début XIVe siècle. L'exemple des familles d'Agoult-Simiane, de Baux et de Marseilles* (Paris : CTHS, 2002).

<sup>174</sup> Poly, *Provence*, 94-9 ; Aurell et al., *La Provence*, 15-8.

control of the region even if it did not give him large tracts of territory or the ability to command numerous vassals. It would place him on the eastern bank of the Rhône, however, and as the lay lord with the most claim to power in the city of Arles. He already had some claim to that title. His grandmother, Emma, was the daughter of the Roubaud who had sacked Fraxinetum.<sup>175</sup> His uncle, Bertrand, was the count of Venasque, and likely the father of his unnamed bride.<sup>176</sup> In effect, the marriage reunited the holdings of one of the two counts of Provence.

Sometime after his marriage in 1066, Raymond began the process of occupying the Narbonnais, particularly after the death of his cousin Bertha, countess of the Rouergue, Nîmes, and Narbonne. At this time, he made an agreement with Archbishop Guifred of Narbonne to aid him against other bishops and nobles who defied him within the archdiocese; his unnamed wife was attended the meeting.<sup>177</sup> He also pledged to give some of the fortifications of Narbonne to the archbishop and to keep the viscount of Narbonne, Raymond-Bérengar, in line.<sup>178</sup> That same year, Raymond would also serve as a witness to the accord between Archbishop Guifred and viscount Raymond-Bérengar.<sup>179</sup> All of these measures helped Raymond solidify his support on the east bank of the Rhône through the archbishop. In 1070 he would do the same on the west. There he made an agreement with Archbishop Aicard of Arles, restoring churches and territories in the Argence to the archbishop and granting half of the tolls collected from the Rhône crossing at the Arles.<sup>180</sup> Between the support of one of the three archbishops of Provence (and by far the most powerful) and his increased connection to the counts of Provence, Raymond had placed

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<sup>175</sup> *HGL* III, no. 79, 126.

<sup>176</sup> Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV Count of Toulouse*, 4.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-10; *HGL* V, no. 275, col. 542.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> *HGL* V, no. 275, col. 540

<sup>180</sup> Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, 10-1; *HGL* V, no. 298, col. 584.

himself as the heir to the title of Marquis.<sup>181</sup> Not so much through combat or usurpation of the lands of the aristocracy, but as a patron of churches and monasteries, he was able to spread his influence in the region.

### **Provençal Christianity and Mediterranean Saints**

Provençal identity was rooted in the early arrival of Christianity in the region, flourishing in Roman times and developing an identity marked by the Mediterranean nature of the imperial variety of the faith. As the Western Roman Empire faltered, the Gallo-Roman aristocracy managed to maintain their own brand of Christianity in the face of the Gothic occupation. This regional version of Christianity was marked by the importation of aspects of Eastern monasticism, not only in the physical make-up of the monasteries as seen above, but in their religious practices. In the earliest period, Provençal Christianity came out of the monasteries of Lérins, founded by Honoratus in 410, and Saint-Victor of Marseilles, founded by John Cassian in 415, and later modified and disseminated out of the metropolitan archbishopric of Arles throughout the fifth and sixth centuries. After the period of Late Antiquity and the formations of a specific Provençal identity of Christianity, repeated invasions and dynastic shifts would push Lérins into the backwater. Saint-Victor of Marseilles and Arles would maintain their importance, but by the eleventh century, the Bas-Rhône held a number of other important

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<sup>181</sup> Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, 10-1. Raymond was already a descendant of the counts of Provence through his grandmother Emma, as was (in theory) his wife. The three archbishoprics of Provence were Arles, which comprised the bishoprics of Avignon, Cavaillon, Carpentras, Die, Marseille, Orange, Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, Toulon and Vaison; Aix-en-Provence, comprising of Antibes, Apt, Fréjus, Gap, and Riez; and Embrun in the Alps, comprising of Digne, Glandèves, Nice, Senez and Vence.

institutions: the monasteries of Saint-Ruf and Saint-André, as well as the bishopric of Avignon; the implantation of La Chaise-Dieu into Nîmes, Beaucaire and Jonquieres on the west bank of the Rhône; and the monastery of Psalmodi in the Camargue. In addition to the specific nature of Provençal Christianity, in Late Antiquity and in the tenth and eleventh centuries, there was a warrior saint important for the development of Raymond's world view: Saint Bobo, who fought against Fraxinetum.

The harbinger of Provençal monasticism was the monastery of Lérins, founded around 408 by Saint Honoratus.<sup>182</sup> Lérins was the “most brilliant cultural and religious center in all of Western Europe in the 5<sup>th</sup> century,” nurturing not on Saint Honoratus, but Saint Hilarius of Arles, Saint Caesarius of Arles, Saint Eucherius of Lyons, Saint Vincent of Lérins, Saint Faustus of Riez, and Salvian of Marseilles.<sup>183</sup> It was a quintessential aristocratic monastery, one that fostered piety and learning but one that did not demand excessive displays of ascetic piety. The influence of the Lérins community in late antique-early medieval southern France was exported through not only the employment of monks as bishops across the region, but also their prolific writings, letter contacts, council participation, and construction of monasteries far beyond the Provençal coast.<sup>184</sup> Lérins was one of two traditions of monasteries in southern France, and the one that was most prevalent up through the tenth-eleventh century. This was marked by deep connections to the surrounding ecclesiastical and aristocratic populations, with the *Life of Honoratus*, written by his successor Hilarius, claiming that “No one is more glorious in heaven

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<sup>182</sup> Mireille Labrousse, Eliana Magnani, Yann Codou, Jean-Marie Le Gall, Régis Bertrand and Dom Vladimir Gaudrat, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lérins*, Cahiers Cisterciens 9 (Bégrolles-en-Mauges : ARCCIS, 2005), 23 ; Christopher J. Kelly, *Cassian's Conferences: Scriptural Interpretation and the Monastic Ideal* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 9.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>184</sup> Yaniv Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014), 3-5.

than those whom repudiating the lineage of their fathers, choose to acknowledge the fatherly care of Christ alone.”<sup>185</sup> It is a salvific theology meant for the aristocracy, that the “highest place in heaven was reserved for those who had given up the most to follow Christ,” like the senatorial aristocrats of Provence who formed the core of the early Lérins community.<sup>186</sup> This was a theological foundation that would have appealed to Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the rest of the Provençal aristocracy, and one that encouraged close links between monasteries and the local nobility.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, long after the Arab raids had ended, the abbey was refounded. Once again it integrated itself into the aristocratic and ecclesiastic network of the region, but its preeminence had been lost.<sup>187</sup> The aristocracy of eastern Provence around the time of the First Crusade connected themselves to the Passion of Abbot Porcaire of Lérins, martyred when Arab invaders had sacked the abbey.<sup>188</sup> The new monastery was particularly associated with the aristocratic family of La Grasse, who had partaken in the reconquest of eastern Provence, placed the monastery under the protection of Urban II in 1094, and sent at least one member on the crusade with Raymond of Saint-Gilles.<sup>189</sup> While Lérins would regain its importance in eastern Provence, it would never again be a model for the greater monastic world, becoming part of the great Cluniac congregation instead.<sup>190</sup> It would also not be a great center for literary production—among the handful of surviving examples of literary texts were a fragment of a chronicle covering the years 849-1102, and epitaph for the abbot Aldebert II, who

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<sup>185</sup> Hilarius of Arles, *Vita Honorati* 4, quoted in Goodrich, 23.

<sup>186</sup> Goodrich, 23.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.* ; Labrousse et al., *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lérins*, 141-4.

<sup>189</sup> Eliana Magnani Soares-Christen, *Monastères et aristocratie en Provence milieu Xe-début XIIIe siècle* (Berlin : Lit Verlag, 1999), 287-335 for the new Lérins ; Labrousse et al., *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lérins*, 144-54.

<sup>190</sup> Labrousse et al., *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lérins*, 136-40.

died in 1102, and a preamble for a commentary on the Psalms written by a monk named Daniel of Lérins and dedicated once against to Aldebert II.<sup>191</sup> Lérins as a physical institution would thus not play a significant role in the politics of Raymond of Saint-Gilles—though a number of his followers on the First Crusade would be connected to the island.<sup>192</sup> It would be the last major unreformed abbey in Provence, remaining a bastion for the “princes of Antibes” to dominate for the rest of the Middle Ages, and it was this attitude that was influential in Raymond’s view of the world, one where it was acceptable for an aristocrat to use a monastery for his benefit without incurring spiritual punishment. Many abbeys had close links with the aristocracy, but Lérins had made that closeness doctrine: a monastery of the pious aristocracy, by the pious aristocracy, and for the pious aristocracy. Raymond would use monastic and ecclesiastic institutions across southern France in order to spread his own authority and influence throughout the Bas-Rhône and the rest of his accumulated realm.

The other early monastic foundation in Provence, contemporary with Lérins, were the dual monasteries of Saint-Victor of Marseille, founded sometime around 415 by John Cassian.<sup>193</sup> His foundation was a direct importation of Egyptian monasticism into southern France, one that was explicitly Coptic in its origin and function.<sup>194</sup> John Cassian, and the abbey of Saint-Victor, advocated a much more rigorously ascetic lifestyle and a severing of connections with the aristocracy around the region.<sup>195</sup> At the same time, as mentioned above, Cassian used Mary and Martha as a model for monastic development. Mary may have been the perfect Christian model,

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 288 ; Paris, BNF lat. 12774, fol. 106-110 for the Epitaph and 117 for the chronicle ; Paris, BNF lat. 12773, f. 486 for the Psalm Commentary.

<sup>192</sup> Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 48 ; Magnani Soares-Christen, *Monastères*, 324-333 ; Labrousse et al., *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lérins*, 159-60.

<sup>193</sup> Kelly, 8; A.M.C. Casiday, *Tradition and Theology in St John Cassian* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 94-5.

<sup>194</sup> Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1968), 8-36; Kelly, 12-4, for the style of his texts including the inclusion of both Greek and Coptic terminology; Goodrich, 59; Casiday, 119-22.

<sup>195</sup> Goodrich, 28, 171-84.

but Martha, as a more human model, went on a journey, not recognizing the presence of Christ when he had entered her home in Bethany, but accepting him as savior by her death.<sup>196</sup> The importance of the church of Martha of Tarascon and her cult in the region was mirrored by the importance of Martha in the monastic worldview of John Cassian.<sup>197</sup> The goal was to transition from Martha, who, for Cassian, embodied the monastic journey, into Mary, “the very source of purity of heart, the brightest beacon possible, was personified in Jesus, and in her contemplation of his presence she gained a foretaste of the kingdom of heaven.”<sup>198</sup> What was important for Cassian in this model is that unlike Lérins, where a monk could be “an aristocracy who had taken up the study of Christian *philosophia*,” at Saint-Victor a monk “detached himself from the world and became a slave for the sake of the Gospel.”<sup>199</sup> Martha’s journey was a rigorous voyage from the secular world to the perfection of contemplation, with no return or compromise allowed.

One of the features of Cassian’s major work, the *Conferences*, is an explanation of the Kingdom of Heaven, contained in Chapters 13 through 15, that is used to “emphasize the eschatological orientation of his monastic ideal.”<sup>200</sup> Cassian gives three potential interpretations for the Kingdom of Heaven as discussed in the Olivet Prophecy of the Gospels:

The kingdom of heaven can be understood in three ways. First, the heavens, that is to say, the saints shall rule over all the other men made subject to them, in accordance with the words, “You! Rule over five cities. And you! Rule over ten” (Lk 19:17, 19). And there is the statement of the apostles: “You will sit on twelve thrones and you shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel” (Mt 19:28). Or, second, the skies themselves shall become the kingdom of Christ when all things have been put under His authority and when God shall

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<sup>196</sup> Kelly, 26.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 26-9.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>199</sup> Goodrich, 31.

<sup>200</sup> Kelly, 32; Casiday, 70-1.

be “all in all” (1 Cor 15:28). Or, third, the blessed in heaven shall rule together with the Lord.<sup>201</sup>

All three interpretation were likely understood as allegories for monastic existence by its readers, not as a governing plan by which the Heavenly Host literally ruled over individual cities or the radical descent of Heaven onto earth.<sup>202</sup> The first of these was for the perfected, those who would achieve sainthood, out of reach for all but a few. The second and third were more realizable, one offering a realized eschatology with appropriate devotion, and the other allowing monks to touch the kingdom of Heaven from earth.<sup>203</sup> While Cassian made eschatological arguments, the statement in Luke 17:21, “the kingdom of God is within you,” was a more important eschatology for his monks.<sup>204</sup> The entrance to the kingdom did not have to be a future eschatological event, but proved possible in the present: “Thus, if the kingdom of God is within us, and the kingdom of God is itself righteousness and peace and joy, then whoever abides in these things is undoubtedly in the kingdom of God.”<sup>205</sup> Most of that possibility is through the promise of heaven given to monks, but Cassian does grant the possibility of moments of “beatific vision,” a glimpse of the future eschatological kingdom.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> John Cassian, *Conferences*, tr. and preface Colm Luibhed, intro. Owen Chadwick (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), I.13.6, 47-8. Latin: “Regnum sane coelorum tripliciter accipiendum est. Aut quo regnaturi sunt coeli, id est, sancti in aliis subditis, secundum illud: *Esto tu super quinque civitates, et tu super decem* (**Luc. XIX**). Illud quoque quod dicitur ad discipulos, *Sedebitis super sedes duodecim, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel* (**Matth XIX**). Aut ipsi coeli incipiant a Christo regnari, cum scilicet omnibus ei subjectis coeperit esse omnia in omnibus Deus (**I Cor. XV**). Vel certe quod in coelis sint cum Domino regnaturi. » *Patrologia Latinae* 49, col. 0498C-0499A, accessed 4/28/2015, [http://pld.chadwyck.com/all/fulltext?ACTION=byid&ID=Z100046953&WARN=N&TOCHITS=N&ALL=Y&FILE=.../session/1430237068\\_23732](http://pld.chadwyck.com/all/fulltext?ACTION=byid&ID=Z100046953&WARN=N&TOCHITS=N&ALL=Y&FILE=.../session/1430237068_23732)

<sup>202</sup> There is temptation to believe that Peter Bartholomew, prophet of the Holy Lance and increasingly radical prophetic utterances, would have read it as such given his eschatological promises, but there is no way to substantiate it.

<sup>203</sup> Kelly, 33-4.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Cassian, *Conferences* I.13.4, quoted in Kelly, 33.

<sup>206</sup> Kelly, 33; Casiday, 183.



Cassian's thought was influential throughout the Latin Christian world, but his memory would have been especially well cultivated in the territories of Raymond of Saint-Gilles. Cassian's disciples include the Lerinien monks of Eucherius of Lyons and Faustus of Riez, who edited and disseminated his texts outside of Provence.<sup>207</sup> While he did not have the legacy of Jerome, Augustine, Benedict, or Gregory the Great, in early monasticism, "no other figure was as influential on the early development of monasticism in the West."<sup>208</sup> Marseilles would maintain the legacy of Cassian, both in the continued importance of his foundation, Saint-Victor, and in the sainthood of John Cassian and his importance for the city and bishopric of Marseilles.<sup>209</sup> During the same period of devastation caused by Arab raids that ruined the rest of Provençal monasticism, Marseilles was repeatedly sacked and the abbey destroyed. It would regain prominence in the tenth century, and, from 1004 onwards, the abbey of Saint-Victor of Marseilles would become most of the most eminent and powerful monasteries in Francia, a bastion of the Gregorian Reform.<sup>210</sup> It was in this context that it would enter into the life of Raymond of Saint-Gilles.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the abbey of Saint-Victor of Marseille would become the most important Provençal monastery, its influence not only spreading throughout Provence, Languedoc and Catalonia, but gaining a reputation as the Mediterranean bastion of the Gregorian Reform.<sup>211</sup> This movement for reform did not come from inside Saint-Victor, but was brought

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<sup>207</sup> The first four books of the *Institutes* were used as the "Rule of Cassian" in some places in the north; this was printed in H. Plenkers, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1906), I: 70-84; Kelly, 9; Goodrich, 10; Casiday, 34.

<sup>208</sup> Kelly, 7; Casiday, 47-8, says that Augustine, Cassian, and their successors shared a monastic culture that he calls "a Mediterranean ascetic *koine*," which also included Caesarius of Arles, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Benedict of Nursia and others, so that Cassian and Augustine's works both influenced later monastic works.

<sup>209</sup> Chadwick, 158.

<sup>210</sup> Chadwick, 158-9 ; Magnani Soares-Christen, *Monastères*, 182-6.

<sup>211</sup> Magnani Soares-Christen, *Monastères*, 180.

from the Camargue delta, just south of the abbey of Saint-Gilles from the church of Psalmodi, described above.<sup>212</sup> This was part of a broader movement of reform at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century. The Psalmodi reformist leader, the Abbot Garnier II, was a Catalan monk from Cuixa who had previously reformed the abbey of Psalmodi. Garnier II would appoint one of his reformed monks from Psalmodi, named Garnier, as the head of Saint-Victor while he maintained dual abbacies, similar to how Maieul of Cluny reformed monasteries throughout the region.<sup>213</sup> By 1005, the reform had been achieved: the independence of the monastery from the bishopric of Marseilles was recognized, the possessions of the abbey were separated from those of the bishop, and Guifred of Psalmodi was recognized as an independent abbot.<sup>214</sup> The record of this, the *Carta liberalis*, was signed not only by the viscount and the bishop, but also count Roubaud of Arles, the countess Adélaïde of Provence, count William of Toulouse, count William III of Provence, the abbots of Psalmodi, Montmajour and Saint-Gervais of Fos, the archbishops of Arles, Aix and Embrun, and the bishop of Riez.<sup>215</sup> This was a major achievement for Psalmodi and the reform, and one that linked Saint-Victor into the families and churches that controlled most of Provence and Languedoc.

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<sup>212</sup> For the early history of Psalmodi, see Georges Rivals, *Psalmody* (1937), <http://www.nemausensis.com> ; Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *La Société laïque et l'Église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cispyrénéenne) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIe siècle* (Toulouse : Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1974), 395-9 ; Sebastian Heath and David Yoon, « A Sixth-Century Tremissis from Psalmodi (Gard, France), » *American Journal of Numismatics* 13 (2001) : 63-80 ; Jerrilynn D. Dodds, « The Carolingian Abbey Church of Psalmodi : Formal History and Historical Context, » *Gesta* 25 (1986) : 9-16 ; Taylor Zaneri, « Monastic Identity and Power in Languedoc : The Monastery of Saint Peter of Psalmodi, » 1st Global Conference Space and Place : Exploring Critical Issues, Oxford, UK, September 14-16 2011, <https://www.inter-disciplinary.net/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/zanerispaper.pdf> ; Alan Borg, « Psalmodi, » *Gesta* 10 (1971) : 63-70 ; Whitney S. Stoddard, « A Selection of Sculpture from Psalmodi, » *Gesta* 15 (1976): 121-6; and Jenny H. Shaffer, "Psalmodi and the Architecture of Carolingian Septimania," *Gesta* 44 (2005): 1-11.

<sup>213</sup> Magnani Soares-Christen, *Monastères*, 187-8, esp. Fn 39.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> Magnani Soares-Christen, *Monastères*, 188.

Saint-Victor itself then became one of the major engines of spreading reform throughout the western Mediterranean, along with the Cluniac daughter houses in the Upper Provence and the abbey of Montmajour next to Arles.<sup>216</sup> Despite their liberation from the control of the secular influence, the viscounts of Marseilles continued to donate large amounts of territory to the monastery and were the witnesses to numerous documents—these allowed Saint-Victor to spread throughout the dioceses of Marseilles, Aix, Toulon, and Fréjus, making the Victorins almost the only monks on the Provençal coast from Marseilles to Fréjus. The viscounts also made major contributions to the rebuilding of the abbey church of Saint-Victor in 1040.<sup>217</sup> By the last quarter of the eleventh century, the Victorins were participating in the triumph of the Gregorian Reform in the region. The successor of Bishop Pons II of Marseilles in 1073 was a monk of Saint-Victor. One of the sons of the viscount of Marseilles became a Victorin monk and then archbishop of Aix in 1082.<sup>218</sup> They were not alone in this decision. None of the great Provençal families is absent from the Grand Cartulary of Saint-Victor. In the mid-eleventh century, starting with the great abbot Isarn, the abbots of Saint-Victor would move beyond regional celebrity to being important figures throughout Christendom. Starting with Abbot Isarn, who had a close relationship with Abbot Odilon of Cluny, Victorines began or took over priories in the Viennois and Catalonia. By the 1050s and 1060s, they had spread into the Rouergue and Gévaudan, in the same period that Raymond of Saint-Gilles was beginning to make inroads in those regions, as will be described in the following chapter.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Magnani Soares-Christen, *Monastères*, 190. One of the most interesting Mediterranean links was the association of the Catalonian monastery of Ripoll with Saint-Victor in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Ripoll was strongly associated with the counts of Cerdagne, one of whom, William-Jordan, would go on the First Crusade; one is tempted to associate the anonymous account of the capture of Jerusalem, in a manuscript from Ripoll, either to the entourage of that count or someone connected to the greater Victorine movement.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 195-6.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 258-9.

As inheritors of an ancient ascetic form of monasticism and guardian of impressive relics, the Victorine abbots were able to motivate the Latin Christian aristocracy of the Mediterranean to link themselves to Saint-Victor. The last two abbots of the eleventh century, Bernard of Millau and Richard, were both papal legates for the Gregorian Reform, spending large periods of their abbacies away from the monastery.<sup>220</sup> Among the first major examples of this activism were the council of Saint-Gilles in 1042-4 (around the year of Raymond's birth) and the councils of Toulouse held in 1056 and 1061-2, during Raymond's early adulthood, led by the archbishop of Arles Raimbaud of Reillane, a Victorine monk and one of the early great advocates of the Gregorian Reform in the region under Pope Victor II.<sup>221</sup> This meeting marked one of the early promulgations of the Truce of God in the Bas-Rhône. The council decreed two months dedicated to the Truce and proclaimed the inviolability of churches.<sup>222</sup> Two church councils held in Toulouse also advanced the Reformers' goals.<sup>223</sup> While the Abbot of Saint-Victor was busy supporting the papal reform movement, the monastery was expanding its network throughout those same regions: in 1057, they received territories from the viscounts of Nîmes and Albi; the monastery of Vabres in 1061 near Rodez; in 1062, a monastery in the diocese of Toulouse; and another monastery in that region in 1073.<sup>224</sup> The churches Raymond associated himself with were deeply involved in the Reform, and the First Crusade was in part born out of the Reform movement.

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<sup>220</sup> See *Register of Gregory VII*, 6.15, p. 295-6 for one example, Gregory VII apologizing to the monks "upon the long absence while serving as a papal legate of their abbot, Bernard."

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>222</sup> Magnani Soares-Christen, 260.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.* The first council of Toulouse was jointly presided over by Archbishop Raimbaud and Archbishop Pons of Aix, acting as legates of Victor II, where they condemned simony. The second council of Toulouse was jointly presided over by Raimbaud once again, though with Abbot Hugh of Cluny, which renewed the anathema of Pope Nicholas II concerning lay possession of churches.

<sup>224</sup> Magnani Soares-Christen, 260-1.

When Bernard of Millau became the abbot of Saint-Victor, the abbey spread even further northward in the Rouergue.<sup>225</sup> The spread of Victorin establishments in the spread of the monastery's influence across southern France made it an important venue for Gregory VII's specific program in the 1080s. Bernard himself was put in charge of a diplomatic mission to Spain for Gregory VII, and in 1077, after Canossa, he was made the legate to Germany to deal with the conflict between Emperor Henry IV and Rudolf of Swabia.<sup>226</sup> Gregory VII used Saint-Victor as a "vehicle for the reform in the regions that Cluny had not arrived in," and as a result he granted similar rights to the abbey under Bernard.<sup>227</sup> In addition to the 1079 bull that gave the abbey the right of coinage and all of the privileges of Cluny, the Pope also affiliated Saint-Victor with the church of Saint-Paul-outside-the-walls of Rome, which contained the relics of the apostles Peter and Paul.<sup>228</sup> The position of influence and importance of Saint-Victor continued under the abbot Richard of Millau, a controversial leader of Saint-Victor who spent most of his tenure away from the abbey on papal business, using his position as head of a monastic network which, during his tenure, stretched from Spain into Italy.<sup>229</sup> This network created an impressive model for an ambitious secular leader like Raymond to emulate, and his use of regionally powerful monastic institutions to cement his secular power mirrored the spread of the Victorines.

Raymond of Saint-Gilles' interaction with Saint-Victor would come a decade later, in the group of charters given in the years just before Raymond's departure on Crusade. On July 28, 1094, under the title of "comes & Provinciae marchio," he gave a charter to Saint-Victor that included a donation of territories around the Rhône river in his home territory. It was co-signed

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 262.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 264-5; *Register of Gregory VII*, 4.23, p. 236-7; 4.24, p. 237-8.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.; *Register of Gregory VII*, 6.15, p. 295-6.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

<sup>229</sup> Magnani Soares-Christen, 268-9.

by his third wife Elvira of Spain and witnessed by William of Sabran, another lord who went with him on the First Crusade.<sup>230</sup> This donation to Saint-Victor made him one of the nobles connected to the Reform, perhaps explaining how he seemed to be appointed the secular leader of the entire First Crusade, to be discussed in chapter 3. Even after the crusade, when Raymond of Saint-Gilles stayed in the Levant to attempt to build the county of Tripoli, he continued to think of Saint-Victor. One of the last charters he issued promised to give the church half of the city of Gibelet, when he captured it.<sup>231</sup>

There is a final piece of Provençal Christianity that likely influenced Raymond of Saint-Gilles' worldview, especially in his eventual crusading. This was the cult of the Provençal lay Saint Bobo, a Provençal knight who fought against the Arab raiders of Fraxinetum and died around 986 in Voghera in Italy.<sup>232</sup> Rarely mentioned in sources about lay saints and the crusades, or at best mentioned briefly in conjunction with Gerald of Aurillac, he provided an excellent model for Raymond and other Provençal nobles who wanted to find a lay example of a pious life.<sup>233</sup> Born near Sisteron to an aristocratic family, Bobo spent the majority of his life defending the peasants of eastern Provence against Arab raiders, fortifying his territory and promising that, if he were victorious against these foes in combat, he would give up his weapons, dedicate his lands to widows and orphans and make an annual pilgrimage to Rome for saint Peter and Paul.<sup>234</sup> Bobo then engages the pirates up to the gates of Fraxinetum, massacring them and

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<sup>230</sup> Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, 19; *HGL V*, no. 386, col. 731.

<sup>231</sup> *HGL V*, no. 414, col. 779; Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, 155.

<sup>232</sup> Claude Carozzi, "La Vie de Saint Bobon: Un Modèle Clunisien de Sainteté Laïque," in *Guerriers et moines : conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l'occident médiéval, IXe-XIIe siècle*, ed. Michel Lauwers (Antibes: Collection d'études médiévales, 2002), 467.

<sup>233</sup> See HEJ Cowdrey, "Cluny and the First Crusade," *Revue bénédictine* 83 (1973): 285-311, one of the strongest arguments for the life of Saint Gerald d'Aurillac and the Cluniacs being motivators for the Crusade, while not dealing with St. Bobo, and John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom 1000-1714* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 10, which mentions Bobo in passing.

<sup>234</sup> Carozzi, 467-8. For the full text of the *Vita*, see *Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints*, ed. Paul Guérin (Paris: Bloud et Barral, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1888): 6.120-1, and the *Vita Sancti Bobonis*, AASS, Mai, t. V : 185-7.

driving them back into their fort and forcing their leader to convert to Christianity. Having defeated the Arab threat to his lands, he lays down his arms and makes his annual pilgrimage to Rome. On one of these he becomes sick and dies at Voghera, after which he produces healing miracles and is made a saint.<sup>235</sup> This story of a lay saint, likely written and elaborated by an Italian Cluniac in Pavia in the eleventh century, provided a perfect model for lay piety for Raymond and other Provençal crusaders: fight against the enemies of Christendom, pledge your spiritual fealty to Rome, and end your life as a monk, dying in sanctity.<sup>236</sup> At no point in the story is their violence condemned; this is instead a vision of war at the service of the Church, much like the Peace and Truce of God and the crusade itself. This example of a lay saint given unto Raymond of Saint-Gilles in his early territories, provided a message he accepted.<sup>237</sup>

### **The Church, the Saint, the Lance, and the End: A Provençal Origin of a Crusading Cult**

Shortly before the First Crusade, Raymond of Saint-Gilles made a pair of significant donations to the Avignonat monastery of Saint-Andre de Villeneuve-d'Avignon, just across the

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<sup>235</sup> Carozzi, 468.

<sup>236</sup> Mazel, 141.

<sup>237</sup> The manuscript record of the cult of this saint is much more difficult to reconstruct, as is its spread; there remain a very limited number of studies of Saint Bobo. The best source is M.A. Casagrande, "La tradizione testuale della *Vita Sancti Bobonis*," *Annali di Storia Pavese* 16-17 (1988): 21-6, which shows the difficulties of dealing with the single surviving manuscript from Naples and the early modern printed version. If the eleventh century dating advocated by Casagrande and Carozzi holds, though, it certainly argues for proto-crusading mentalities in Provence; see Monique Zerner, "La Capture de Maïeul et la Guerre de Libération en Provence: Le Départ des Sarrasins vu à travers les Cartulaires Provençaux," in *Millénaire de la mort de Saint Mayeul, 4e Abbé de Cluny, 994-1994, actes du Congrès international* (Dignes-les-Bains : Société Scientifique et Littéraire des Alpes de Haute-Provence, 1997), 200-1, who argues for a 12th c. date that reflects the First Crusade.

Rhône from the city on a hill known as mount Andaon.<sup>238</sup> While the dating and even the authenticity of the charters had been debated, the donations to Saint-Andre are important for understanding Raymond's worldview in the period just before the First Crusade. More important than the territories given, which include substantial portions of Raymond's holdings in Avignon, are the prefaces to the charters:

In anno Incarnationis Domini M LXXXVITT, ego Raimundus comes Tolosae, dux Narbonae, marchio Provinciae, bona fide & bona voluntate sicut antecessores nostri, podium Andaonensem, ubi supra aedificatum est monasterium Sancti Andreae, & villam sibi adjacentem & Omnia sibi pertinentia, & villam etiam de Angulis & omnia sibi pertinentia cum suis territoriis & cum omnibus pasqueriis, pro salute animarum suarum donaverunt Domino & beato Andreae & abbatibus suis & monachis tam praesentibus quam futuris, ut ii libere & absolute perpetuo in pace habent & possident, ego similiter pro pace animae meae concedo, laudo & dono tibi abbati Petro & monachis & omnibus successoribus tuis...<sup>239</sup>

This charter, the first of the two recorded in the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, is important for a number of reasons. First and foremost, it is the first record of Raymond adopting all three of his grand titles: the count of Toulouse, the duke of Narbonne, and the marquis of Provence. It is a result of that first title that the charter has been so controversial. In 1088, when the charter is dated in surviving early modern sources, William IV of Toulouse, Raymond's older brother, was still alive and very much the count of Toulouse.<sup>240</sup> This had led Eliana Magnani to suggest the 1088 charter is a false charter, written in the mid-twelfth century against the claims of Raymond's son, Alphonse Jordan.<sup>241</sup> Even if the 1088 charter was falsified, it was probably

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<sup>238</sup> For the history of Saint-André from its foundation in 980 until the end of the eleventh century in terms of its relationship to the viscounts and bishop of Avignon, see Magnani Soares-Christen, 161-8; Eliana Magnani Soares-Christen, "L'abbaye Saint-André et l'aristocratie Provençale (fin Xe-début XIIe siècles), in *L'abbaye Saint-André de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon: Histoire, archéologie, rayonnement*, eds Guy Barraol, Roseline Bacou and Alain Girard, Les cahiers de Salagon 4 (Mane, France: Les Alpes de Lumière, 2001), 193-8.

<sup>239</sup> I have consulted it in Paris, BNF NAL 2029, f. 15; Paris, BNF lat. 13916, f. 10; Avignon, BM 2399, f. 58 and 59. The edition in the *HGL* V, no. 372, col. 707-9 is correct in terms of the text.

<sup>240</sup> All surviving copies are 16th-17th paper copies.

<sup>241</sup> Magnani Soares-Christen, "L'Abbaye Saint-André et l'Aristocratie Provençale." 196-7.



based on an earlier charter, and if it was redacted in the twelfth century, it shows that Raymond had left a clear memory of his claims to be lord of the entire region. Beyond the titles, though, is the donation itself. He has a prologue to the second of those charters, also misdated:

Ut' his qui oderunt pacem malignandi tollatur occasio, ea quae ad utilitatem ecclesiarum fiunt scriptis solent memoriae commendari. Ideo notum sit tam praesentibus hominibus quam futuris, quod ego Raymundus, Dei gratia comes Tolosae, dux Narbonae, marchio Provinciae, veni apud monasterium Sancti Andreae, consideransque vitam fratrum ibi Deo contemplative servientium meamque in foeditate peccatorum meorum involutam, per eleemosinam a me datam monasterio Andaonensi & fratribus ibi Deo famulantibus meipsum aliquantulum a peccatis mundare desideravi. Pro sanitate itaque mihi observanda & pro salute animae post mortem meam mihi a Deo retribuendo aliquantulum eleemosinae donavi atque donando laudavi Deo & monasterio Sancti Andreae & abbati Petro fratribusque ibi Deo famulantibus praesentibus atque fiituris...<sup>242</sup>

These donations are made for the sake of Raymond's soul, for the good will of his intercessors, and for his well-being, and they are made not just to the monastery: "to God and Saint Andrew and his abbot and his monks."<sup>243</sup> Together these charters indicate that Saint-Victor, its relics, and its culture held a preeminent place in Raymond's heart.<sup>244</sup>

Given the list of nobles in attendance at the two charters included in the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, this was a major event for the nobility of the Bas-Rhône region, and one can and probably should assume an equivalent number of ecclesiastical figures attended. The diocese of Avignon was part of the archdiocese of Arles, and given the previously established links between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the archbishop Aicard of Arles, it is likely that representatives from Arles traveled the relatively small distance up the river to be at the meeting. This is, of course, supposition, but one that makes sense based on the other charters that survive

<sup>242</sup> *HGL* V, no. 372, col. 708-9. The *HGL* has "retribuenda" instead of "retribuendo", corrected from Avignon, BM MS 2399, f. 59r.

<sup>243</sup> *HGL* V, no. 372, col. 708.

<sup>244</sup> Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 515, p. 651; Magnani Soares-Christen, "L'Abbaye Saint-André et l'Aristocratie Provençale," 197, fn 31.

issued from Raymond's court. The episcopal entourages perhaps included lower level clergy like Peter Bartholomew, the Arelate priest who will reappear in the final chapter as one of the prime movers of the Provençal First Crusade.

There is a reason for this belief in Peter Bartholomew's attendance at a ceremony where Raymond of Saint-Gilles donated territory to Saint Andrew and his monastery. The manuscript Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 98, a mid-eleventh century martyrology of the cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, contains a unique story for November 8<sup>th</sup>, the same month as the feast day of Saint Andrew. The story, covering folios 157 recto to 158 recto, is not, on its own, entirely interesting. It offers a very clear and literal retelling of the story of the Empress Helena's finding of the True Cross in Jerusalem, but with some key differences. Instead of Helena as the primary focus, the story follows Constantine's wife, Irene; instead of being set in Jerusalem, it is set in the city of Beirut; and instead of the True Cross, it is the Holy Lance. As far as I know, this is a unique exemplar of this story, appearing only in eleventh century Avignon, in the diocese where Raymond of Saint-Gilles would donate significantly to Saint-André d'Avignon, and in the archdiocese of the priest who would, years later, unite the saint and the Lance with an particularly Provençal eschatological vision. That vision, however, has to wait for the Crusade itself. First, Raymond of Saint-Gilles would expand his influence, and his interest, north into the Auvergne, where his life would intersect with the chronicler who would leave us the account of the Provençal First Crusade.

## Chapter 2: The Mountains of God: Incarnate Saints and the Auvergnat *Pax*

In 1063 or 1064, Raymond of Saint-Gilles went from being a nobly-blooded but relatively minor lord of the Bas-Rhône to one of the most important lords in southern France, upon the death of his cousin Bertha, wife of Robert II, Count of Auvergne and heiress to the counties of Agde-Béziers, Narbonne, Rouergue, and Uzès for the House of Toulouse. Over the next two decades, Raymond consolidated his power over the Mediterranean counties, creating for himself the title of Duke of Narbonne for Agde-Béziers, Narbonne, Uzès, and his lordship over what is now Languedoc, but would spend that same period of time engaging in bloody warfare through the mountains and valleys of the Massif Central to secure his claim to the counties of Rouergue and Gevaudan over the House of Auvergne.<sup>245</sup> From his mid-twenties until his mid-forties, control over the lower Auvergne was the most important conflict in Raymond of Saint-Gilles' life, and in the aftermath of that struggle, the Auvergne would influence Raymond's mental, political, and spiritual development.

The Mediterranean coastal regions around the Bas-Rhône were Raymond's home and the base of his power, characterized by coastal plains, urban spaces and the marshes of the Camargue. The lands up the Rhône and into the Massif Central were a wilderness, rugged, forested mountains filled with wolves, impassable except in the river valleys, and penetrated by a handful of Roman roads connecting the Mediterranean to the plains of northern France. There were few urbanized spaces: Aurillac, Le Puy-en-Velay, Cahors, Mende, and Rodez. What there mainly were instead, hidden in these spaces which, in terms of population, qualified as deserts, were monasteries, spread out in remote locations overlooked by rapacious local lords. In this

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<sup>245</sup> John Hugh and Laurita L. Hill, *Raymond IV Count of Toulouse* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1980): 8-13.

region, unlike the urban, Mediterranean-centered, Romanized Bas-Rhône, regional religious identity was deeply localized, not just to the Auvergne, but to individual valleys, centered on the cult of saints and the need of the peasantry for spiritual (and often physical) protection from the wide variety of natural, supernatural, and human predators waiting around the bend. It was in this region that the Peace of God was born, closely allied to the importance of local saints and clerical authority. It is in this region that *maiestas* statues for these saints were made, embodying them in near-icon fashion as physical totems for the local population. It was in the Auvergne that a noble who wanted to be a monk was written into being as a saint. And it is in the Auvergne where the seeds of this form of governance, of church, peasant and saints together forcing the laity into doing good deeds, would plant deep roots and affect the performance of the First Crusade.

### **Feudal Revolution: Stephen II, Majesty Statues, and the Post-Carolingian Auvergne**

These topics, in particular the Peace of God, raise the vexed historiographical problem of the “feudal revolution” or “feudal mutation,” the debate over the speed in which changes in the political and social structure of medieval Europe occurred after the collapse of the Carolingian Empire. The prominent supporters of the “mutation” school of thought, those advocating a swift change during the tenth and eleventh centuries, have tended to be scholars of southern France and Iberia, and contain an even mixture of historians and professors of legal history: Marcellin Boudet (who first used the term) and Christian Lauranson-Rosaz in Auvergne, Frédéric de Gournay in the Rouergue, Georges Duby in Burgundy, Jean-Pierre Poly in Provence, Thomas

Bisson in Catalonia and southern France, Pierre Bonnassie in Catalonia.<sup>246</sup> The prominent supporters of what is called, in English, the “anti-mutationniste” school of thought, arguing for greater continuity and a much slower change in the twelfth century and beyond, are typically scholars of northern Europe and literary in focus: Dominique Barthélemy in the Vendôme (who originated the school of thought), Richard Barton in the Maine, Timothy Reuter in Germany, Stephen White in the Touraine.<sup>247</sup> Barthélemy, above all the others, argued that pre-1200, the only significant change in the sociopolitical fabric of Europe was in styles of record keeping, creating an illusion of change where none really existed.<sup>248</sup> Ignoring questions of speed and severity in the region for the moment, the breakdown of Carolingian power in the Auvergne did leave a void, one that led to a jockeying of power between surviving members of the Carolingian

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<sup>246</sup> Marcellin Boudet, *Cartulaire du Prieuré de Saint-Flour*, Préface de A. Bruel (Monte Carlo : Imprimerie de Monaco, 1910), p. cxx, is the first historiographic use of the feudal revolution : « Amblard fut le contemporain de la révolution féodale du second degré : Celles des vicomtes, de leur famille et des principaux optimats du pays. » Georges Duby, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris : A. Colin, 1953) is the classic text for the « revolution » school, with Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du x<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin du xi<sup>e</sup> siècle. Croissance et mutations d'une société* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires Le Mirail, 1975), Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *La mutation féodale Xe-XIIe siècle* (Paris: Nouvelle Clio, 1980), Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses marges*, Frédéric de Gournay, *Le Rouergue au tournant de l'An Mil. De l'ordre carolingien à l'ordre féodal (IX-XIIIe siècle)* (Toulouse : Université de Toulouse Le Mirail – CNRS, Collection Méridiennes, 2004), and Thomas Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2010) being important continuations of his school of thought. Lauranson-Rosaz, Poly, Bonnassie and Bournazel are all professors of law, rather than professors of history; legal scholars have traditionally supported the revolution idea against more literary scholars..

<sup>247</sup> The “mutation” theory has by and large given way to the “anti-mutationniste” school of thought developed and championed by Duby’s student Dominique Barthélemy, *La mutation de l’an mil a-t-elle eu lieu ? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des x<sup>e</sup> et xi<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris : Fayard, 1997) being his most direct defense of his school of thought. Richard Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004); Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, 800-1056* (Essex and New York: Harlow, 1991); Stephen D. White, *Feuding and Peace-Making in Eleventh-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2005) and *ibid.*, *re-Thinking Kinship and Feudalism in Early Medieval Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2006). One should refer to the debate in the journal *Past & Present* between Thomas Bisson and several other medievalists on this topic: Thomas Bisson, “The ‘Feudal Revolution’,” *Past & Present* 142 (Feb. 1994): 6-42; Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, “The ‘Feudal Revolution’,” *Past & Present* 152 (Aug. 1996): 196-223; Timothy Reuter and Chris Wickham, “The ‘Feudal Revolution’,” *Past & Present* 155 (May 1997): 177-208; and Thomas Bisson, “The ‘Feudal Revolution’: Reply,” *Past & Present* 155 (May 1997): 208-225. For an overall summary by someone who is traditionally a supporter of the “revolution” model, see Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “Le débat sur la « mutation féodale »: état de la question,” in *Europe around the year 1000*, ed. Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, 2001): 11-40.

<sup>248</sup> Barthélemy, *La mutation de l’an mil*.

order (counts, bishops) and those who could profit from the chaos (lower nobility, the “knights” and other usual suspects in the feudal “mutation”). In the mid-tenth century, bishops in the region began to take a more active role in maintaining the institutions of Carolingian power, the first steps on the road to the Peace of God.

Just north of the Clermont-Ferrand, in the region now known as the “Limagne,” sits the church of Ennezat. Founded in 1060 by William VII of Aquitaine, dedicated to Saints Victor and Couronne with a chapter of a dozen canons, it became an important religious center for the region, as well as one of the best surviving examples of Auvergnat Romanesque architecture.<sup>249</sup> In the year 954, it was also the site of an attempt by one of the major lords of the Midi to impose order on the rebelling lords of the Auvergne.<sup>250</sup> This was count William “Towhead.” During the reign of Louis IV (Louis d’Outremer), he not only claimed the title of Duke of Aquitaine, but Count of Poitiers and Count of Auvergne, maintaining Aquitaine in battle against Hugh the Great of Paris and Louis IV himself, and later held Poitiers against Hugh and Louis’s successor, Lothair.<sup>251</sup>

This meeting at Ennezat in 954 was one of a series of maneuvers on William’s part to usurp the administrative and political prerogatives of the Carolingian kings for his own benefit, using the bishop of Clermont to provide validation in his attempt to push out the counts of Toulouse from the region. His attempted conquest of the Auvergne was met with resistance as local lords rebelled—as Christian Lauranson-Rosaz described the situation, “le désordre gagne du terrain, la ‘révolution féodale’ est en marche...”<sup>252</sup> William Towhead managed to organize a

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<sup>249</sup> Jean Vissouze, *Monographie de l’Eglise de St-Victor et de Ste-Couronne d’Ennezat* (Paris : Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion and Clermont-Ferrand : Imprimeur-Editeur L. Balmet, 1924) : 9-12.

<sup>250</sup> Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, *L’Auvergne et ses marges (Velay, Gévaudan) du VIIIe au XIe siècle. La fin du monde antique ?* (Le Puy-en-Velay : Les Cahiers de la Haute-Loire, 2007), 101.

<sup>251</sup> For the discussion of William Towhead and the problems of the time period around the end of the Carolingians in the Auvergne, *ibid.* 95-106.

<sup>252</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, 96.

*placitum* (tribunal), a Carolingian-style meeting between the local powers, which took advantage of the death of King Louis IV to secure the homage of the local leaders. The tribunal followed standard Carolingian practice—the language used, the presence of the territorial leader, the reference to the king (though dead), the gathering of the leading official magnates, and the location at Ennezat, specifically the fiscal court there, an official comital office.<sup>253</sup> Just as important was the presence of Bishop Stephen II of Clermont, leading the various magnates into the meeting, and serving as the representative for the clergy and monks of the diocese of Clermont.<sup>254</sup> What made it different from a Carolingian *placitum*, however, is that the meeting began with negotiations, debates, and compromises, and only after those had been settled to the satisfaction of the lords of the Auvergne, did the rituals of homage begin.<sup>255</sup> This stood in stark contrast to the last properly Carolingian *placitum* held in the region by Louis IV, at Pouilly-sur-Loire in Burgundy in 950. Pouilly-sur-Loire was very much a royal affair, with the king arriving, making decrees, hearing petitions, and, in theory, receiving homage. The king received the homage of William Towhead, and thus demonstrated a theoretical control of the Midi, but the only lord of the south other than William to show up was Bishop Stephen II of Clermont—his presence at Pouilly, and then Ennezat four years later, shows the swift and irrevocable decline of royal power in the Auvergne.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “Peace from the Mountains: The Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1992), 107-8. The primary sources for Ennezat are very limited; the best source is a charter preserved by Cluny, entitled “Charta qua Stephanus et uxor ejus Ermengardis curem Oydellis cum capella Beatae Mariae monasterio Clunacensi dant,” no. 825 in the *Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard, complété, révisé et publié par Alexandre Bruel (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876), 1: 779-781.

<sup>254</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “Peace from the Mountains,” 108. Stephen II of Clermont was one of the most important bishops of Clermont, certainly the most important medieval bishop before the Gregorian Reform. See Jean-Pierre Chambon and Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “Un nouveau document à attribuer à Étienne II, Évêque de Clermont (ca 950-ca 960), » *Annales du Midi* 114 (Juillet-Septembre 2002) : 351.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>256</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “Peace from the Mountains,” 107. For the list of participants at Pouilly, and the lack of participation by people from the Midi, see Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, eds., *Recueil des chartes de*

The disappearance of royal power in the Auvergne was all but finalized four years after Ennezat at Clermont, with a final *placitum* presided over by Bishop Stephen himself. The charter recording the event still survives in the Departmental Archives of Puy-de-Dôme in Clermont-Ferrand, and shows not only the loss of control by the major lords and the king over the Auvergne, but the first stages of the Peace of God.<sup>257</sup> Despite the agreement at Ennezat, the local lords of the Auvergne rebelled against the duke of Aquitaine, which made them independent for the first time since the anarchy during the transition from Merovingian to Carolingian.<sup>258</sup> The *placitum* in Clermont in 958 was an attempt to reign what I view as a revolution against established *ordo*. The solution it presented was to pass rule of the region from the ineffectual kings and princes to the bishop himself. According to the charter, the bishop, *Domino adjuvante* (“with the Lord’s help”), was reestablishing *pax, que omnia superat* (“peace, which surpasses all”), in order to reign in the depredations of the lords and their forces.<sup>259</sup> These *principes Arvernorum* included the viscounts of Brioude and Clermont, among others, recorded in the charter as *seniores laici et clerici, seu monachi*.<sup>260</sup> The change of title from Ennezat in 954, where they were *seniores Arvernorum*, to *principes Arvernorum* in 958, is striking. No longer the senior men of the region, they had become princes, independent lords of the territory without interference by the great houses of Aquitaine or Toulouse.

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*l'abbaye de Cluny* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876), 1: 719-720, no. 763, titled “Praeceptum Ludovici Regis, quo confirmat monasterio Cluniacensi curtem Celsiniacas ab Acfredo Comite datam in pago Arvernensi,” which was granted “Actum Polliaco villa super Ligerim, III nonas febroarii, indictione VI, anno autem XV regnante Ludowico rege glorioso,” and witnessed only by “ad vicem Artaldi archiepiscopi.” See also Richer of Reims, *Histories*, ed. And tr. Justin Lake (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard UP, 2011), Vol. 1, Book 2.98, p. 368-371.

<sup>257</sup> The charter is Clermont-Ferrand, AD Puy-de-Dôme, ser. 3G, arm. 18, sac. A, c. 4.

<sup>258</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “Peace from the Mountains,” 108. For the edited text, see Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “La Paix des Montagnes: Les origines auvergnates de la Paix de Dieu,” in *Maisons de Dieu et Hommes d’Eglise : Florilège en l’honneur de Pierre-Roger Gaussin* (Saint-Etienne : Publications de l’Université de Saint-Etienne, 1992), 23.

<sup>259</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “La Paix des Montagnes,” 23; Lauranson-Rosaz, « Peace from the Mountains, » 108-9

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*



The adoption of seigneurial powers by the bishop of Clermont was the first step towards the Peace of God. Everything still occurred within a legal framework of the Carolingian empire, and having a bishop in charge of a council designed to reintroduce peace was the standard form of the official Peace councils at Charroux in 989, Narbonne, Limoges and Anse in 994, and the official line of Peace councils coming out of Aquitaine.<sup>261</sup> The Auvergnat Peace differs from the Aquitanian Peace in the application of the popular pressure and the incorporation of the physical relics of the saints, in the form of *maiestas* statues, by the bishops organizing the peace councils.<sup>262</sup> Stephen II of Clermont pioneered both of these aspects at different times in his career, and may be considered the founding figure of the Auvergnat Peace movement, checking secular authority and advancing ecclesiastical interests.

Sometime between the *placitum* at Clermont and 970, the date of an inventory for the treasury of the cathedral of Clermont, Stephen II commissioned a golden statue of the Virgin-in-Majesty for the cathedral, which would become the inspiration for all subsequent Auvergnat Romanesque Virgins.<sup>263</sup> The inventory, now AD Puy-de-Dome Arm. 18, s. A, c. 29, describes

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<sup>261</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, "Peace from the Mountains," 110. The Aquitanian version of the councils has been well-covered; in English-language articles, see among others H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," *Past & Present* 46 (Feb., 1970): 42-67, which begins by crediting the Peace of God to Aquitaine and Burgundy; Daniel F. Callahan, "The Peace of God and the Cult of the Saints in Aquitaine in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 14 (Fall 1987): 445-466; Richard Landes, "The dynamics of Heresy and Reform in Limogs: A Study of Popular Participation in the 'Peace of God' (994-1033)," *Historical Reflection/Réflexions Historiques* 14 (Fall 1987): 467-511; Michael Frassetto, "Violence, Knightly Piety and the Peace of God Movement in Aquitaine," in *The Final Argument: The Imprint of violence on society in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. Donal J. Kagay and L.J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), 13-26; Thomas Head, "The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970-1005)," *Speculum* 74 (Jul. 1999): 656-686; and Mickey Abel, "Recontextualizing the Context: The Dispute Capital from Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers and Storytelling in the Poitou around the Time of the Peace of God Movement," *Gesta* 47 (2008): 51-66.

<sup>262</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, "La Paix des Montagnes," 6 : « Pour nous, l'invention de la Paix, dans l'optique 'populaire', revient à l'Auvergne. » ; Dominique Barthélemy, « The Peace of God and Bishops at War in the Gallic Lands from the Late Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century, » tr. Graham Robert Edwards, in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXII. Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2009*, ed. C.P. Lewis (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 5: "Perhaps this commission was a key stage in the spread of the so-called 'majesties'—reliquary statues—that were a particular feature of Aquitaine [sic.] and its peace councils around the year 1000 at Aurillac and Conques."

<sup>263</sup> Jean Bartheleuf, "Deux vierges romanes au canton de Sauges (Haute-Loire), » *Cahiers de la Haute-Loire* 96 (1996) : 25.

the statue as “Majestatem Sancte Marie I, vestita cum ciborio cum uno cristallo.”<sup>264</sup> Stephen II also rebuilt the cathedral and rededicated it to the Virgin in 946, and one can assume that the statue provided a focus to the devotional and liturgical scheme on the new church.<sup>265</sup> A contemporary text reflects the grandeur of the statue and its effect on its viewers, in an apocalyptic vision by Abbot Robert of Mozat, as recorded by the deacon Arnaud of Clermont sometime shortly after 984.<sup>266</sup> It also provides pictures of the Virgin, both of her majesty statue at the beginning of the Vision, and of the Virgin herself at the beginning of the manuscript:



Figure 2. Clermont, BM MS 145, f. 130v

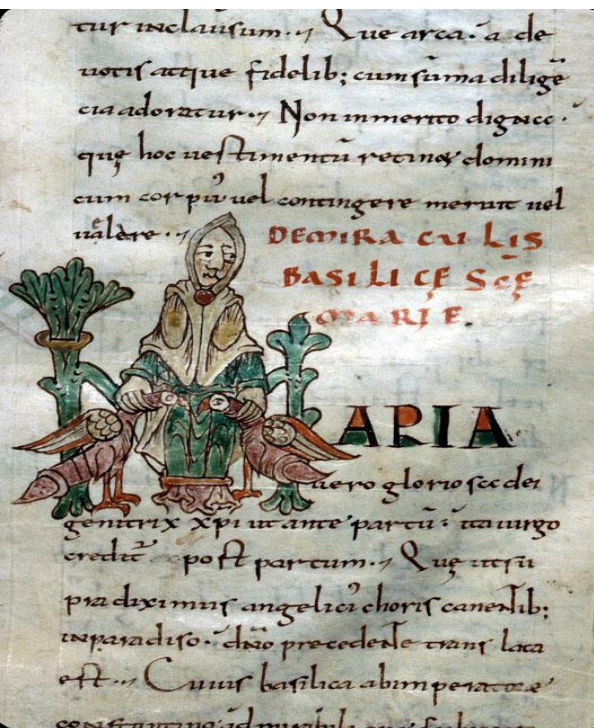


Figure 3. Clermont, BM MS 145, f. 6r<sup>267</sup>

<sup>264</sup> Louis Bréhier, *Études archéologiques* (Clermont-Ferrand: G. Mont-Louis, 1910), 35-6 ; M. Douet-d’Arcq, “Inventaire du trésor de la cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand document de la fin du Xe siècle,” *Revue Archéologique* 10<sup>e</sup> Année, No. 1 (Avril-Septembre 1853), 164-5, and Louis Bréhier, «La cathédrale de Clermont au Xe siècle et sa statue d’or de la Vierge, » *Renaissance de l’art française et des industries de luxe* 7 (January 1924) : 208-210.

<sup>265</sup> Bréhier, “La cathédrale de Clermont au Xe siècle et sa statue d’or de la Vierge,” 206-8.

<sup>266</sup> Clermont-Ferrand, BM 145, f. 130v-134v, *Visio monachi Rotberti*. See Monique Gouillet and Dominique Iogna-Prat, “La Vierge en Majesté de Clermont-Ferrand,” in *Marie. Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale*, eds. Dominique Iogna-Prat, Éric Palazzo, and Daniel Russo, préface Georges Duby (Paris : Beauchesne, 1996), 383-5 for the manuscript description.

<sup>267</sup> Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 145, f. 130v and fol. 6. Patrimoine Numérique : Catalogue des collection numérisées [http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/BM/clermont-ferrand\\_049-01.htm](http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/BM/clermont-ferrand_049-01.htm) and

The majesty statue, in the illustration follows what would become a standard pattern for the statues in the region. She is seated on an ornate throne, with Jesus seated on her lap, and is thus “both the Mother of God and the *cathedra* or seat of the Logos incarnate.”<sup>268</sup> Of all of these statues that are known from documentary sources, this one seems to have received the most literary attention, with “an abundance of almost contemporary description of this lost statue” that “seems unique in the documentation of early medieval art.”<sup>269</sup> The story, by the Abbot of an important monastery in the Auvergne, focuses on the material construction of the majesty statue, and in doing so gives a full description of the richness of the majesty:

He had in his service a cleric named Adelelmus, of noble birth, who all of those around knew to be very skillful in gold and stoneworking. Even long ago, we could always find him immersed in the working of gold, or stone, or other materials. It is he who, with a reed, traced the plans of the church and admirably led the construction until it was finished. The venerable bishop, desiring to honor the relics of the Virgin, charged Adelelmus with creating a throne in gold and jewels. He commanded that he place a representation of the Mother of God, finely crafted in gold and very pure, on the knees of which a figure of her son, Our Lord, and make of this ensemble a magnificent reliquary. The cleric went to work with zeal and without hesitation.<sup>270</sup>

The vision takes place within this cleric’s workshop. His predecessor, Abbot Druchbert of Mozat, enters the workshop with Bishop Stephen II of Clermont, to see the majesty statue Adelelmus had made to house Clermont’s relics of the Virgin Mary, including parts of her tunic

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[http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/BM/clermont-ferrand\\_049-02.htm](http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/BM/clermont-ferrand_049-02.htm) (accessed September 11, 2014)

<sup>268</sup> Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972), 1.

<sup>269</sup> Forsyth, 95.

<sup>270</sup> Goulet and Iogna-Prat, 391. Latin: “Abebat namque penes se quondam clericum Adelelmum uocitatum nobilissime genitum, quem obtime idoneum omnique opera ex auro et lapido peritum cuncti nostri afines nouerunt. Nam similem ei multis retroactis temporibus in auro et lapide omnique artificio [ne]quimus assimilare. Ipse namque supradictam aecclesiam arundine metiuit, et mirifice consummauit. Supra memoratas namque reliquias cupiens uenerabilis pontifex honorate, iamdicto Adelelmo fecit cathedram ex auro et lapidibus preciocissimis fabricare et instar dei genitricis miro opere ex auro purissimo in ea locare, filii quoque, domini nostri, imaginem super genua matris sedi et in ipso ornatu predictas reliquias nobilissime recondere. Qui, sagaci insistens studio, benigne conpleuit opere iniuncto. » Goulet and Iogna-Prat, 385-6; Clermont-Ferrand, BM 145, f. 130v-131r. See the discussion in Forsyth, p. 96.

and pallium and locks of hair.<sup>271</sup> When they had made themselves comfortable to watch the goldsmith at work, however, the Devil appeared in the form of a swarm of flies and attacked the image. “What else can be seen, in these flies, but the traps of the Enemy? What else within them but the invasion of sin? We have read that the Prince of Darkness is named the Prince of Flies.”<sup>272</sup> Druchbert exorcises these flies, using holy water and the antiphon *Asperges me*, causing them to vanish when he says Amen. Thus the story demonstrates the power of the Majesty—the Devil himself sends attackers to impede its creation.<sup>273</sup>

When the flies (and thus the Devil) are banished, a small army of 300 bees arrives from the east, landing on the jewels encrusting the reliquary. The bees, Stephen then explains, are symbols of the virginity of Mary and therefore provide heavenly approval for the majesty statue.<sup>274</sup> This particular aspect of the vision is its most important in the context of Stephen II’s innovations; as Ilene Forsyth has pointed out, “the elaborate description of the triumphant contest of the Virgin with the devil, via the bees and the flies, may be something of a veiled apology for the use of a kind of sculpture which was still innovative at this time.”<sup>275</sup> The newness of the *maiestas* statue requires a miraculous intervention to defend its quasi-idolatrous nature, but the same miracle adds to the glory of the man who commissioned it.

Stephen’s Majesty of the Virgin was, then, one of (if not the) first of its kind in the Auvergne, and it radically changed the way the Auvergnat practiced veneration of the cult of saints. Romanesque statues of the Majesty type, or more specifically the “Throne of Wisdom,” *sedes sapientiae*, existed throughout Western Europe, spreading as far afield as Scandinavia and

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<sup>271</sup> Forsyth, 96; Goulet and Iogna-Prat, 386; Clermont-Ferrand, BM 145, f. 131r-131v.

<sup>272</sup> Goulet and Iogna-Prat, 392. Latin: “Quid enim aliud in muscis nisi iacula inimici? Quid aliud in ipsis nisi occupatio peccati? Legimus namque de ipso principe tenebrarum eo quod princeps sit uocitatus muscarum. » Goulet and Iogna-Prat, 387 ; Clermont-Ferrand, BM 145, fol. 131v.

<sup>273</sup> Forsyth, 96-7. Goulet and Iogna-Prat, 386-7, 403. Clermont-Ferrand, BM 145, fol. 131v.

<sup>274</sup> Forsyth, 97-8; Goulet and Iogna-Prat, 387; Clermont-Ferrand, BM 145, 132r.

<sup>275</sup> Forsyth, 99.

Poland, but the concentration of Majesties in the Auvergne dwarfs that of any other region.<sup>276</sup>

Beyond the specific focus on the Virgin-in-Majesty, which helped spread the Marian cult throughout the region via physical, personalized cultic focal points, it also helped to spread the form of Majesty statues for other saints. Indeed, the Clermont Majesty was not the only example of Stephen II giving bodily form to relics in the Auvergne. For he was also abbot of Conques, the center of the cult of Saint Foy.

The cult of Saint Foy took a small, regional, probably fictionalized martyr from Agen into the wilds of the Rouergue, one of several mountainous regions of the Massif Central where even today travelers find vast stretches of wilderness in between villages. But through St. Foy, Conques became something of an international phenomenon. The monastery there, located in a deep valley along the Ouche river, existed at least from the early ninth century, possibly founded by the hermit Dado with support from Louis the Pious.<sup>277</sup> The foundation (or refoundation of the monastery, according to their account) was directly tied to the raids by “Saracens,” placing it in the context of Charlemagne’s wars in Spain.<sup>278</sup> Conques was built at the place of his hermitage,

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<sup>276</sup> Forsyth, 4-6. See her “Register of Principal Examples,” and the two appendixes to *The Throne of Wisdom*, p. 156-208, for specific examples of prominent majesties and of the geographical range of the statue type.

<sup>277</sup> See the discussion in the Introduction to *The Book of Sainte Foy*, tr. with intro. and notes by Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 6-8. Dado is now buried in the small church of Notre-Dame de la Nativité in the hamlet of Grand-Vabre in the Rouergue, near Conques. The chronology of Conques, like most monasteries in southern France, is very confused, deliberately altered through the process of monastic “imaginative memory,” as developed in Amy Remensnyder’s *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1995). See the discussion in Walter Cahn, “Observations on the ‘A of Charlemagne in the Treasure of the Abbey of Conques,” *Gesta* 45 (2006): 97-100 especially, and Remensnyder, 56-7.

<sup>278</sup> Sheingorn, 6. The Chronicle of Conques, which only survives in a seventeenth century version and whose prologue Amy Remensnyder describes as taking “this extension of the past by appeal to successive external disruptions and refoundations that destroy documents is taken to its logical extreme,” also mentions Dado’s story. See Remensnyder, 50. For the Chronicle, see M.A.F. Baron de Gaujal, *Études Historiques sur le Rouergue*, 4 vols. (Paris : Imprimerie Administrative de Paul Dupont, 1859) 4 :391-394, which includes the late twelfth or thirteenth century prologue. The chronicle in the original late eleventh-early twelfth century form can be found in the *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, Tomus Tertius, complectens Chronica Varia*, ed. Dom Edmond Martene and Dom Ursin Durand (Paris: Bibliopolarum Parisiensium, 1717), 1387-1390. From Ermoldus Nigellus, see Ermold le Noir, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et Épitres au Roi Pépin*, ed. and tr. Edmond Faral (Paris : Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, Éditeur, 1932), 22-27. The story of the Dados’ conversion to the eremitic life appears on pp. 22-24.

with royal diplomas from Louis the Pious in 819 and Pippin I of Aquitaine in 838.<sup>279</sup> These favors from both the Carolingian emperor and the usurper king of Aquitaine would have marked Conques as a powerful and privileged institution within the Rouergue, later supported by the counts of the Rouergue, cousins of the House of Toulouse and the namesakes of Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles. Pippin I, however, also set the seeds for an enduring conflict by founding “New Conques,” known as Figeac, thus initiating a conflict that would endure through the papacy of Urban II.<sup>280</sup>

The solution for the monks of Old Conques was solved by the moving of the relics of Saint Foy from Agen to Conques in 866. The theft of her relics was described by the mid-eleventh century *translatio*, in a text that not only helps to create the myth of Roman persecution for the noble saint but also reinforces the idea of Conques as an ancient-but-ruined monastery.<sup>281</sup> The account does not attempt to provide some sort of miraculous or visionary reason for the theft; instead, it was a calculated and deliberate theft for the benefit of Conques and the Rouergue, “for the salvation of the country and the redemption of many people.”<sup>282</sup> The monks

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<sup>279</sup> Remensnyder, 56. *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*, ed. Gustave Desjardins (Paris : Alphonse Picard, 1870), no. 580, p. 409-411, and no. 581, p. 411-414. Both charters, while likely based on originals, survive in falsified copies, like almost all cartulary material from Conques and Figeac. See Katrinette Bodarwé and Moritz Rother, « Die Gründung(en) des Klosters Conques : die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen (BM2 688) und Pippins I. von Aquitanien (D 32) », *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 57 (2011), 1-48, for the problem of the specific charters. For the best work on the historiographic problems of the region of Conques, see Sebastien Fray, “L’aristocratie laïque au miroir des récits hagiographiques des pays d’Olt et de Dordogne (Xe-XIe siècles),” PhD diss., Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011.

<sup>280</sup> Sheingorn, 8. Urban II’s ruling did not stop the monks of Figeac from falsifying a charter to put their foundation in 755; the prologue to the Conques chronicle may be an attempt to outdo even that piece of fiction. See Philippe Wolff, “Notes sur le faux diplôme de 755 pour le monastère de Figeac,” in *Figeac et le Quercy : Actes du XXIIIe Congrès d’études régionales organisé à Figeac les 2-4 juin 1967 par la Société des Études du Lot* ([S.l.]: [s.n.], 1969), 83-122.

<sup>281</sup> “*Translatio*: The Translation of Sainte Foy, Virgin and Martyr, to the Conques Monastery,” in Sheingorn, 264-6; see also the description in the Introduction, p. 26. The surviving copy of the *translatio* is in Vatican, MS Reg. lat. 467, f. 6-14, part of a manuscript written at Conques or one of its daughter-houses in the late eleventh century, brought to Fleury in the twelfth, and dismembered sometime later, with parts now in Orléans, BM MS 347; Leiden, Bibliothèque universitaire MS Voss. Lat. 0.60; Paris, BNF MS NAL 443; and the Vatican copy.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 266. Latin: “Hi tanti honoris viri, dum sæpius de supra taxatæ Virginis prodigijs ad invicem sermones conferrent, dextra interim suggestione excitati, ex improvise causa consilii apud eos extitit, quonam modo eventus rei examinaretur, ut sanctissimæ Martyris corpus in salutem patriæ & in redemptionem multorum ad se

of Conques (again, according to their own *translatio*), sent a monk named Arinisdus to Agen to acquire the relic of St. Foy by whatever means necessary. After befriending the clergy of Agen and gaining their trust, he broke into the tomb, took the relics, and fled to Conques.<sup>283</sup>

As Arinisdus approached his destination, “all the monks of Conques walked out some distance towards him.”<sup>284</sup> The feast day of St. Foy at Conques, the story then explains, marks the anniversary of the *translatio* and the resulting need for a new church because of the crowds. But there was a problem. When the monks attempted to move the bones of St. Foy from the old church of Conques to the new, in “the days of Stephen, venerable bishop of Auvergne, one of the cleverest of men” (this being Stephen II of Clermont, also abbot of Conques), they found that “it has such great weight that it remained fixed in place, staying as steadfastly immobile as a mountain.”<sup>285</sup> After attempting three times to move the relics, they realized the source of the problem, and “undertook to have a reliquary made” to be placed upon the high altar of the new church.<sup>286</sup> The description of the reliquary does not give any indication of what it actually was,

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transferretur.” *Acta Sanctorum* October III, 296, from *Acta Sanctorum Database*, accessed 12-20-2014, acta.chadwyck.com

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 268. See Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990), 58-63.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 271. Latin: “Omnis autem monachorum Conchacensium chorus, cum idem sacramenti allator vicinitati eorum appropinquaret, audita videlicet adventatione ipsius, procul in occursum ejus spatiabantur, ex congrua processione sanctissimæ Martyri cum cætera fidelium turba obviantes, cruce, thuribulis, aromatum odore redolentibus, cæterisque divinis obsequiis Virgo beata honore digno, corde jocundissimo, menteque benigna ab omnibus suscepta est.” *Acta Sanctorum* Octobris III, 298, from *Acta Sanctorum Database*, accessed 12-20-2014, acta.chadwyck.com

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 272. Latin: “Cum enim pium & mite monachorum ovile tam populosum turbarum frequentium accessum præ servitutis Christi instantia sanctique patris Benedicti traditione sufferre non oporteret, ipsique pro gravi molestia & inquietatione popularium crebrum favorem ducerent, in diebus quoque Stephani, Alvernensium venerabilis præsulis, qui & unus ex solertissimis, ipso consulente, atque summopere instigante, maximæ pulchritudinis basilica ipso monasterio adjuncta, a fundamento post paululum temporis constructa est, in qua sacræ Virginis corpus tumulationi commendaretur, quo facilior aditus cunctis illuc confluentibus illudque visentibus assidue pateret,” and “His quoque sublimis meriti viris sollicito animo ad almificum corpus accedentibus, atque omni conamine religionis illud sublevare incipientibus, supremi opificis Christi mirificatione assistente, tanto pondere fixum permansit, ut ad montis cujusdam modum immobile persisteret,” *Acta Sanctorum* Octobris III, 298, from *Acta Sanctorum Database*, accessed 12-20-2014, acta.chadwyck.com

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, 272. Latin: “Deinceps videlicet inceptum suum illicitum & a Dei nutu vetitum sibi cognoscentes [quapropter corpori superstruunt thecam magnificam, miraculis postea claram.] juxta prædicti sancti ac summi Salvatoris Jesu Christi altaris latus posterius ex omni rutilantis auri gemmarumque coruscantium pompa mirificæ

commenting only on the “marvelous workmanship,” and that it was “made a great display of gleaming red gold and scintillating germs,” with the relics sealed beneath it.<sup>287</sup> What it was, however, was a Majesty statue:



Figure 4. Majesty of Saint Foy<sup>288</sup>

The construction of the Majesty of Saint Foy has been covered extensively by art historians, as the Majesty was altered by successive generations of monks into her current

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machinae thecam fabricari conati sunt, sub qua dignissima Virgo obsigillata feliciter in Christo quiescit, ibidemque haud dubio ab innumerabili populo frequentatur.” *Acta Sanctorum* Octobris III, 298-9, from *Acta Sanctorum Database*, accessed 12-20-2014, [acta.chadwyck.com](http://acta.chadwyck.com)

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

<sup>288</sup> Reliquary of Saint Foy, *Feminae: Medieval Women and Gender Index*, University of Iowa Libraries (accessed 9-18-2014), [http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/DetailsPage.aspx?Feminae\\_ID=31968](http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/DetailsPage.aspx?Feminae_ID=31968) For the best description of the reliquary in its present condition, see *Le trésor de Conques: Exposition du 2 novembre 2001 au 11 mars 2002 musée du Louvre*, ed. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, Élisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, and Marie-Cécile Baroz (Paris: Monum, Éditions du patrimoine, 2001), 18-29. The descriptions and photographs do not properly give the sense of being in the presence of the majesty statue; it is atmospheric, menacing, and impressive in a way that belies its size. See Hannah Green, *Little Saint* (New York: Random House, 2000), for a personal account of the author’s experience with Saint Foy. “My interaction with the majesty of St. Foy as a boy of ten is one of the driving forces of my interest in the religious identity of southern France; I was fascinated and terrified of this golden little girl who was also a menacing Carolingian king, and had nightmares about her for months after our trip to Conques.”



impressive and terrifying visage.<sup>289</sup> The Majesty statue bears a strong resemblance to the surviving illustrations of the Clermont Majesty, both seemingly constructed under the supervision of Stephen II at great expense to serve as focal points for new churches.

Contemporary with the collapse of royal influence in the Auvergne and Stephen II's attempts to recover some of that authority for himself, the construction of the majesty statues led to a fundamental shift in the political and religious dynamic of the region. This would be expressed through a new movement that spread rapidly throughout Latin Christendom: the Peace of God.

In 972, Stephen II assembled a regional assembly of bishops, clergy, and the nobility at Aurillac, in the heights of the Massif Central in what is now Cantal, to declare a new form of ecclesiastic governance for the Auvergne.<sup>290</sup> The record of this meeting is tangled, found only in the so-called "Landeyrat" charter, a modern copy of a complex, multi-part medieval charter.<sup>291</sup> Large portions of the document are falsified for the benefit of the church of Aurillac, but the description setting seems to have been authentic:

This being accomplished as he had wished, the aforesaid bishop Stephen, for the love which he specially held for saint Gerald because of the miracles of which he had been witness in coming to dedicate the church and the same day as the dedication, as he was

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<sup>289</sup> For the majesty, see among others "Le majesté de sainte Foy à Conques (Rouergue): présentation nouvelle," *Revue Archéologique*, sixième Série, t. 46 (Juillet-Décembre 1955) : 81-2 ; Amy Remensnyder, « Un problème de cultures ou de culture ? La statue-reliquaire et les *joca* de sainte Foy de Conques dans le *Liber miraculorum* de Bernard d'Angers, » *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 33 (1990) : 351-79 ; and Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, « Auvergne en Majesté. À propos des bustes reliquaires du Massif central autour de l'an mil, » in *Le Plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge : Commande, production et réception de l'œuvre d'art. Mélanges en Hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, ed. Rosa Alcoy (Paris : Picard, 2012), 735-742.

<sup>290</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, "Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God," 110-111. *Cartulaire de Saint-Flour*, no. 1, p. 1-3 for the charter, and p. clvii for the discussion of the charter.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid. The authenticity is contested. The commentary of Boudet on the charter remains a useful description of the problems of the charter, p. clvii-clxvi, and Sébastien Fray, "Copie, authenticité, originalité. Le cas de la fausse 'charte' de Landeyrat," *Bulletin Questes* (forthcoming). See also Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, "La Paix des Montagnes," 6-9. We know that the consecration of the abbey of St. Gerald was performed by Stephen II of Clermont and Conques in 972, so regardless of the other details, the Bishop was at Aurillac during the time of this meeting. See *Breve Chronicon Auriliacensis Abbatiae seu Gesta abbatum Aureliacensium*, ed. In Jean Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta, sive Collectio veterum aliquot operum et opuscularum omnis generis...*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris : Montalant, 1723), p. 349. Latin : « Geraldus de Sancto Sereno Abbas quintus, alumnus terrae de Caturcana, et castro de Sancto Sereno oriundus, perfecit aedificium basilicae a praedecessore suo inceptum: et vocatis Episcopis illud consecravit, et dedicatio facta fuit anno dominicae Incarnationis DCCCCLXXII, Indict V, Papa Johanne feliciter sedente in cathedra apostolica. »

carried by the actions of the same saint Gerald, decided, with the counsel of the clerics from the seat of Clermont and other nobles, to exalt this same place of Aurillac by his own episcopal authority.<sup>292</sup>

Stephen II had a profound personal attachment to the cult of St. Gerald of Aurillac, and his dedication of the church, at the very least, is confirmed in the book of miracles of the cult.<sup>293</sup>

The most likely interpretation is that Stephen II did come to Aurillac, and under his own authority as the bishop of Auvergne delineated the legal jurisdiction of the abbey. He then decreed a thrice-yearly series of synod-councils of the clergy and laity at Aurillac as a way of governing the Haute-Auvergne:

his successors the bishops of Clermont honored the place greatly, and, coming three times a year, reunited an assembly from the entire region, from the Rhue river to the Lenda, and from the castle named Brezons all the way to the limit of the diocese; and there, they would hold their legal courts, make their ordinations, celebrate their councils, and if they have something to decide or stop, they would pronounce their judgment with the advice of the notables of the region.<sup>294</sup>

These two activities represent a radical change in the governance of the Auvergne, without which the Peace of God might not have developed.<sup>295</sup> Not only had Stephen II usurped royal authority in the region, by establishing the abbey of Aurillac and demanding that both the clergy and the nobility meet (presumably under his authority and control), but he also placed the bishop of the Auvergne at the head of the county. Essentially, the powers of the Carolingian count had been stolen by the bishops of Clermont, who used them to place the Church above the nobility.

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<sup>292</sup> Fray, "Copie, authenticité, originalité," 1-2. Latin : « Quod, postquam decenter expletum est, praedictus Stephanus episcopus, ob amorem quem erga beatum Geraldum specialiter habebat, propter miracula que viderat dum ad dedicandam ecclesiam veniret, et ipso dedicationis die, sicuti in gestis ipsius beati Geraldii habetur, statuit, una cum consilio clericorum Arvernensis sedis, aliorumque nobilium virorum, eundem Aureli[a]cum locum episcopali auctoritate sublimare." *Cartulaire de Saint-Flour*, no. 1, p. 1-3.

<sup>293</sup> See Anne-Marie Bultot-Verleysen, "Des *Miracula* Inédits de Saint Géraud d'Aurillac (d. 909). Étude, édition critique et traduction française, » *Analecta Bollandiana* 118 (2000) : 47-141.

<sup>294</sup> "Constituit etiam ut sui successores Arvernensis ecclesiae presules locum maxime honorarent; et, ter in anno advenientes, ibi conventus totius patriae congregarent, a fluminibus videlicet Ruda et Lenda et a castro quod dicitur Bresontium usque ad fines sui episcopatus; et ibi mallos suos tenerent, ordinationes facerent, sinodos celebrarent; et si quid statuendi vel decernendi esset, cum consilio optimatum regionis, suo edicto deffinirent." *Cartulaire de Saint-Flour*, no. 1, p. 1-3.

<sup>295</sup> Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, "Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God," p. 112-3.

The meeting at Aurillac, while commanding the attendance of the nobility, was between the bishop and “an innumerable multitude of abbots, monks and the mass of the clergy and the people.”<sup>296</sup> In front of this assembly of the church powers of the region, and of the people, Stephen II declared this new order for the Auvergne.

This view of the Peace of God is not new; it is the traditional read of the Peace as a way of advancing ecclesiastical interests in the face of secular turbulence. What makes the Peace of Aurillac important is that in the Auvergne, where the Peace originated, there actually was a feudal revolution that forced a radical response. Dominique Barthélemy has argued at length against a feudal revolution around the year 1000, that what changes did exist were gradual until the twelfth century, and, in northern Europe, this is possibly correct.<sup>297</sup> In the Auvergne, however, there was a rapid change in political structure at the end of the Carolingian period, as not only the emperor but the major territorial lords lost control of the region. Ennezat was the beginning of a new order, a period of intense castellization, devolution of power to local *milites*, and an attempt by the church to take over governance, not through Carolingian means, but through ecclesiastical councils enforced by the theoretical support of the people and the saints.<sup>298</sup> This was, then, a revolution of a kind. The social structure of the region did not necessarily change, but the political landscape re-arranged itself to fill a genuine void in power, with the

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<sup>296</sup> Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, « La “charte de Landeyrat” », dans *Autour de Gerbert d’Aurillac. Le pape de l’an Mil. Album de documents commentés*, dir. Olivier Guyotjeannin et Emmanuel Poule, Paris, École des chartes, coll. « Matériaux pour l’histoire », 1, 1996, p. 9-11. Latin: “ Anno ab incarnatione domini /2/ non(in)gentesimo LXII. veniens dominus /3/ Stephanus arvernorum episcopus, /4/ dedicavit ecclesiam Aureli(a)ciensis cœnobii, /5/ presentibus aliis episcopis hoc est Froterio Petragoricensis et Gauzberto Caturcensis, /6/ abbatum quoque et monachorum, et /7/ totius cleri, ac populi innumerabili(s) /8/ confluente multitudine... »

<sup>297</sup> See Dominique Barthélemy, *La mutation de l’an mil a-t-elle eu lieu*, and *ibid.*, *L’an mil et la paix de Dieu : La France chrétienne et féodale 980-1060* (Paris : Fayard, 1999) for his broader views ; his book *Les Deux Âges de la Seigneurie Banale. Pouvoir et Société dans la terre des sires de Coucy (milieu XIe-milieu XIIIe siècle)* (Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 1984), for a specific vision of when the « mutation » took place.

<sup>298</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, *L’Auvergne et ses marges* remains the definitive *mutationiste* text for the region. See also Sebastien Fray, “L’aristocratie laïque au miroir des récits hagiographiques des pays d’Olt et de Dordogne (Xe-XIe siècles),” PhD diss., Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2011, for an intermediate position that discusses the castellinization and toponymic changes in the region.

bishop creating an ecclesiastical seigneurship over the entire Auvergne.<sup>299</sup> The bishops, in attempting to fill this void themselves, also fostered a cultural shift, not only in the use of majesty statues in the region as focal points for the cult of saints, but the promotion of specific saints as totemic guarantors of the church's domination of political life. It is this shift—the cultural-religious aspects of the political revolution—that made the Peace so important in the region.

Choosing Aurillac for a radical ecclesiastical usurpation of secular power made sense in the context of the late tenth century, when the cult of St. Gerald of Aurillac was burgeoning. For Stephen II, it was Gerald himself who chose the location through miracles the saint had performed in front of Stephen.<sup>300</sup> Regardless of his feelings towards St. Gerald, the choice was a canny one. The cult of St. Gerald was not only important in the region, and thereby an extension of Stephen's influence to the Cantal in addition to his holdings in Clermont and the Rouergue, but it was also linked to Cluny, whose model of secular independence and its subordination solely to the Papacy was written into the charter's preface: it was to be “freed from all domination and service, only under the command of the seat of Rome, as it had been decided by saint Gerald.”<sup>301</sup> Already an abbot and a bishop, Stephen II did not lay claim to the abbey itself, though he made sure the assembled knew that he, as bishop of the Auvergne, was superior to the

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<sup>299</sup> Dominique Barthélemy, *L'an mil*, 307-9. Barthélemy's views of the feudal revolution, while firm, are to some degree caricatured by his opponents; not only does he point out the genuine political change in the area in this time, but he by and large agrees with Lauranson-Rosaz about the origins of the Peace in the councils of Etienne II leading into the primitive peace of Le Puy discussed further on.

<sup>300</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, « La “charte de Landeyrat,” 9-11. Latin: “prædictus /10/ Stephanus episcopus ob amorem quem /11/ erga beatum Geraldum specialiter /12/ habebat propter miracula que viderat /13/ dum ad dedicandam ecclesiam veniret /14/ et ipso dedicationis die sicuus in gestis /15/ ipsius beati Geraldus habetur, statuit /16/ una cum consilio clericorum /17/ arvernensis sedis, aliorumque nobilium virorum, eundem aureli(a)cum locum /18/ [f° suivant] episcopali autoritate sublimare decrevit. . .” Bultot-Verleysen, 65-6.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid. Latin: “itaque ut post ecclesiam Arvernensis sedis ipse locus in omni episcopatu suo præcipuus habe(re)tur et ab omni dominatione et servitio nisi tantum Romanæ sedis sicut a beato Geraldo statutum fuerat (in) perpetua libertate luminis existeret, constituit etiam ut sui successores Arvernensis ecclesiæ presules habet locum maxime honorarent. . .”

secular leaders of the region. But in tying himself into the wishes of St. Gerald, he was placing himself within a narrative of ecclesiastical dominance of the Auvergne.

Very little is known for certain about the life of Gerald of Aurillac. He was born sometime in the mid-ninth century, and died in the early tenth, spending almost all of it in the Auvergne, never marrying and never having children.<sup>302</sup> As a lord, he was beloved by the peasants in his territory, mostly for being an anomaly in the region: he was renowned for disliking war, doing good deeds regardless of personal gain, and embodying Christian piety, following monastic examples while continuing to live in the world as a layman.<sup>303</sup> Before he died, he reconciled the difficulties of these two lives by transforming his villa in Aurillac into a monastery, from whence the town itself sprang.<sup>304</sup> Stephen thus tied himself to a third saint, one known for lay piety, in addition to closeness to the church and being beloved by the poor of the Auvergne. And in the meeting at Aurillac, it was the poor, the peasants and the growing number of free farmers, who guaranteed the safety of the assembled clergy and monks against the knights of the region.<sup>305</sup> Gerald of Aurillac was certainly a figure more attractive to the clergy and the populace, the *rustici*, than to the knights, whom the same laymen and clerics placed themselves

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<sup>302</sup> For the life of Gerald of Aurillac, as opposed to Saint Gerald, see Mathew Kuefler, *The Making and Unmaking of a Saint: Hagiography and Memory in the Cult of Gerald of Aurillac* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 1-4; he is also found and discussed throughout Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses Marges (Velay, Gévaudan) du VIIIe au XIe siècle: La fin du monde antique?* (Le Puy-en-Velay: Les Cahiers de la Haute-Loire, 2007), esp. 187-190. For the best study of the hagiographic Saint Gerald and the writings concerning him, see Anne-Marie Bultot-Verleysen, *Odon de Cluny, Vita sancti Gerald Auriliacensis. Édition critique, traduction française, introduction et commentaires* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2009), whose works, despite Kuefler's differing opinion, remain the best studies of his hagiography.

<sup>303</sup> Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Two Offices for St. Gerald: Braga and Aurillac," in *Commemoration, Ritual and Performance: Essays in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, ed. Jane Morlet Hardie with David Harvey (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2006), 39.

<sup>304</sup> Kuefler, 10.

<sup>305</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, "Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God," 114-5; this alliance of the people and the clergy in the Peace of God movement was one of its hallmarks in some areas of France, especially the Auvergne and Bourges. See Loren C. MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century Peace Movement," *Speculum* 5:2 (Apr. 1930): 181-206, and Thomas Head, "Andrew of Fleury and the Peace League of Bourges," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 14:3 (Fall 1987): 513-529 for two examples.

in opposition to. As imagined by monks, his desire to be a monk was therefore an example for how the *milites* should conduct themselves in relation to the church. As such, of course, he made a terrible model for the militant class of the Auvergne, and despite attempts to link him to the First Crusade, his biggest role vis-à-vis warrior-church relations was in the Peace of God.<sup>306</sup>

At a meeting as early as Aurillac, the power of the peasantry, clergy, monks, and the saint himself, were not enough to enforce any kind of control over the unruly militant class; at the end of the Carolingian period, the breakdown of authority and devolution of power from the counts into the hands of scattered viscounts, *princeps*, and knights had gone too far. It was the charisma and treasure of someone like Stephen II, who as bishop of the Auvergne, abbot of Conques, and scion of the family of the viscounts of Clermont could marshal significant wealth and support from across the Massif Central, that allowed a reorganization of juridical power. His assemblies at Clermont and Aurillac were “the juridical beginnings of the movement,” reorganizing political power under the clergy; but they were also the beginning of the alliance between saints, clerics, and the poor, the formula that would make the Peace of God in the Auvergne so potent, and so long-lasting.<sup>307</sup> Admittedly, Stephen II never succeeded in his goal of uniting the Auvergne under his authority. Upon his death in 984, the roles of abbot of Conques and bishop of Clermont would go to separate individuals, and the various regions of the Auvergne would continue to drift further apart, rather than coalescing into the episcopal principality he seems to have envisaged.<sup>308</sup> It would take another bishop, though from outside of the Auvergne, to finish

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<sup>306</sup> See HEJ Cowdrey, “Cluny and the First Crusade,” *Revue bénédictine* 83 (1979): 285-311, which argues for the importance of Gerald to the First Crusade.

<sup>307</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” 114-5; this alliance of the people and the clergy in the Peace of God movement was one of its hallmarks in some areas of France, especially the Auvergne and Bourges. See Loren C. MacKinney, “The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century Peace Movement,” *Speculum* 5:2 (Apr. 1930): 181-206, and Thomas Head, “Andrew of Fleury and the Peace League of Bourges,” *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 14:3 (Fall 1987): 513-529 for two examples.

<sup>308</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, *L’Auvergne et ses Marges*, 215, for his death date.

the vision of ecclesiastic dominance. Stephen's dream would be realized by the Auvergnat Peace of God, of the bishop and the ecclesiastics seizing authority not through Carolingian models, but through the aegis of faith and the people.

### **The People's Peace: The Early Peace of God and the Bishop-Count of Le Puy**

Guy of Anjou, who would become Bishop Guy II of Le Puy-en-Velay, in the south-eastern Auvergne, to some extent followed the pattern of Stephen II of Clermont. During the 960s, while Stephen II was attempting to wrest control of the Auvergne from the nobility, Guy was the lay abbot of Saint-Aubin of Angers, Cormery in the Touraine, Saint-Sauveur de Villeloin in the Touraine, and Saint-Pierre de Ferrières in the Gâtinais, supporting his brother in helping to control the church.<sup>309</sup> Guy's uncle Hector had been bishop of Puy, and his sister Adelaide was married to Stephen, count of Forez and Gevaudan, the most powerful lord in the eastern Auvergne.<sup>310</sup> The marriage placed the Angevin family in a very strong position not only to propose candidates for the bishopric, both by legacy and regional influence, but also to maintain the bishopric in the face of hostile lords.

The bishopric of Le Puy was a significant prize for whoever succeeded in taking it. Not just a bishopric, from 924 on it was also the comital seat, with Le Puy as the *urbs* of the *pagus* of the Velay, the center of secular and ecclesiastical power in the Carolingian territory.<sup>311</sup> The

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<sup>309</sup> Dom Guy-Marie Oury, "Le frère de Geoffrey Grisegonelle: Guy II d'Anjou, moine et évêque du Puy (v. 998)," *Mémoires de la société archéologique de touraine* 9 (1975) : 61-68, and « La situation juridique des monastères de Cormery et de Villeloin sous l'abbatiat de Guy d'Anjou (v. 954-975), » *Bulletin de la société archéologique de Touraine* 9 (1975) : 551-563.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid. Bachrach, "The Idea of the Angevin Empire," *Albion* 10 (1978): 295-296.

<sup>311</sup> Bachrach, "Northern Origins," 408. Sébastien Fray, "La juridiction de l'évêque du Puy sur sa ville au prisme des privilèges royaux (Xe-XIVe siècles)," forthcoming in proceedings of *La justice dans les cités épiscopales du Moyen Age à la fin de l'Ancien Régime, Albi, 17 et 18 octobre 2013*, p. 6. For the original charter, see Jean Dufour, *Recueil*

establishment of the joint titles by Rudolph I, the Bosonid king of France, was maintained by the Carolingians when they regained power there.<sup>312</sup> When King Lothair III appointed Guy to the position, he made him not only bishop, but *procurator*, the head of Carolingian fiscal administration in the Velay.<sup>313</sup> The bishops of Puy would thereby remain one of the last officially titled bastions of Carolingian authority in the Auvergne, a secular and ecclesiastical figure—this would be maintained throughout the eleventh century, including Adhemar of Le Puy, papal legate and the other Provençal leader of the First Crusade.

Guy's entry into Le Puy was carefully organized for maximum effect. First he met with his sister Adelaide and next his nephews Pons and Bertrand. The latter two, with an entourage, led him to Le Puy. A "triumphal entry" was organized to greet him, with a "great procession of clerics," who guided the Angevin party to the cathedral as the populace of the Velay lined the route to welcome him.<sup>314</sup> The description of these ceremonies, given in the early twelfth-century chronicle of Saint-Pierre du Puy, describes the laity as "expressing great exultation...because God had given them such a protector," acknowledging the dual role of spiritual and secular leader.<sup>315</sup> The problem of having the bishop as count, of course, was that, as a cleric, he was theoretically supposed to refrain from direct military activity—difficult for a leader whose most

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*des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul rois de France (922-936)* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1978), no. 4, p. 22-5. Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei*, 17.

<sup>312</sup> For the Bosonids, see Constance Bouchard, "The Bosonids or Rising to Power in the Late Carolingian Age," *French Historical Studies* 15.3 (Spring 1988): 407-431. For the redistribution of power in the Midi during the end of the Carolingian-Bosonid-beginning of Capetian period, see Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society*, 339-340.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid. The best source for documentation of Guy II's bishopric is the *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Chaffre du Monastier: Suivi de la chronique de Saint-Pierre du Puy et d'un appendice de chartes*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier (Paris, 1884). The charter of Lothair and the election of Guy is on p. 151-2. It is also in Louis Halphen and Ferdinand Lot, *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et Louis V, rois de France (954-987)* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1908), no. v, p. 11-13, with a description of the problems of the manuscript tradition. Lothair III's ambitions to recreate the Carolingian Empire certainly expanded beyond his actual power-base, but he did make inroads in the south beyond the Velay; see Jonathan Jarrett, "Caliph, King, or Grandfather: Strategies of Legitimization on the Spanish March in the Reign of Lothar III", *The Mediaeval Journal* 1.2 (2011):1-22, esp. 10-3;

<sup>314</sup> Bachrach, "Northern Origins," 409. *Cartulaire de Saint-Chaffre*, 152.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.



pressing problems were “to maintain peace” and “to deal with the forceful seizure of church property by robbers.”<sup>316</sup> Though he could have called in his relatives from the Forez and Gevaudan to help him enforce control through military support, Guy found a different way that expanded on the vision of Stephen II of Clermont and formed the earliest meeting of a recognizable Peace of God.

Sometime between 978 and 980, as best as can be dated from surviving materials, Guy summoned a *placitum* to Saint-Germain-Laprade, approximately ten kilometers east of Le Puy. The town, though of Roman origins, was small, and at the time of the *placitum* best noted for having a large, relatively flat, open area to hold the meeting. According to Chronicle of Saint-Pierre du Puy, Guy organized all of the *milites* and peasants in the diocese of Velay at the field of Saint-Germain near Le Puy “to swear to a peace—to not oppress the goods of the church, to return those that had been taken, as it is appropriate for Christian faithful.” The *milites* resisted, so he called in his nephews and their soldiers to force them to submit.<sup>317</sup> This Peace clearly differs from the earlier one proclaimed by Stephen II. Stephen’s summons to deliberate on solutions changed into Guy’s imposition of order, backed by military force from his family.<sup>318</sup> What was akin to the assemblies of Stephen II was what that deployment of episcopal force intended to achieve. Guy did not attempt to recreate Carolingian authority under the office of the

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<sup>316</sup> Ibid. *Cartulaire de Saint-Chaffre*, 152 : “de tenenda pace” and “de rebus ecclesiae quas vi abstulerant raptores hujus terrae,”.

<sup>317</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” 116-7. Latin: “Pontificali igitur cathedra sublimatus, cogitans assidue de tenenda pace et de rebus ecclesiae quas vi abstulerant raptores hujus terrae, jussit ut omnes milites ac rustici de episcopate suo convenirent in unum, auditurus ab eis quale sibi de regenda pace darent consilium. Ipse vero apud Brivatensem vicum nepotibus suis mandans congregare exercitum, omnibus de pontificatu suo coadunatis in unum, in prata Sancti Germani, quae sunt prope Podium, quaesivit ab eis ut pacem firmarent, res pauperum et ecclesiastum non opprimerent, ablata redderent : ut sic, sicut decet fideles Christianos, ita se haberent. Quod illi dedignantes, jussit exercitum suum a Brivate tota nocta venire, mane volens eos constringere, ut pacem jurarent et pro ipsa tenenda obsides darent, rura et castella Beatae Mariae et res ecclesiarum, quas rapuerant, dimitterent : quod et factum fuit, Deo auxiliante. » Lauranson-Rosaz, « {La Paix Populaire dans les Montagnes d’Auvergne, » 329, no. 3 ; *Cartulaire de St. Chaffre* 152, no. CCCCXIII

<sup>318</sup> Bachrach, “Northern Origins,” 410-1. See also A. Fayard, “De Ruessium à Saint-Paulien,” *Cahiers de la Haute-Loire* 1975: 97-9 for his description of the meeting at Laprade.

bishop, but to create a peace for his church through the power of the clergy and the poor, the “res pauperum et ecclesiarum,” who had been gathered at Laprade.<sup>319</sup> He made all assembled swear to a “pacem,” peace.<sup>320</sup> This, then, is the origins of the Peace of God movement, a *pax* that was achieved with the help of God.<sup>321</sup>

After promoting stability in the Velay through the *placitum* at Laprade, Guy would go on to play a major role in the shaping of the county and diocese. Among his many other activities, Guy consecrated the chapel of St. Michel d’Aiguilhe in 984, founded the monastery of Saint-Peter of Puy in 993 (leading to its twelfth-century chronicle’s focus on his career) and, in 983, presided over the marriage of his sister Adelaide of Forez-Gevaudan to Louis V, the son and heir of King Lothair of France, performed at Veille-Brioude just north of Le Puy-en-Velay.<sup>322</sup> Shortly after the *placitum* of Laprade, Guy II also began to take an interest outside of his county, following the example of Stephen II of Clermont and holding an Auvergnat council at Coler, in 980, near or in Aurillac.<sup>323</sup> The sole account is a lengthy passage from a late tenth-early eleventh century manuscript of the book of miracles for the cult of St. Vivian of Figeac, now Paris, BNF

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<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid. The Latin is “quod et factum fuit, Deo auxiliante.” Thomas Head, “Peace and Power in France around the Year 1000,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 23 (2006): 3-4, emphasizes that while this is the earliest peace meeting, it was still achieved “essentially at lance-point.”

<sup>322</sup> Bachrach, 412-3; Lauranson-Rosaz, *L’Auvergne et ses Marges*, 481-483 ; Lauranson-Rosaz, « Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God, »

<sup>323</sup> Hoffmann suggested Salers, some twenty-three kilometers north-northeast of Aurillac, and best known today for a breed of cow and type of cheese; despite the presence of Severin of Salers on the First Crusade, the location was in the shadow of the family’s castle, and would have made a poor location for a Peace assembly. Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, 19. Lauranson-Rosaz, “Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” 122. Pierre Bonnassie and Anne-Marie Lemasson, whose work on the Miracles of St. Vivian are one of the few modern publications on the text, suggested Colin, some ten kilometers north-west of Aurillac, a site reminiscent of Saint-Germain-Laprade in its proximity to a city and in a relatively flat space. Lauranson-Rosaz, “Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” 122. Anne-Marie Lemasson and Pierre Bonnassie, “Répertoire des source hagiographiques du Midi de la France antérieures à 1200: Fascicule I, Quercy,” (Toulouse: Laboratoire Etudes Méridionales, 1986) [typescript], 84, and 92, fn 2. Lauranson-Rosaz suggests a third possibility, one that seems to fit well with the account offered in the Miracles of Saint Vivian: Cueilhes, a hill to the west of old Aurillac, today a factory overlooking the Belbex neighborhood of Aurillac in the south-western part of town. Lauranson-Rosaz, “Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” 123-4.

lat. 2627. This council united the efforts of Guy II of Le Puy and Stephen II of Clermont, in bringing together for the first time the masses of clergy, saints, peasantry, and forming a plan for a peace.

The initial description of the council reads:

Sometime after, a great number of bishops came from various cities to hold a council in the Auvergne, to deliberate about the common good and the ways to reestablish a lasting peace. To add greater weight to their deliberations, they brought their holy relics, so that by the intercession of these God would confirm in the heavens what the authority of the church decreed, in their presence, on earth. The site chosen for this great solemnity was called Coler.<sup>324</sup>

From the first part of the description, the council was marked by the presence of majesty statues brought from the attending clerics, “Quo dum sacratissimi confessoris majestas veheretur,” the bringing of the most holy majesties of the saints, with the majesty statue of St. Vivian of Figeac and the relics of St. Gerald playing a prominent role.<sup>325</sup> Only three specific locations are mentioned as having sent representatives: Figeac, Aurillac, and Saint-Amans.<sup>326</sup> With the presence of monks of Figeac and Saint-Amans, one can guess that Bego, Abbot of Conques and Bishop of Clermont, Stephen II’s replacement, would have appeared, potentially with an entourage and the new majesties of St. Foy and the Virgin.<sup>327</sup> One can also assume the presence of the bishop of Figeac, accompanying the monks; the source only allows us to guess.<sup>328</sup> The

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<sup>324</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” 122. Latin: “Labentibus denique plurimorum annorum curriculis, multorum episcoporum ex diversis urbibus assensu convenit quatinus Arvernensium in partibus pro statu rei publicae ac pacis inviolabili firmitate concilium stabiliretur; ubi ad corroboranda partum decreta sanctorum corpora etiam veherentur, ut quod in eorum prasentia ecclesiasticus vigor secundum divinae legis auctoritatem decerneret, eorum sacra intercession stabili perpetuitate aetherio in solio firmaret. Hujus vero tanti conventus locum delegerunt qui Coler nuncupatur ab his qui eundem locum incolunt.” Lauranson-Rosaz, “La Paix Populaire dans les Montagnes d’Auvergne,” 329-330.

<sup>325</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “La Paix Populaire dans les Montagnes d’Auvergne,” 330

<sup>326</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” 123; Lauranson-Rosaz, “La Paix Populaire dans les Montagnes d’Auvergne,” 330-1.

<sup>327</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” 124. For Bego of Conques, see Lauranson-Rosaz, *L’auvergne et ses Marges*, 283-4, 505-6, and Sebastien Fray, “L’aristocratie laïque au miroir des récits hagiographiques des pays d’Olt et de Dordogne (Xe-XIe siècles),” PhD dissertation, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011, 735-741.

<sup>328</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” 124, fn 68.

council was clearly a regional event, with the southern Auvergne, the Quercy, and the Rouergue appearing. These regions are all areas where Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the House of Toulouse either held or had influence over before the First Crusade. The text itself only mentions the activities of monks and saints, neglecting the “great number of bishops” who held the actual peace council.

Guy’s next Peace meeting was the high point of his career, and showed how far both he and the Peace had come in twenty years. In mid-October 993/994, Guy II summoned a full conciliar assembly at the ancient city of Saint-Paulien, the Roman Ruessium, site of the church of Saint-Georges, whose patron had originally been a bishop of Le Puy.<sup>329</sup> The council was thereby held under the gaze of a particularly Vellave saint, and under his protection, giving Guy a degree of spiritual advantage. Unlike previous councils held in the Auvergne before the millennium, there are two sources for Saint-Paulien: a Cluniac charter from Sauxillanges that has neither date nor place; and the *Miracula sancti Barnardi* of Romans in the Drôme, recounting the transportation of relics to Saint-Paulien to a council. Guy united there at least eight bishops from a wide swath of Occitania, along with monks, saints, and the populace, to declare the Peace in the form that it followed throughout France in the time around the millennium. Together, these churchmen proclaimed a detailed and ambitious Peace legislation, one that not only brought the goals of the Peace movement fully into the Auvergne, but were ratified by the metropolitan bishops of Thibaud of Vienne and Dagbert of Bourges, spreading it outside of the mountains of the Massif Central.<sup>330</sup> They did so in front of a large crowd of the laity, both peasants and

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<sup>329</sup> For the detailed transition from Ruessium to Saint-Paulien, and the role of St. George in that transition, see A. Fayard, “De Ruessium à Saint-Paulien,” *Cahiers de la Haute-Loire* (1975): 43-127, especially 88-92. The date of the council is disputed. Lauranson-Rosaz argues for 993 in “Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” 128-9.

<sup>330</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “Auvergnat Origins,” 128.

knights, and representatives of Cluny, “et alios quamplures episcopos, et quosque principes, et nobiles quorum numerus non est inventus.”<sup>331</sup>

The central achievement of the council was a very detailed oath by all of the assembled, with essentially nine specific points: 1. Church property is immune from attack; 2. Moveable ecclesiastical properties (specifically animals) are not to be touched, except by the bishop and their owners; 3. People may only build fortifications on their own proper territory, not those they hold from someone else; 4. Clerics may not bear secular armaments; 5. No one except bishops or archdeacons may do injury to a monk or any of their unarmed companions; 6. No one can imprison a peasant for ransom, except in the case of preexisting debt (the exception being a peasant who works on the land of the ransomer); 7. Ecclesiastical lands are to be immune from seizure, and from all “bad customs,” unless granted as a *pracarium* by the bishop; 8. No one may impede or rob merchants; 9. The laity are forbidden to bury themselves in the church or take burial rights, and priests may not receive money to perform baptisms.<sup>332</sup> This list of nine specific provisions is followed by a paragraph detailing the punishment for any who did not obey, including excommunication and anathema given out by the bishop, segregation from churches, monasteries and the faithful, and the refusal of any rites or offices by any rank of the clergy to the offender.<sup>333</sup> The essential points of these provisions and their punishments were that the

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<sup>331</sup> Head, “Peace and Power,” 4; *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*, no. 15, p. 52. Lauranson-Rosaz, “La Paix Populaire,” 332.

<sup>332</sup> I am following the edition of the text by Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “La Paix Populaire,” 332-3, with reference to the *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*, no. 15, p. 52-4, Lauranson-Rosaz, *L’Auvergne*, 488-9, and Paris, BNF lat. 5454. It was translated into French by Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, “Les mauvaises coutumes en Auvergne, Bourgogne méridionale, Languedoc et Provence au XIe siècle: un moyen d’analyse sociale,” in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l’Occident méditerranéen (Xe-XIIIe siècles). Bilan et perspectives de recherches. Actes du Colloque de Rome (10-13 octobre 1978)* (Rome : École Française de Rome, 1980) : 139-140 ; Amy Remensnyder, « Pollution, Purity, and Peace : An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076, » in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1992), 287.

<sup>333</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, “La Paix Populaire,” 333.

church and peasants were to be exempted from the world of the warriors, and in return the clergy would remove themselves from the business of making war. It was a separation of society into two spheres, the spiritual (and the poor) and the secular, made up of the *milites*, enforced by spiritual mechanisms.

In many ways, the Peace at Le Puy is the most standard of any of the various Peace councils held in the Auvergne, and its influence would spread quickly through the greater Auvergne. It is the Auvergnat council most frequently cited by specialists of the Peace of God, many of whom work mostly on the councils held in Aquitaine or further south, in the Languedoc and Provence.<sup>334</sup> The edicts fall well within what Hans-Werner Goetz has defined as the basic tenets of the Peace of God: edicts of protection, edicts of the preservation of judicial order, and edicts of reform.<sup>335</sup> The canons of Le Puy certainly fall within these areas, and the same sorts of canons would be repeated a century later at Clermont, where most of Urban II's business was reiterating these kinds of ecclesiastical issues, all overshadowed by the call for crusade. The first three canons, along with the fifth through the eighth, all mandate the protection of churches, the protection of the clergy, the protection of peasants and merchants, and the protection of cattle, agricultural production and trade in the region. The two remaining canons, canons four and nine, deal with issues of reform—clerics are not to act as warriors and bear weaponry or armor, the laity is not to usurp burial rights and privileges from the clergy, and the clergy will not engage in the heresy of simony when it comes to baptism.

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<sup>334</sup> See, for example, Michael Frassetto, "Violence, Knightly Piety and the Peace of God Movement in Aquitaine," in *The final argument: the imprint of violence on society In medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. Donald Kagay and L.J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), 13-26, which mentions it repeatedly.

<sup>335</sup> Hans-Werner Goetz, "Protection of the Church, Defense of the Law, and Reform: On the Purposes and Character of the Peace of God, 989-1038," in *The Peace of God*, 259-279.

The canons, in essence, reinforce George Duby's interpretation of the Peace against Barthélemy, certainly from a political and legal standpoint in the Auvergne.<sup>336</sup> A dynastic shift in France, coupled with the wars between the aristocratic clans of Frankia and the Midi, forced bishops to attempt new measures to maintain the peace, which, in the Auvergne, meant the realization of Stephen II's dream of episcopal usurpation of secular rights. The Auvergnat difference is in the non-human attendees. The brief account in the *Miracula sancti Barnardi* of Romans suggests that other events were occurring nearby that illuminate the details of the Auvergnat peace.<sup>337</sup> The account says that the monks of Saint Barnard returned to their monastery from a council of the people and the bishops around a city in the Velay, carrying the body of their saint with them.<sup>338</sup> Given the regular features of previous and later Peace assemblies in the Massif Central, we can assume that this is but one example of the presence of relics at the Saint-Paulien meeting—the majesty statues of Clermont, Conques, Le Puy, and others would likely have also been present, sanctifying the meeting with the presence of the incarnate saints. The enforcement mechanism of the Peace is purely religious—to violate these oaths is to be damned, excommunicate and anathema, be it noble or cleric who breaks the laws laid down, and overseen by the embodied saints in their majesty statues.

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<sup>336</sup> Georges Duby, « Les laïcs et la paix de Dieu, » in *Hommes et structures du Moyen Age* (Paris and The Hague : Mouton, 1973), 227-40.

<sup>337</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, "Auvergnat Origins," 128; Giraud, *Essai Historique sur l'Abbaye de S. Barnard*, Ivij

<sup>338</sup> *Miracula s. Barnardi*, AASS Jan. II, p. 547; accessed through the *Acta Sanctorum Database* (accessed 10-24-2014), acta.chadwyck.com Latin: "Quamvis imperitia mea in posterum velut inscia litterarum calumniabitur, tamen is amoris Domini Antistitis aliorisque mei Barnardi compellit me scribere virtutes nuper gestas. [Miracula ad eius reliquias, & donaria.] Cum igitur Aquitanici populi cum Pontificibus Concilium apud ciuitatem, quæ dicitur Vetula, in pago Vallauorum celebrarent, affuit & Romanensium congregatio, corpus prælibati Pontificis deferens. Si quis ergo voluerit scire virtutum illic gestarum copiam, vera inde excipere poterit indicia, quod arca, qua sacratissimum eius corpus continetur, auro argentoque decenter ornata, ex oblationum abundantia, quas illi fidelium detulit manus deuota, fabrili opere hactenus contexta cernitur: quod & aureæ testantur Cruces, necnon & candelabra auro argentoque decora. »

Guy II died in 996, but managed to install his nephew Stephen of Gevaudan as his replacement.<sup>339</sup> Stephen participated early on in the version of the Peace known in Aquitaine, the Peace of Princes rather than the Peace of Saints, in Limoges in 998.<sup>340</sup> The council occurred at the same time as the humiliating defeat of the Angevin family by the king Robert the Pious, who retook Tours from Fulk Nerra, followed by sixteen years of war that ended with the expulsion of the Angevins from the Auvergne in 1016.<sup>341</sup> Guy's death may not have tipped the scales in the favor of the opponents of the Angevins, but his tenure in the diocese of Le Puy was not only one of the high points of his family's influence, but of the power of the bishopric of Le Puy and of the church in the Auvergne over the secular states. No other peace council would be held in the Auvergne around the millennium, though the impact of the council at Le Puy would be felt in the Massif Central in the early eleventh century.<sup>342</sup>

The rise of the Capetian dynasty had thus allowed powerful local nobilities to regain their grip on the landscape, which would see its last flowering under Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his sons. After nearly thirty years of war, the Peace of God returned to the Auvergne, in a form reminiscent of its earlier incarnation, but different in tone and leadership. The organizers of the new peace were Cluniacs, who attempted to bring local lords in to aid in their program that had been sufficiently reshaped by events at other Peace councils to be part of the Truce of God.<sup>343</sup> The large-scale church councils that Guy of Le Puy and Stephen of Clermont had pioneered, that had spread across western Europe, now resembled the Prince's Peace of Aquitaine, and the

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<sup>339</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne*, 496-7.

<sup>340</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne*, 496-502 for the council and its aftermath.

<sup>341</sup> For this conflict, see Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne*, 501-514.

<sup>342</sup> This is, of course, based on the surviving documentation. The Peace edicts of Saint-Paulien were repeated sometime shortly thereafter in a charter of St. Julian of Brioude, but it was not a council; the charter is clearly describing an agreement between the monastic community and their local lord. See *Cartulaire de Brioude*, no. 20, p. 42-4, and Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, "Les Mauvaises Coutumes," p. 143.

<sup>343</sup> Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne*, 528.



Cluniacs, whose ties to the nobility and geographic range allowed the Truce to become the new law, happily reinforced this. When Stephen of Mercoeur, nephew of St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny, took the episcopal seat of Le Puy in 1030, the possibility of uniting the Auvergne under an episcopal lord seemed to have been forgotten. In the south, William III Taillefer was the count of Toulouse, Albi and Quercy, eventually coming to control the Narbonnais and Provence through his wife; his cousin Hugh was the count of Rouergue and Gévaudan and held sovereignty over Agde, Béziers and Uzès.<sup>344</sup> William V would become the count of Auvergne in 1032, two years after Stephen's ascension, and Gerald of Forez would hold the titles of Count of Forez and Lyon until his death after 1046.<sup>345</sup>

Bishop Stephen II of Le Puy, as he would be titled, would remain bishop of in the Velay until 1052.<sup>346</sup> He was an active participant in the Truce of God, attending a council in Limoges in 1031 that examined the disputed apostolicity of St. Martial, as well as the elaboration of the legend of St. George of Velay that Stephen was involved in creating. After seeing the effect such a council could have, when properly attended and crafted, he called for a similar meeting in Le Puy-en-Velay to deal with the troublesome lords of the Auvergne. The meeting at Le Puy was held in 1036, and our knowledge of it is, again, limited to a single source, in this case the miracles of St. Privat of Mende, in the Gévaudan. Having recently attended a council that discussed the status of saints and their relics, Stephen II of Le Puy seems to have invited the other clergy to bring along the relics of their most venerable saints and martyrs to Le Puy for the meeting, returning to ideas popular in the 1020s throughout the Auvergne.<sup>347</sup> The Miracles of St.

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<sup>344</sup> Lewis, *Development of Southern French and Catalan Society*, 204-5.

<sup>345</sup> The count of Forez only became an independent title towards the end of the eleventh century, appearing for the first time in a 1078 charter to Cluny, discussed in Auguste Bernard, *Histoire du Forez* (Montbrison: Imprimerie de Bernard Ainé, 1835), I: 101.

<sup>346</sup> Fayard, "De Ruessium," 105. *Cartulaire de Saint-Chaffre*, 160.

<sup>347</sup> Fayard, 106.

Privat give limited details on the actual conduct of the council as well as few names of the participants.<sup>348</sup> Stephen II of Le Puy is mentioned as present, as is his uncle Odilon of Cluny, but the only other named people are Bishop Raymond of Mende and St. Privat, whose relics were brought to the council. The *miracula* do mention that other bishops were in the city, waiting for Raymond and the relics to arrive. As with Colin, the relics of Privat produced a healing miracle on its approach to the city.<sup>349</sup>

Despite the scarcity of detail, it is clear that the gathering, which must have been relatively large if only because of Odilon's participation, aimed at re-establishing peace in the Velay on the pattern of the Peace and Truce of God.<sup>350</sup> The Truce of God had begun less than a decade before in Elne-Toulouges, in the Roussillon, but Odilon was a clear supporter of its aims, which were essentially the banning of any violence on specific days.<sup>351</sup> Since the Truce intended to combat the depredations of the nobility, we can assume that it lacked military support. We can also assume that Odilon and Stephen relied not just on the reputation of Cluny, but also on the physical power of the people of the city of Le Puy, the countryside of the Velay, and the assembled spiritual power of the saints, of whom St. Privat could not have been the only example. Within Le Puy itself, the power of the Virgin Mary and her majesty statue could have been used to impel obedience from the attendees, as the greatest of the Marian shrines in France.

The council of 1036 may or may not have been effective in securing peace in the Velay.

The loss of most documents from the cathedral of Notre Dame de Le Puy means that we are

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<sup>348</sup> Clovis Brunel, *Les Miracles de Saint Privat suivis des Opuscules d'Aldebert III, Évêque de Mende* (Paris : Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912), 14-6. For Brunel's commentary on the Miracles, xvi-xxiii.

<sup>349</sup> Fayard, 106-7. For the source and the council in general, see Clovis Brunel, "Les juges de la paix en Gévaudan au milieu du XIe siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 109 (1951) : 32-41, as well as Pierre-Andre Sigal, « Le culte des reliques en Gévaudan aux XIe et XIIe siècles, » *Revue du Gévaudan* 18-19 (1955-1958) : 103-15.

<sup>350</sup> Fayard, 107.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.* In 1041 he would call a meeting at Nice in Provence where he would mandate it for the bishops of Provence and the Italian clergy: no fighting between Wednesday night and Monday morning, as well as one saint's days, the Feast of Ascension, and the Easter period.

limited in our knowledge of events during the eleventh century. In the Gévaudan, however, Bishop Raymond of Mende's return to the region seems to have led to the establishment of a form of the Peace there, in a charter that survives from the end of the eleventh century in Paris, Archives nationales, J 304, no. 112, fol. 8. The bishop chose twenty judges to regulate all differences among the laity and the church in his diocese, essentially a *confrérie* dedicated to maintaining the Peace.<sup>352</sup> Even if this was the only effect of the Peace of Le Puy, the spread of the Peace deeper into the Massif Central expanded the influence of a particularly Auvergnat institution into regions Raymond of Saint-Gilles would spend decades fighting to control—a link between the millennial ambitions of Le Puy and Clermont and the lay leader of the Provençal First Crusade.

### **The Peace of the Saints: *Majesties*, Miracles, and Processions of Peace in the Massif Central**

While Le Puy formed the heart of the Peace of God movement in the Auvergne, after Guy II's council of 993-4 it quickly spread into the Rouergue, Gévaudan and Quercy, implementing the same elements that made Stephen of Clermont and Guy of Le Puy's meetings so effective at enacting change—the uniting of the clergy, the poor, and the saints. The last group was arguably the most important, or at least memorable, because their incarnate form: the majesty statues. The best-known example of these regional synods is found in the Miracles of Saint Foy, whose majesty has already been discussed. In the course of the early eleventh century,

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<sup>352</sup> See Brunel, “Les juges de la paix,” 35-6, and 40-1 for the Latin: “noscat vestra fraternitas qualiter bone memorie Raimundus episcopus et Ricardus, pro stabilitate et observantia pacis, duodecim eligerunt judicarios ad judicandas querelas omnium ad constitutionem pacis veniencium”, and Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, 41-2.

when these councils were taking place, the cult of St. Foy would come to the forefront of the Auvergnat Peace of God.

It would do so in part thanks to the production of the Book of the Miracles of St. Foy. The first author of the *Liber miraculorum* was Bernard of Angers, a Chartres-trained cleric who visited Conques sometime around 1013 and composed the first of the four books of the *Liber*. He was perhaps inspired by his visits to a church of Saint Foy in Chartres while he was in school there, or perhaps he was inspired by meeting Guibert the Illuminated, the subject of the most famous of Foy's miracles, discussed below.<sup>353</sup> Between 1013 and 1020, he composed some forty-nine chapters in two books, finishing the last nine shortly before his death.<sup>354</sup> These two books form the core of the *Liber*, though further writers expanded it into the 1050s.<sup>355</sup> These texts cover a wide time period, from the height of the Peace, which Conques participated in, to the golden age of the cult of St. Foy, lasting 1050 until about 1150.<sup>356</sup>

While Bernard certainly had his own agenda while writing the chapters, his commentary shows that Foy is an anomaly in his experience, a particularly Auvergnat saint.<sup>357</sup> The two books that he wrote are filled with almost ethnographic reports on what he described as peasant faith in the Rouergue, creating it as the antithesis of French practice.<sup>358</sup> In book one, chapter seven of Bernard's *Liber*, he writes of how a group of his fellow Angevins on pilgrimage to Le

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<sup>353</sup> Pamela Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 39-40; for a critical introduction, see *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, ed. and comments Luca Robertini (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1994), 3-68.

<sup>354</sup> Kathleen Stewart Fung, "Divine Lessons in an Imperfect World: Bernard of Angers and *The Book of Sainte Foy's Miracles*," in *The Middle Ages in Texts and Texture: Reflections of Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Glenn (North York, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 120.

<sup>355</sup> Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, *Writing Faith: Text, Sign, and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 108.

<sup>356</sup> Sheingorn and Ashley, 124.

<sup>357</sup> Fung, 121, for a lesson on pride for scholarly clerics in France; Sheingorn and Ashley, 51, for an example of clerical reform and supremacy.

<sup>358</sup> Sheingorn and Ashley, 29.

Puy encounter a man who accuses Bernard of being a liar, leading to a long *apologia* about St. Foy's miracles resurrecting mules.<sup>359</sup> In another section, book one, chapter thirteen, he apologizes for the mockery he and another cleric had directed towards the majesty, even calling it an idol, because he feared St. Foy's wrath.<sup>360</sup> Dominique Barthélemy's analysis of the source argues that Foy's divine vengeance fits within a greater tradition of feudal hagiography of the eleventh century, but there is nonetheless something different about her—she is a little more violent, a more malevolent, and between her majesty and her visionary appearances, a little more omnipresent.<sup>361</sup> Far from simply being another saint whose relics could be transported from abroad to enhance the prestige of the monastery, St. Foy became a vengeful guardian spirit for Conques and its scattered holdings, defending the peace of the monastery with holy fury.

Bernard certainly seemed to think so. His preface warns his mentor, Fulbert of Chartres, that something unusual exists in the Rouergue:

Better yet, if the unusual novelty of the miraculous content disturbs you, I prostrate myself on the ground to beg this of your brotherhood: that after my return you also come here, not so much to pray as to gain knowledge through experience. For through lack of experience you might prematurely judge something false whose truth, once you have seen it for yourselves, you will proclaim thereafter.<sup>362</sup>

This difference seems to revolve around the use of majesty statues which, as we have seen, appear around the beginnings of the Peace of God, and were thus still quite new when Bernard of Angers arrived in the region. His apology for mocking the majesty statues lists one new majesty from the time of Stephen, that of Gerald of Aurillac, and suggest numerous others throughout the region:

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<sup>359</sup> Sheingorn, 64; Robertini, 98-103 for the Latin.

<sup>360</sup> Sheingorn, 78; Robertini, 112-4 for the Latin.

<sup>361</sup> Dominique Barthélemy, *Chevaliers et miracles: La violence et le sacré dans la société féodale* (Paris : Armand Colin, 2004), 83.

<sup>362</sup> Sheingorn, 41; Robertini, 73-6 for the Latin.

For in fact there is an established usage, an ancient custom, in the whole country of Auvergne, the Rouergue, and the Toulousain, as well as in the surrounding areas, that people erect a statue for their own saint, of gold or silver or some other metal, in which the head of the saint or a rather important part of the body is reverently preserved. To learned people this may seem to be full of superstition, if not unlawful, for it seems as if the rites of the gods of ancient culture, or rather the rites of demons are being observed. And I was no less foolish, for I also thought this practice seemed perverse and quite contrary to Christian law when for the first time I examined the statue of Saint Gerald placed above the altar, gloriously fashioned out of the purest gold and the most precious stones. It was an image made with such precision to the face of the human form that it seemed to see with its attentive, observant gaze the great many peasants seeing it and to gently grant with its reflecting eyes the prayers of those praying before it.<sup>363</sup>

One may assume that the monks of St. Gerald of Aurillac fashioned the majesty after their confrontation with the monks of St. Vivian of Figeac, whose popularity had disturbed them in the 990s. Unlike St. Gerald, known for his passivity, kindness, and monastic demeanor, St. Foy in her majesty was a totem of both piety and militant protection. The majesty was protected from dishonor by the saint herself. Bernard, in the same story as his questioning of the worth of the majesties, recounted a miracle concerning the cleric Odalric, who dishonored the majesty statue during a procession and convinced the crowds not to make offerings to it; that night, “he had a dream in which a lady of terrifying authority seemed to stand before him,” who cursed him for daring “to disparage my image,” and beating him to death—“he only survived long enough afterward to be able to tell the story the next day.”<sup>364</sup>

The first book in general sets the tone very quickly for the level of violence associated with St. Foy. The first story concerns Guibert the Illuminated, a man who was blinded by his master and godfather, a priest, during a dispute over a woman.<sup>365</sup> What makes the story unusual is that Guibert’s eyeballs get stuffed back into his skull by a bird sent by Saint Foy. Saint Foy is not always a healer figure, though. In many of her more memorable miracle stories, she herself

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<sup>363</sup> Sheingorn, 77; Robertini, 112-3 for the Latin.

<sup>364</sup> Sheingorn, 78-9; Robertini, 112-4.

<sup>365</sup> Sheingorn, 43-44; Robertini, 78-86.

inflicts injuries on those who anger her or harm her or her possessions. The fifth chapter, for example, deals with the death of Rainon, a knight who attempted to attack one of the monks of Conques but then died when Foy caused his horse to throw him.<sup>366</sup> Another man named Guy, who mocked the miracle of Gerbert's eyes, died "a sinner's death" when a huge snake exited his bed sheets as he expired, slithering away through a crowd.<sup>367</sup> Foy defended one of her pilgrims from enemy assault by causing celestial thunderclaps to frighten them off.<sup>368</sup> A noble who mocked the majesty of Foy while attempting to take land from Conques died, along with his wife and household, when Foy caused his house to collapse on them.<sup>369</sup> Pons, a member of the entourage of the counts of Carcassonne, was killed by lightning for attempting to attack monks.<sup>370</sup> St. Foy herself declares at one point that "I myself have killed Hugh," who attempted to take money from Conques.<sup>371</sup>

Within Bernard's narrative, then, Foy takes direct and violent action on behalf of her patrimony, defending her monastery with lethal force. This action is difficult to defend, for an eleventh-century audience as much as for a modern audience. Remenensnyder appeals to the idea of the "trickster" in order to reconcile "this astonishing portrait of Foy as serial killer" with her status as a saint, with the trickster being a "holy figure [who] can perform acts which by human norms would be unacceptable, violating these norms of human behavior in order to protect the monastic community."<sup>372</sup> Occasionally, when she did not take action herself,

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<sup>366</sup> Sheingorn, 59; Robertini, 94-5.

<sup>367</sup> Sheingorn, 68; Robertini, 103.

<sup>368</sup> Sheingorn, 70; Robertini, 105-6.

<sup>369</sup> Sheingorn, 72; Robertini, 106-8.

<sup>370</sup> Sheingorn, 75; Robertini, 108-112.

<sup>371</sup> Sheingorn, 126; Robertini, 162-6.

<sup>372</sup> Sheingorn and Ashley, 37; cf. Amy Remensnyder, "Un problème de cultures ou de culture? La statue-reliquaire et les joca de sainte Foy de Conques dans le Liber miraculorum de Bernard d'Angers," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 132 (Octobre-décembre 1990) : 351-379, which discusses the *joca* in the context of Foy's nature as a child-trickster, who is misunderstood because she comes from a different cultural and hagiographical perspective than was common at the time.

Bernard records that she allowed one of her monks to be her champion: Gimon, warrior-monk, guardian of the sanctuary, and maintainer of the Rule in Conques. Gimon is another paradoxical figure in the eleventh century. There is a clear link to the office of lay abbot here; however, I would focus on the fact that Gimon is a real monk, not a lay lord taking an office—this is much closer to the Militant Orders.<sup>373</sup> Gimon, “whenever wicked men invaded the monastery with hostile intent,” became an armed defender.<sup>374</sup> Bernard writes that:

He rode at the head of his armored ranks, leading the campaign, and with his own daring he heartened the spirits of the fearful, giving them strength to face manfully either the reward of victory or the glory of martyrdom. He declared that they had a much greater obligation to vanquish false Christians who had attacked Christian law and willfully abandoned God than to subdue those pagans who had never known God. He said that no one who wanted to be worthy of leadership should become cowardly, but rather, when necessity demanded, should battle forcefully against wicked invaders so that the vice of cowardice would not creep in disguised as patience.<sup>375</sup>

When Gimon’s strength was not enough, he would go to the majesty of Foy and harangue her into providing divine aid to help in the struggle, combining prayer and invective until St. Foy’s power joined his own strength.<sup>376</sup> Bernard clearly feels the need to defend these actions, and ends by saying “Therefore it is my considered opinion that Gimon ought not to be blamed for his harsh manner of speaking when I’ve heard his deeds described as irreproachable in every way, except that he used to go on expeditions armed.”<sup>377</sup>

This violence, and the incarnate presence of the saint through her majesty, bring us back to the Peace of God. The most definitive characteristic of the Auvergnat Peace was the presence

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<sup>373</sup> Sheingorn, 96; Robertini, 128-131.

<sup>374</sup> Sheingorn, 94; Robertini, 129-131.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.

<sup>377</sup> Sheingorn, 95; Robertini, 128-131. See Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1994), 95-115 for the practice of “Humiliation of Saints” in medieval monasteries, and Lester K. Little, “Formules monastiques de malédiction aux IXe et Xe siècles,” *Revue Mabillon* 58 (1975): 377-399, as well as *ibid.*, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1993) for the practices, justifications, and sources of liturgical curses, especially 26-30 for the humiliation of relics.



of the majesty statues, brought by the clerics and monks to guarantee that the edicts of the Peace councils were obeyed. Bernard of Angers records two miracle stories at a specific council, but begins the section with this preface:

I don't think that I ought to pass over this: that in the midst of the many relics of saints that are carried to councils according to the custom of that province, Sainte Foy shines forth as if she is preeminent among them because of the glory of her miracles. Since there were so many, and I may seem to be writing a volume that is too boring, I judge that it is enough to record two of these miracles.<sup>378</sup>

The lack of a list of the councils, plural, is unfortunate, but this statement seems to support the idea that councils in the Auvergne regularly involved multiple saintly relics being carried to them. Bernard's account here is of a Peace council held in Rodez:

The most reverend Arnald, bishop of Rodez, had convened a synod that was limited to the parishes of his diocese. To this synod the bodies of the saints were conveyed in reliquary boxes or in golden images by various communities of monks or canons. The ranks of saints were arranged in tents and pavilions in the meadow of Saint Felix, which is about a mile from Rodez. The golden majesties of Saint Marius, confessor and bishop, and Saint Amans, also a confessor and bishop, and the golden reliquary box of Saint Saturninus, and the golden image of holy Mary, mother of God, and the golden majesty of Sainte Foy especially adorned that place. In addition to these, there were relics of many saints, but I can't give the exact number here.<sup>379</sup>

This description is the best confirmation of Auvergnat Peace practices. The synods were largely local affairs, though the Rodez council, like Guy's synod at Laprade, was particularly small. It was held just outside of a major city in a large field, suitable not only for the ecclesiastical and noble attendees to discuss the business at hand, but for large crowds of lesser landholders and the peasantry to join in.

The miracles associated with the gathering of so many saints further helped bring the populace together on the side of the Peace. At Rodez, the curing of a blind, deaf, mute and lame boy by St. Foy created an enormous reaction that disrupted the proceedings:

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<sup>378</sup> Sheingorn, 98; Robertini, 132-3.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

And when the common people responded to such an amazing event with uproarious joy, the important people at the council, who were seated together a little farther away, began to ask each other: ‘Why are those people shouting?’ Countess Bertha replied, ‘Why else should it be, unless Sainte Foy is joking as usual?’ Then all of them were flooded with both wonder and joy because of the exquisite miracle. They called together the whole assembly to praise God, recalling frequently and with very great pleasure what the respectable lady had said—that Sainte Foy was joking.<sup>380</sup>

Bernard suggests in the *Liber* that the miracle caused joy and exultation, and this was likely the reaction of the general populace. I suggest that the reaction by the “important people” at the council, or at least the nobility who were assembled alongside Countess Bertha, was different.<sup>381</sup>

The *joca* of Saint Foy were often light-hearted, the healing of children or the blind or the resurrection of animals, but reinforced the capriciousness of the saint. The calls of the assembled people and the invocation of Saint Foy would have brought to mind her darker side, which would include, in Bernard’s second book, the direct killing of the Begon of Clermont-Conques, his nephew and successor Hugh of Conques, Hugh’s brother and successor Peter, and Bertha’s eldest son Raymond II of Rouergue.<sup>382</sup> The miracle story recounting these deaths, emphasizes that Foy killed them herself.<sup>383</sup> Unlike the deaths she caused through disease or disaster, not unusual for medieval saints, these three deaths were done in the same manner by which she killed Odalric, who mocked her majesty statue. As the *Liber* recounts, “I myself have killed Hugh,” and then Bego, then Peter in a storm at sea en route to Jerusalem, and finally Raymond II, count of Rouergue, also en route to Jerusalem, for violating the sanctity and treasury of the

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<sup>380</sup> Ibid.

<sup>381</sup> Sheingorn, 294, fn 88, says that “Bertha was the wife of Raymond I, count of Rouergue, and the mother of Raymond II.” This would be Bertha of Arles, whose son Hugues, the last male member of his branch of the House of Toulouse, was count of Rouergue and Gevaudan from 1008 until his death in 1054, and married Foy of Cerdanya; the name of his wife is an interesting sign of the spread of St. Foy’s cult, as well as the connection to the House of Rouergue. Christian Settapani, *La Noblesse du Midi Carolingien. Etudes sur quelques grandes familles d’Aquitaine et du Languedoc du IXe au XIe siècles: Toulousain, Perigord, Limousin, Poitou, Auvergne*, Prosographica et Genealogica 5 (Linacre College, Oxford : Occasional Publications of the Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2004), 2.

<sup>382</sup> Sheingorn, 124-7; Robertini, 162-6.

<sup>383</sup> Sheingorn, 126. This is book 2, chapter 5.

monastery.<sup>384</sup> If the saint was perfectly willing to kill multiple abbots of Conques, and the count of the region, why should the knights, who were summoned to a Peace council directed against their activities, feel anything but chilled by the presence of Foy in their midst?

The *Liber Miraculorum* does not tell us the provisions of the council, but it does describe the continuing influence and practice of the Peace in the region. Majesty statues and their cult sites brought ordinary people together en masse in support of their institutions. For the monks of Conques, and one may presume other monasteries and churches in the Auvergne, this meant processing with the majesty statue as a response to a variety of calamities and attacks of their property.<sup>385</sup> Into the mid-eleventh century, stories were still being told about the processing of the majesty statue and the miraculous efforts of St. Foy in securing her believers against secular harm, appearing in all four books of the *Liber miraculorum*. For those who read it in the 1080s and 1090s, at the eve of the crusade, the experience of the *Liber miraculorum* would have created a particular *mentalité* concerning the Peace of God and the proper role of the people, clergy and saints.

What remained was an image of the Peace, fortified by powerful, visible saints, the common people and the clergy alongside them, forcing the *milites* into right action and *pax*. The Peace had changed from a gathering led by a local bishop, supported by the peasants, monks and reliquaries, to monk-led processions under the banner of saints in support of a much more universal Truce of God. In her early miracles, as Sheingorn explains, St. Foy “renders punishment for overt acts of hostility towards the cult and lack of recognition of either her own or the monastery’s power,” regardless of the morality of action, either her own or the actions of

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<sup>384</sup> Ibid.

<sup>385</sup> See examples in Sheingorn, 79-80, 120-1, 162-3, 166-7, and 169-70.

her supplicants.<sup>386</sup> The so-called V-L miracle collection, added to the *Liber* between 1060 and 1080, are the closest of all the additions to Bernard of Angers in terms of narrative voice.<sup>387</sup> They also bring us closer to the time of Raymond and the crusade, and the period when Raymond began advancing into the Rouergue. The anonymous writer begins his first miracle by writing “Therefore I must disregard the ill-will of this decadent age I live in, because my heart clings fervently to these words from Holy Scripture: ‘Vengeance belongs to Me, and I will repay’.”<sup>388</sup> For Bernard of Angers, the monastery’s enemies were part of the local society, “skeptics and lawless castellans.”<sup>389</sup> The monk-continuator, while including battles against local castellans, make St. Foy’s struggles part of the universal struggle of good and evil. For the author of the V-L miracles, enemies of the monastery were being dealt with by secular powers, namely the battling count of Auvergne and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who courted Conques for its regional influence. Castellans fight each other while respecting St. Foy’s abbey. In return, Saint Foy heals their wounds; demons are fought and destroyed, but in the bodies of supplicant peasants.<sup>390</sup> The Peace of God had faded away, as the truce became standardized. As a result, however, we can observe that the notion of ecclesiastical and saint co-leadership of the region, for the benefit of the people over the ill-will of the aristocracy, was maintained in the Auvergne on the eve of the crusade. Let us, in light of this and the choice of the bishop of Le Puy as papal legate, rethink of what it means for Urban II to reclaim the Peace in the Auvergne in the year 1095 in the cathedral of Stephen II in Clermont.

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<sup>386</sup> Sheingorn and Ashley, 126.

<sup>387</sup> Sheingorn and Ashley, 110.

<sup>388</sup> Sheingorn, 227; Robertini, 271-2.

<sup>389</sup> Sheingorn and Ashley, 104.

<sup>390</sup> Sheingorn, 227-229; Robertini, 271-3.

## **A Tale of Two Raymonds: Memories of the Peace and the Role of the Majesties in the Late Eleventh Century Auvergne**

The unique characteristics of the Auvergnat Peace survive in the historical records through the miracles and texts associated with St. Foy. More importantly, they would have been transmitted throughout the Auvergne along the Camino de Santiago de Compostella and the growing number of sites dedicated to the cult of St. Foy.<sup>391</sup> In Le Puy, the feast of St. Foy was remembered and celebrated into the twelfth century. In the martyrology of the cathedral of Notre Dame, St. Foy's entry is the longest in the text, nearly covering both sides of a folio when most entries are small paragraphs or single lines.<sup>392</sup> The version of the Peace described by the miracles of St. Foy survived in the region in manuscript form and in liturgical celebration, and one may assume that the cathedral of Notre Dame of Le Puy also kept records of Bishop Guy's endeavors. While the Peace itself did not reappear in Le Puy after the 1030s, the memory survived.

For Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles, who in his inheritance of the county of the Rouergue became the lord over the lands of Conques, the importance of the saint and what she stood for was clear. In June 27, 1078, Raymond of Saint-Gilles witnessed a charter for Conques, concerning "de malis usis et consuetudinibus," the same bad customs that the council of Le Puy was legislating against in 1036.<sup>393</sup> In this case, the problem was a local Rouergat lord named Bermundus who was seizing territories of the abbey of Conques. While the language of peace

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<sup>391</sup> Sheingorn and Ashley, 144-5.

<sup>392</sup> The manuscript is now Paris, BNF lat. 5244.

<sup>393</sup> *Cartulaire de Conques*, no. 20, p. 25-7, here p. 26. For the cartulary, see Gustave Desjardins, « Essai sur le cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Foi de Conques en Rouergue (IXe-XIIe siècles), » *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 33 (1872) : 254-282.

does not appear in the charter, it does mention that the abbot and his attacker “multos placitos habuerunt,” and when no agreement could be reached, a council was held under ecclesiastical leadership: “Ad ultimum in iudicio Matfredi Biterrensis episcopi et Frotardi abbatis Sancti Poncii et Guitardi Lupi aliorumque nobilium virorum venerunt; et Bermundus facere moluit quod iudicaverunt.”<sup>394</sup> The count helped to oversee the verdict, providing muscle to back up the judgments of the council—given that the threat of the majesty had not worked to this point, the grouping of church leaders with the count of the Rouergue seems to have worked. The two parties signed a charter promising, essentially, to follow a version of the Peace in regard to the possessions of Conques:

Ego Petrus Bermundus dimitto et perpetualiter derelinquo sancto Salvatori de Conchas et sanctae Fidi et abbati Stephano cunctisque suis successoribus illos malos usus et apprehensiones et tortos quos pater meus habuit vel aliquis homo per illum in villa de Palatio et in cunctis finibus et terminis ejus. Similiter dimitto et perpetualiter derelinquo medietatem de Ausedaz, et medietatem de placitis et de justiciis, et medietatem de vesticionibus, et medietatem de spatulis et de agnis, et totum molendinum, et mansiones et curtes, et ingressus et exitus, et medietatem de furno et insuper fornicum de pane monachorum.<sup>395</sup>

The lord thus surrenders all of his rights to mediate justice and to claim goods from the lands of the church, placing them back into the hands of the monks. Raymond acts here as a guarantor of the rights of Conques; as he engaged in his fight to claim the title of Count of the Rouergue and Gévaudan against the Count of Auvergne, allying himself to St. Foy and her monastery gave him local prestige and spiritual capital. It also placed him in the traditional roles of the Counts of Rouergue, like his namesakes, the Counts Raymond I-III, all of whom had been members of the cadet branch of the House of Toulouse.

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<sup>394</sup> Ibid.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Raymond of Saint-Gilles' was contesting the inheritance of the Rouergue and the Gevaudan with the Count of Auvergne, a small-scale wars that lasted for around a decade. Our sources are sparse for the period. Other than Raymond's role as guarantor of Conques in 1078, proof of his growing power in the region, we hear almost nothing concerning the war until the early 1080s. Even as Raymond continued to incorporate the Narbonnais into his domain, he remarried. His first wife disappears from the historical records at the same time as the death of Guifred of Cerdagne, archbishop of Narbonne.<sup>396</sup> Around 1080, Raymond married Matilda of Sicily, daughter of Count Roger, as described in *The Deeds of Count Roger of Sicily* by Geoffrey Malaterra. This marriage, a political move indicative of Raymond's growing status, took place in the period when Raymond was clearly winning in the Auvergne, and would eventually aid in the resolution of that conflict. Malaterra's chronicle places the request for the marriage as coming from Raymond, which, given both his growing power and the growing power of Count Roger, made perfect sense:

Meanwhile, news of the reputation for valor of Count Roger of the Sicilians came to the celebrated Count Raymond of Provence [later count of Toulouse]. Hearing of this, he [Raymond] sent envoys of a rank suitable for such an important matter to this great prince, asking that he might be joined in marriage to Matilda, the count's daughter by his first wife, a young but very beautiful girl. The count acceded to this request, and the agreement was subsequently confirmed by oaths from both parties. Once the nuptial day was decided, the count rewarded the envoys who had come with many gifts, as was the custom. They then made a speedy return to their lord and informed him that his request had been granted. He was extremely pleased by this, for the tidings of her beauty which he had heard from them left him burning with love and desire for her—and when he was informed of the date for their marriage he was at pains to bring forward the day of his departure for Sicily.<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> Guifred of Narbonne died in 1079. He was excommunicated for the last time at the Lent synod of 1079, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085: An English Translation*, tr. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 6.17a, 302; by the next year's synod, Gregory VII was excommunicating the new archbishop of Narbonne, Peter of Rodez, *The Register*, 7.14a, 340.

<sup>397</sup> G.A. Loud, tr., "91. Geoffrey Malaterra on the Marriage of Matilda and Raymond of Toulouse, Two Texts (ca. 1080)," in *Medieval Italy*, ed. Frances Andrews (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 428-9.

Raymond traveled to Sicily for the marriage, with unnamed bishops from both sides presiding over the marriage, and a dowry given, “recorded in a chirograph document,” a chirograph that sadly no longer survives in either part.<sup>398</sup> A chirograph was a document written out in duplicate or more on a single piece of parchment that was then cut into separate portions so that each party had a matching section.<sup>399</sup> These were originally Insular documents, but spread into western Germany in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and into France in the eleventh; it is impossible to tell whether the use of the chirography comes from the Sicilian Normans or the Provençals, as we have almost no surviving depictions of eleventh century marriages in southern France.<sup>400</sup> Almost all surviving examples of chirographs were records of contracts between parties, namely wills, leases, and accounts of agreements concerning land exchanges.<sup>401</sup> There are not examples of this as a form of marriage contract, making it unusual, but it suggests both a degree of lay literacy on the part of Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Roger of Sicily, and that the marriage was a highly legalistic affair, matching other discussions of the survival of Roman law in southern France.<sup>402</sup> This is one of only two instances in the surviving documents where the family of the Counts of Sicily

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<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>399</sup> Kathryn A. Lowe, “Lay Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and the Development of the Chirograph,” in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, eds Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 170-1.

<sup>400</sup> Lowe, “Lay Literacy,” 171; Gislebertus of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, tr. Laura Napran (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 173-4 for an example in Flanders; Dianne Tillotson, “Chirographs, Indentures and Final Concords,” *Medieval Writings*, accessed 4/6/2015, <http://medievalwriting.50megs.com/word/chirograph.htm>.

<sup>401</sup> Lowe, “Lay Literacy,” 171.

<sup>402</sup> Lowe, “Lay Literacy,” 178-80; Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “Le Bréviaire d’Alaric en Auvergne: Le *Liber Legis Doctorum* de Clermont (MS 201 [Anc. 175] de la B.M.I.U. de Clermont-Ferrand), » in *Le Bréviaire d’Alaric. Aux origines du Code civil*, eds Michel Ruche and Bruno Dumézil (Paris : Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008), 241-256 ; and *ibid.*, “‘*Theodosyanus nos instruit codex...*’ Permanence et continuité du droit romain et de la romanité en Auvergne et dans le Midi de la Gaule durant le haut Moyen Âge, » in “*Traditio Juris*”, *Permanence et/ou discontinuité du droit romain durant le haut Moyen Âge, actes du colloque de Lyon 9-10 Octobre 2003 Centre Lyonnais d’Histoire du Droit et CHM Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3*, eds A. Dubreucq et Chr. Lauranson-Rosaz (Lyon : Cahiers du CHM, 2006) : 15-32.



appear in Raymond's pre-crusade life, raising the tantalizing possibility of a meeting between Bohemond and Raymond at the wedding.<sup>403</sup>

The Sicilian marriage came at a high point in Raymond's fortunes in the region. By 1085, Raymond was confident enough of his victories in the Auvergne to issue a charter confirming all donations from his father, Pons of Toulouse, to the abbey of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières. He signs it as, "I Raymond, count of Rouergue, Gévaudan, Uzès, Nîmes, Agde, Béziers and Narbonne"—all of the former possessions of Bertha.<sup>404</sup> In April of the next year, he welcomed his sister-in-law, Emma of Sicily, to Saint Gilles, to chaperone her while his father-in-law, Count Roger I of Sicily, negotiated Emma's marriage to King Philip I of France. As Geoffrey Malaterra wrote:

Philip sent his envoys to Sicily asking for Count Roger's daughter Emma—whom Roger had fathered from his first wife Judith and who was a very beautiful girl—to be joined to him in matrimony. The count, unaware of the fraud that Philip had committed against his legitimate wife, agreed to give his daughter to him with a great betrothal feast. After fitting out his ships, the count sent her along with many treasures at the agreed-upon time to Saint-Gilles, where the king had said he would meet them. Roger trusted Raymond, the count of Provence, to hand her over honorably to the king, for Raymond had married another of the count's daughters some time before.<sup>405</sup>

There were, of course, several problems with this plan, not the least of which was the unlikelihood of the king of France descending as far south of his writ as Saint-Gilles. The account does show that at least at that time, around 1086, Raymond was still married to Matilda and still had good relations with his father-in-law.

This marital conspiracy led to the successful resolution of the Auvergnat wars in Raymond's favor. Raymond of Saint-Gilles did not allow the king to defraud Roger of Sicily and

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<sup>403</sup> John Hugh and Laurita L. Hill, *Raymond IV Count of Toulouse*, 15.

<sup>404</sup> *HGL* V, no. 366, col. 697: "ego Raymundus Ruthenensis, Gabalitanus, [Uce]tiensis, Nemausensis, Agathensis, Biterrensis necnon Narbonensis comes..." Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, 16.

<sup>405</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his brother Duke Robert Guiscard*, tr. Kenneth Baxter Wolf (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 4.8, p. 184.

take the dowry, by attempting to pull the same trick, “that is, he would disguise his intentions and welcome the girl with honor, only to hand her over in marriage to another man while he took the money for himself!”<sup>406</sup> The dowry would eventually be taken back to Sicily, but Emma did end up playing a part in the final peace of the Auvergne. As Malaterra reports, “Now that the deceit that Count Raymond had planned was, at least in part, frustrated, he joined the girl in legal marriage to the count of Clermont. So the daughter was solemnly married as God saw fit.”<sup>407</sup> This marriage seems to have formed the end of hostilities between the House of Toulouse and the counts of Auvergne, and signaled a reduction of their power to the role of counts of Clermont. The rest of the Auvergne was now Raymond’s.

This same voyage would see Raymond of Saint-Gilles have his first meeting with Adhemar of Le Puy, the reformist bishop of the city. Adhémar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy, had a career as bishop marked not only by the demands of the Gregorian Reform of which he was a part, but also by the need to deal with the unruly nobles in the Velay who made his work so difficult. Adhémar was an outsider, the scion of the family of Monteil, who had substantial holding in the area around Valence.<sup>408</sup> Adhémar would be considered a “*filii consulis provinciae Valentiniensis*,” regardless of the actual status of his father. His brother, Guilhem-Uc,

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<sup>406</sup> Ibid.

<sup>407</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra, 185.

<sup>408</sup> The family of Monteil only appears firmly in the generation of Adhemar and his brothers. Their origins were somewhere near Valence, but remain contentious. The independent branch of the family began in the eleventh century, either coming out of the line of the counts of Orange or, perhaps, from the line of the viscounts of Marseilles, with Hugh Adhémar, Adhémar’s father, being the first baron of Grignan, lord of Monteil, and viscount of Marseille. Adhemar thus had links not only to the Valentinois region, important in the Gregorian Reform, but Provence and the area near Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ holdings. For the line of Marseilles, see Abbé Joseph Cyprien Nadal, *Essai historique sur les Adhémar et madame de Sévigné* (Valence : Imprimerie de Marc Aurel, Éditeur, 1858), 1-24 for the origins through the early crusades. See also M. de Boisgelin, *Les Adhémar. Généalogie. Première Partie* (Draguignan: Imprimerie C. & A. Latil and Aix-en-Provence : Makaire, Librairie, 1900), who follows the viscount of Marseilles line. Florian Mazel, who most recently worked on the aristocratic families of the region, provides a chart for the dynasty, but avoids the question entirely, beginning the family in Adhémar’s generation. See Florian Mazel, *La noblesse et l’Église en Provence, fin Xe-début XIVe siècle. L’exemple des familles d’Agoult-Simiane, de Baux et de Marseille* (Paris : Éditions du CTHS, 2008), 651.

would start a family line that came to dominate the Drôme and join Adhemar on the First Crusade. Over the course of the twelfth century, the Monteil line would ally itself with many other powerful Provençal families, and come to be linked with places as far south as Marseilles.<sup>409</sup> According to the chronicle of St. Peter de Puy:

Descriptis superius quatuor nominibus episcoporum Aniciensium, dominus Ademar, filius consulis provincise Valentinensis, memorias non est omittendus; qui, Deo gubernante, clero ac populo conclamantes, Podiensium factus episcopus, mirabiliter rexit ecclesiam Beatse semper Virginis Marias, auferendo jus tirannicum ab ecclesiis quae tunc opprimebantur a laicis in partibus illis.<sup>410</sup>

Despite the fame and prestige of the cathedral of Le Puy as a Marian shrine, and the approval of the “clero ac populo,” Adhémar had to deal with the laity of the region who, in the absence of a strong king of Francia, and the waning of the Peace, had begun invading church property. The chronicle specifically targets the brothers Pontius and Heraclio of the house of Polignac, whose troops invaded church property and looted it regularly. The fact that Adhémar was replacing the excommunicated and deposed bishop of Le Puy, Stephen of Polignac, probably did not help their relationship.<sup>411</sup> This was the essence of the early Peace, reminiscent of Guy of Le Puy’s problems when he took up the bishopric: how does a bishop from outside the region go about securing his episcopal throne, sans military support? The chronicle also mentions his problems with the knights of Ceysac, who were attacking the lands of the church of St. Hilaire of Puy, and the lord of Mézenc, who was assaulting the peasants of the abbey of Saint-Chaffre du

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<sup>409</sup> Mazel, 651. James Brundage, “Adhemar of Puy: The bishop and His Critics,” *Speculum* 34 (Apr. 1959): 202.

<sup>410</sup> *Cartulaire de Saint-Chaffre*, 161-2.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*, 162. Latin: “Hoc videns vir egregius, factis cum eis multis conflictibus, duobus germanis fratribus, Pontio atque Eraclio vocatis propriis nominibus, pro libertate suae ecclesiae dedit vingiti quinque millia solidos Podiensis monetae, exinde caeteri milites primo quidem propter insolentiam reliquerunt ecclesiarum dominationes, in quibus ipse posuit censum ad victum et vestitum suorum canonicorum.” *Register*, 4.18 and 4.19, 228-9 for the excommunication of Stephen III of Le Puy.

Monastier.<sup>412</sup> The problems of violence between the militant class and the church, and especially the peasants connected to the church, had not been solved; the Auvergnat Peace of God was still relevant in Adhemar's Le Puy. His reaction was to use a combination of excommunications, bribes, and physical force to drive the Polignacs and other knights out of his territories; this was not, perhaps, the Peace of the Auvergne, but it was effective in returning the bishop to control over his city.<sup>413</sup> It also relied on a legacy of the lower aristocracy and the peasantry supporting the bishop and the church against external forces; one may presume that Adhemar bolstered his calls for support by appealing to Saint George of Velay and the Virgin Mary, providing links to the same sorts of reliquary use as the Peace.

Adhemar may have gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1086, as suggested by the editors of the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* and mentioned by the Hills, but this possibility is based on a brief and inconclusive passage in the cartulary of Saint-Chaffre du Monastier, with no mention in the Chronicle of St. Peter of Le Puy.<sup>414</sup> He was certainly in Le Puy in 1087, when he appears in a charter with Raymond of Saint Gilles, donating the church of Usson to the monks of La Chaise-Dieu, to the north of Le Puy.<sup>415</sup> This meeting was important, in that it proves an early and direct connection between Adhemar and Raymond, well before Urban II's preaching tour. It is also one of the earliest unequivocal examples of Raymond participating in the Gregorian Reform movement. There are eleven surviving charters of Raymond of Saint-Gilles from after

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<sup>412</sup> *Cartulaire de Saint-Chaffre*, 162. Latin: "De quibus unam in honore Beati Hilarii confessoris Christi atque pontificis dicatam, juxta monasterium Beati Petri in suburbio constituto sitam, a militibus de castro quod vocatur Ceysac longo tempore injuste possessam, tandiu anathematis vinculo ligavit donec monachi, jussu ipsius datis supradictis militibus magnis muneribus et mutuis possessionibus... »

<sup>413</sup> John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, "Contemporary Accounts and the Later Reputation of Adhemar, Bishop of Puy," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 9 (1955): 30-1.

<sup>414</sup> *Cartulaire de Saint-Chaffre*, 13. Latin: « Tunc omni clero cum plebe urbana talem electionem confirmando laudantibus, quoniam tunc episcopus in peregrinatione Jherosolimitana positus non aderat, dilata interim benedictione, remeatum est ad propria.»

<sup>415</sup> *HGL* V, no. 367, col. 699; Hill and Hill, "Contemporary Accounts," 31.

the 1087 meeting and before the First Crusade, and barring the marriage contract of his son, all involve transferring rights of churches to reform institutions or relinquishing his control over monasteries and churches.<sup>416</sup> It is the meeting with Adhemar and Raymond's increasing interest in the Auvergne that moved him from a neutral, or at times actively antagonistic, view of the Gregorian Reform, to becoming the kind of figure that Pope Urban II would call on in person to lead his crusade.

The meeting was equally important in that it was the second time Raymond of Saint-Gilles had participated in a donation to La Chaise-Dieu. In December of 1084, at the city of Nîmes, Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the viscountess Ermengarde donated the major church of Saint-Baudile to the abbey of La Chaise-Dieu, in the Livradois forest just north of Le Puy.<sup>417</sup> The original charter, now Le Puy, AD Haute-Loire 1 H 179, was kept in the archives of the monastery itself, and was witnessed by numerous clerics and nobles from the area around Nîmes, notably the Trencavel viscount Bernard IV Ato and Peter-Raymond of Hautpol, the latter of whom would become important during the First Crusade. There is no indication before this of any contact between Raymond and the Auvergnat monastery. The link between the two places, Raymond's early holding of Nîmes and one of the most dynamic eleventh-century spiritual institutions in the Auvergne, showed the vast expansion of his power from the Argence that he began with. Of all the possible cult sites Raymond could have become a patron of in the region, known for the degrees of visions and exoticism discussed above, La Chaise-Dieu was a relatively unremarkable monastery. It was a reformist Benedictine institution, with a founder who had been the canon-treasurer of Brioude before leaving to begin a life of solitude as a hermit in the isolated woods of the Livradois mountains. Robert of Turlande, a saint by the end of the eleventh

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<sup>416</sup> See Appendix 1 for all of the charters of Raymond of Saint-Gilles.

<sup>417</sup> *HGL* V, no. 362, col. 691. The manuscript is Le Puy-en-Velay, AD Haute-Loire, 1 H 179.

century, was a typical ecclesiastical leader: A scion of a noble family of the Auvergne, who became a canon, later a hermit, he founded a monastery in order not only to engage in contemplation but also to care for the poor of the rough, mountainous region. After his death, he began performing healing miracles.<sup>418</sup> As will be seen in the next chapter, despite the physical distance in between the Bas-Rhône and the Livradois, Raymond would in his later life maintain a significant devotion to La Chaise-Dieu and its founder, St. Robert.

The meeting with Adhemar, then, was facilitated by the devotion Raymond showed to La Chaise-Dieu and his increasing power in the Auvergne. The donation of the church of Usson was made from Le Puy in April 1087, granted by bishop Adhemar to the abbot Seguinus and the monks of La Chaise-Dieu. Raymond is the first lay witness to this donation, recorded as “Raymundus comes Ruthenensis,” confirming his victory over the counts of Auvergne for the Rouergue.<sup>419</sup> We are sadly uninformed of what else might have been discussed at the meeting. It is the last record of Raymond of Saint-Gilles in the Auvergne until his departure on the First Crusade, and we must assume that he made a positive impression on Adhemar. There is also the faint possibility that, given the location of the donation, a canon of Le Puy named Raymond d’Aguilers had his first interaction with the man whose deeds he would chronicle on the First Crusade.<sup>420</sup>

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<sup>418</sup> There are not particularly good sources for the historical life of Robert of Turlande. See Joseph Van der Straeten, “S. Robert de La Chaise-Dieu: Sa Canonisation, sa date de fête, » *Analecta bollandiana* 82-3 (1964-5) : 37-57 ; Pierre-Roger Gaussin, *L’Abbaye de la Chaise-Dieu (1043-1518)* (Paris : Editions Cujas, 1962) ; Maureen M. O’Brien, « Far from the heart : the social, political, and Ecclesiastical milieu of the early abbots of La Chaise-Dieu, 1052-1184, » PhD Thesis, Western Michigan University, 2006. There are rumors that a surviving manuscript of the first *Vita* of Robert of Turlande has been found in Grenoble; until it is published, however, we are left with very limited sources.

<sup>419</sup> *HGL* V, no. 367.III, col. 699.

<sup>420</sup> Sadly, we know nothing about Raymond d’Aguilers before the First Crusade itself. See my forthcoming article, “Reading Raymond: The Bible of Le Puy, the Cathedral Library and the Literary Background of the Liber of Raymond d’Aguilers,” in *The Use of the Bible in Crusading Sources*, eds Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming), for a discussion of the intellectual background of Raymond in the context of the cathedral of Le Puy.

As the call of the First Crusade approached in the 1090s, all of the elements were in place for the Auvergne to respond. The Peace of God had been put in place by a series of strong bishops, linked to the reform movement in Rome. The monasteries, replete with majesty statues, continued a tradition of processing their pious protectors throughout the land, reminding the peasants and nobility of the twin strands of sanctity and violence for those who crossed the Church. And Adhémar of Le Puy, no less than Raymond of Saint-Gilles, was poised to become a leader of the great military venture that followed.

## Chapter 3: The Making of a Gregorian Crusade: Pope Urban II, the Count of

### Saint-Gilles and the Construction of a Papal Crusade Movement

Not long after that, in consideration of his grey hairs, he vowed to make the journey to Jerusalem, that his bodily strength, weary and worn out as it was, might even at that late hour be devoted to the service of God. In this the prime mover was the bishop of Cahors, of whose special ill will he himself had always been the target, and he had even lost one of his eyes in a duel, but bore the marks of this calamity proudly, not only not concealing them, but actually glorying in the display of this evidence of notable service. But now, being united in mutual friendship with a view to spending their old age in God's service, they spurred on Urban, who was already inclined to preach the crusade, urging him to cross the Alps and hold a council, preferably at Clermont, on the ground that that city was not far from their own country and convenient for persons attending from the whole of Gaul. The bishop, however, died while actually on his way to the Council, and his mission was taken up by the bishop of Le Puy, of whom we have already spoken. Fired by his exhortations and secure in his protection, Raymond was the first layman of all to take the Cross, adding to his vow the resolution never to return to his own country, but to work off the gross flesh of his past iniquities by continuing toil against the Turk.<sup>421</sup>

This chapter will follow the development of the crusade from the papal council at Piacenza through the departure of Pope Urban II from France. It will focus on the role of southern French prelates, monasteries, and ideology in the development and execution of the crusade, especially the role played by Adhémar of Le Puy and Raymond of Saint-Gilles in its organization. The above story from William of Malmesbury provides one of the two examples

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<sup>421</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum, The History of the English Kings*, Vol. 1, ed. and tr. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 696-7. Latin text: "Nec multo post, niuem capitis respiciens, Ierosolimitanum iter uouit, ut lassus et effectus corporis uires iam uel sero Deo deseruirent, auctore precipue Caturcensi episcopo, cuius precipua opera ipse impugnatus semper fuerat; etiam in quodam duello altero lumine priuatus, cuius insigne calamitatis pre se ferens non solum non occultabat, sed etiam gloriabatur ultra specimen nobilis militia ostentans. Tunc autem mutual federati amicitia, ut senectutem suam diuinis consumerent cultibus, Urbano iam in predicationem prono stimulus addidere, ut transitus Alpibus potissimum apud Clarum Montem concilium cogeret, quod esset ea ciuitas et illorum patriae propinqua et ex tota Gallia uenientibus oportuna. Ueruntamen in ipso ad concilium itinere pontifex obitu defecit. Successit curae illius presul Podii, de quo supra diximus; cuius hortatibus animatus et umbone protectus, Raimundus primus omnium laicorum crucem accepit, adiuturus uoto ut numquam in patriam redirect, sed potius duraturo in Turchos labore aruinam preteritarum iniquitatum extenuaret." On William of Malmesbury as a Crusade historian, see, among others, Barbara Packard, *Remembering the First Crusade: Latin Narrative Histories 1099-c.1300* (Ph.D. Thesis, Royal Holloway, London, 2011), 18, and esp. Ch. 1 for a contextualization of his chronicle in the tradition of other Latin crusade histories of the same period; Nico Lettinck, "Comment les historiens de la première moitié du XIIe siècle jugeaient-ils leur temps?," *Journal des savants* (1984): 51-77.



of the idea that Raymond of Saint-Gilles was the first lay noble to take the cross after the Council of Clermont. The other passage comes from the chronicle of Baudri of Bourgueil, where legates from “comitis Tolosani, Raimundi uidelicet de Sancto Egidio,” arrive to declare the count’s intention to take the cross and to bring with him “milites innumeri” and “populum in ducatu suo conducet quam plurimum.”<sup>422</sup> William of Malmesbury’s account, being later, is perhaps an embellishment, but Baudri of Bourgueil uses this specific moment, the arrival of Raymond’s legates, to announce his status as an eyewitness at Clermont.<sup>423</sup> The early link between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Urban’s crusade became the bedrock of later accounts, and was grounded in the account of a participant of the council.<sup>424</sup> What becomes clear examining the itinerary of Urban II leading up to the First Crusade, and the early actions of Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ papally sanctioned, legate-led contingent, is that the early part of the First Crusade was a Gregorian-organized, led and directed endeavor.

How did Raymond come to be the first noble to pledge himself to this grand venture? As we have seen in previous chapters, Raymond was a reluctant supporter of the Gregorian Reform, implementing it where and when it suited him and only slowly embracing the spiritual impetus of reform in the 1080s. He had been excommunicated twice by Gregory VII. Raymond had benefitted from and defended his association with two simoniac archbishops, Guifred of Narbonne and Aicard of Arles. He had maintained his rights over numerous churches and

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<sup>422</sup> Baldric of Bourgueil, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. Steven J. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), p. 10.

<sup>423</sup> Baldric of Bourgueil, p. 10: “Inter omnes autem in eodem concilio, nobis uidentibus, uir magni nominis et summe ingenuitatis episcopus Podiensis, nomine Aymarus, ad dominum papam uultu iocundus accessit, et genu flexo licentiam et benedictionem eundi poposcit et impetrauit...”

<sup>424</sup> See, for example, *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS* 23, p. 804 : « Sequitur : Raimondus comes Tolosanus primus omnium laycorum crucem accepit, qui plura dedit in itinero indicia fortitudinis et patientie sue. Continuo fama boni tanti totum perlapsa per orbem, dulci christianorum animos infecit aura, qua circumquaque spirante nulla christianorum natio fuit tam remota, tam abdita que partem sui non misteret ad hoc seruitum Dei. »

monasteries throughout his accumulated lands in defiance of clerical and papal decree. Only in the 1090s had he begun loosening his grasp on the ecclesiastical patrimony of the areas he controlled, only slowly beginning to earn the title of *milite sancti Petri* bestowed upon him by Gregory VII.<sup>425</sup> This track record did not bode well for turning him into Urban II's champion and potential leader of the First Crusade.

One of the great problems in studying this period is the lack of narrative sources concerning the preaching of the crusade in Raymond of Saint-Gilles' realms, or any source from within his inner circle, discussing his motivations for departing on the First Crusade. The crusade chronicle of Raymond d'Aguilers, who should be our best source for the motivations of the Occitanian crusaders, is silent on this point. Raymond d'Aguilers chronicle begins with the transit of the Provençal army into Dalmatia, giving no indication of what happened at any of the meeting points between Urban II and either Ademar of Le Puy or Raymond of Saint-Gilles. We are thus left to piece together possibilities from limited information about Urban II himself, sources separated by time and space from Raymond of Saint-Gilles. By the time Urban II finally made his appeal at Clermont, the pope had already been in Occitania for months. He had organized other councils, consulted with local rulers and bishops, issued papal bulls and charters, and met with Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Adhemar of Le Puy. The road to Clermont, and Raymond's role there, began well before Urban crossed the Alps, at the Council of Piacenza where, arguably, the spark of the first Crusade was ignited.<sup>426</sup>

As chapter one demonstrated, the Rhône delta was a place of power for the count of Saint-Gilles, a place where his influence spread beyond the physical holdings to familial and

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<sup>425</sup> *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085*, tr. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 1.46, p. 50-1.

<sup>426</sup> An early interaction between the two is a letter from Urban II to Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Aymeric, viscount of Narbonne, telling them to respect the rights of the Archbishop Dalmatius. See Mansi 20, 678.

patronage networks. And it was at Nîmes, in the heart of that region that Urban II gave another of his three great synods, and, we assume, repeated his sermon for the First Crusade. Those regions where the most crusaders came from to join Raymond's contingent, the Bas-Rhône and the Auvergne, are two of the three regions where Urban himself preached the crusade on very fertile soil. Nîmes as an individual council has not as yet, and one assumes probably never will, receive the same kind of interest as Clermont. Nonetheless, the council there in the heart of the territory where most of the largest individual contingent on the First Crusade came from requires a reevaluation of its use from propaganda and propagation standpoints. Urban II's itinerary throughout southern France, and the locations, people and churches he interacted with while there, led to the large-scale response to the call of the First Crusade by Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the Provençal contingent that went with him.

### **The Council of Piacenza and the Birth of the Crusade**

The road to the Council of Clermont and the call of the First Crusade marked a dramatic change in the fortunes of the Gregorian Reform. The period 1080-1085 had seen a series of disasters for the reform papacy, culminating with the death of Gregory VII while in exile in southern Italy under Norman protection, where his successor, Victor III, had been the Abbot of Montecassino.<sup>427</sup> Urban II had effectively been in exile for the first five years of his papacy, between 1088 and 1093, in southern Italy.<sup>428</sup> He had only been able to enter Rome in 1093, and did not yet control the city in 1095. As Fulcher of Chartres, in his crusade chronicle, wrote,

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<sup>427</sup> *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII*, tr. and annotated I.S. Robinson (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004), 80.

<sup>428</sup> Robert Somerville, *Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza, March 1-7, 1095* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 4.

“Guibert, however, urged on by the support of the said emperor and by the passion of most of the Roman citizens, kept Urban a stranger to the Monastery of the Blessed Peter as long as possible.”<sup>429</sup> Even during the early stages of the crusade, there were problems in the Lateran. Fulcher writes, “When we entered the Basilica of the Blessed Peter we found the men of Guibert, that stupid pope, in front of the altar. With swords in hand they wickedly snatched the offerings placed there on the altar. Others ran along the rafters of the monastery itself and threw stones at us as we lay prostrate in prayer. For when they saw anyone faithful to Urban they straightway wished to kill him.”<sup>430</sup> The defeat of Henry IV’s forces at Canossa in 1092 by the forces of Matilda of Tuscany would mark his last military foray into papal affairs in Italy, but the permanence of this setback was not yet apparent.<sup>431</sup> Matilda’s victory had not only made her the major military power in northern Italy, but had allowed several nearby cities, including Milan, Cremona, Lodi, and Piacenza, to form an anti-imperial alliance, with Bishop Adso of Piacenza, bringing the city back into the Gregorian camp.<sup>432</sup> Between March 1<sup>st</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>, 1095, Urban II held a great council at Piacenza. Well known to crusade historians for the arrival of Byzantine envoys from Alexius Comnenus, requesting military assistance, the council was an important step in the resurgence in the power of the Gregorian Reform. The council of Piacenza was by itself a show of strength for Urban II, since it was located on the edge of the church province of

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<sup>429</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, p. 69 for Urban’s difficulties in Rome. This refers to Guibert of Ravenna, the antipope at the time.

<sup>430</sup> Fulcher of Charters, p. 75 for the pelting of crusaders in the Lateran. Asbridge, 14-5. For Urban’s entry into Rome, see Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, *MGH SS* 5, 457.

<sup>431</sup> For the events of 1092 in Italy and Germany, see Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, *MGH SS* 5, 453-455, and Robert Somerville, “Prolegomena [to the Edition of the Decreta Claromontensia],” in *Papacy, councils and canon law in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), ch. VI, p. 3.

<sup>432</sup> Somerville, *Piacenza*, 6 ; Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, 456: “Civitates quoque de Longobardia, Mediolanum, Cremona, Lauda, Placentia, contra Heinricum in viginti annos coniuraverunt, qui omnes praedicto duci fideliter adhererunt.” For the bishopric of Piacenza in the eleventh century in general, see Domenico Ponzini, “Situazione della Chiesa Piacentina al Tempo del Concilio di Piacenza,” in *Il Concilio de Piacenza e le Crociate*, 121-153.

Ravenna, the home territory of the Archbishop Guibert, also known as the anti-pope Clement III.<sup>433</sup>

Piacenza was Urban II's first "general council," and was attended by figures not only from Italy, as his first three at Melfi (September 1089), Benevento (March 1091) and Troia (March 1093) had been, but by numerous figures from north of the Alps. As Bernold of Constance, the author of a pro-Gregorian chronicle that covered the reign of Urban II, writes, "ad quam episcopus Italiae, Burgundiae, Franciae, Alemanniae, Baioariae, aliarumque provinciarum canonica et apostolica auctoritate missis literis convocavit."<sup>434</sup> Attendees included one cardinal-bishop, five cardinal-priests (including Richard, abbot of St. Victor of Marseille), four cardinal-deacons, ten archbishops (including Peter of Aix, Amatus of Bordeaux and Guy of Vienne), 15+ bishops (including Gottfried of Maguelonne, Otto of Oléron, and William of Orange), 9-10 abbots (including Pons of La Chaise-Dieu, Odilo of St.-Gilles, and Frothard of St.-Pons-de-Thomières), the German Empress Praxedis, unnamed representatives of King Philip of France, Countess Mathilda of Tuscany, and legates from Alexius I Comnenus.<sup>435</sup>

These last guests should perhaps be examined first, as they have had the greatest impact on the historiographical legacy of Piacenza. Bernold of Constance's *Chronicon* is the best account we have of them. He writes:

Likewise a legation came to this synod from the Constantinopolitan emperor, who humbly implored the lord pope and all the faithful of Christ that they offer help to him against the pagans for the defense of the holy church which they already had almost annihilated in these parts, occupying those regions up to the walls of the city of

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<sup>433</sup> Somerville, *Piacenza*, 5. Bernold of Constance's description: "Domnus papa Deo et sancto Petro prosperante iam pene unique praevaluit, et in media Longobardia in civitate Placentina, inter ipsos scismaticos, et contra ipsos generalem sinodum condixit," *MGH SS 5*: 461. Ute-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p. 137: "The years 1095—96 represent the apex of the pontificate of Urban II."

<sup>434</sup> Bernold of Constance, *MGH SS 5*, 461. For an introduction to Bernold of Constance, see Somerville, 12, 24-28, and I.S. Robinson, "Introduction," *Eleventh-Century Germany: The Swabian Chronicles*, tr. and annotated I.S. Robinson (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 2008), 41-57.

<sup>435</sup> Somerville, *Piacenza*, 10-12.

Constantinople. The lord pope induced many men to offer this help, so that they promised indeed by oath that they will journey there with God's help and, to the best of their ability, will provide help to the same emperor.<sup>436</sup>

This meeting was but one part of a larger council, but given the nature of the request to not only the pope but to all of Christendom to help Alexius, its importance cannot be overstated.<sup>437</sup> The Council of Piacenza was also not the first time Urban had dealt with Alexius. In 1089, the pope had broached the subject of the reunion of the churches, exchanging letters with the patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas III Grammatikos, but had been defeated by the opposition of the anti-pope Clement III and his partisans.<sup>438</sup> In 1091, according to Bernold of Constance, Urban II had been in Campania, and “ab omnibus catholicis debita reverentia colebatur, videlicet a Constantinopolitano imperatore.”<sup>439</sup> The idea that an open channel of communication and collaboration between Urban and Alexius existed before the First Crusade is well-grounded in the texts.<sup>440</sup>

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<sup>436</sup> Somerville, *Piacenza*, 55. Latin text : « Item legatio Constantinopolitani imperatoris ad hanc sinodum pervenit, qui domnum papam omnesque Christi fideles suppliciter imploravit, ut aliquod auxilium sibi contra paganos pro defensione sanctae aeclesiae conferrent, quam pagani iam pene in illis partibus deleverant, qui partes illas usque ad muros Constantinopolitanae civitatis obtinuerant. Ad hoc ergo auxilium domnus papa multos incitavit, ut etiam iureiurando promitterent, se illuc Deo annuente ituros, et eidem imperatori contra paganos pro posse suo fidelissimum adiutorium collaturos.» Bernold, *Chronicon*, 462.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid. Somerville, *Piacenza*, 15-16.

<sup>438</sup> See Walther Holtzmann, “Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexius I und Papst Urban II im Jahre 1089,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (1928): 38-67. Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2012), p. 19-21. The letter exchange is edited in Holtzmann, p 60-67, from London, BL, Add. 34060, f. 569v-572r. For a summary of the letter exchange in English, see PBW (consulted 2/14/2014) Nikolaos III Grammatikos, patriarch of Constantinople <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/108023>

<sup>439</sup> Bernold, *Chronicon*, 450. Frankopan, 21-2.

<sup>440</sup> The argument about motivations has, for the most part, been settled in favor of Jerusalem, certainly within the Anglophone camp (see the works of Jonathan Riley-Smith for example), but occasional dissent remains, such as Peter Frankopan's *The Call from the East*. See Marshall W. Baldwin, “Some Recent Interpretations of Pope Urban II's Eastern Policy,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 25, no. 4 (Jan., 1940): 459-466 for a general overview of Urban's ideas about Byzantium.

It may be, as Peter Frankopan has argued recently, that this communication culminating in the Byzantine legates' request at Piacenza was the immediate cause of the First Crusade.<sup>441</sup> If so, it fits well with the larger discussion of the origins of crusading, in that Gregory VII had been interested both in "holy war" and in military expeditions to help and intervene in Byzantium.<sup>442</sup> As papal legate and cardinal under Gregory, Urban had been extremely close to his policies, and had started his papacy with a letter claiming he would follow exactly in Gregory's footsteps.<sup>443</sup> Gregory had promoted not only papally-sanctioned violence, but military action in support of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>444</sup> What makes the Byzantine request at Piacenza directly relevant is that it provided a spark for something much bigger. What the Byzantine delegates offered was an opportunity to draw together multiple strands of Gregorian thought. First, the proposed expedition would help bring the Byzantine Empire and the see of Constantinople closer to the papacy, a goal particularly dear to Urban II's heart.<sup>445</sup> Secondly, the expansion of Christendom into the diverse Muslim territories led to papal support for holy war against the Muslims, as the support of the Normans in Sicily and Urban's personal interest in the Reconquista suggest.<sup>446</sup>

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<sup>441</sup> Frankopan, *Call from the East*, page 99-100. Jonathan Shepard, "Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade," in *The First Crusade: origins and impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997), 118-121.

<sup>442</sup> There is an extensive literature on all of these topics, contentious and often retreaded. See the work of H.E.J. Cowdrey in particular for the militant aspects of Gregory VII's.

<sup>443</sup> The letter is to Urban II's Germany supporters in March 1088, asking, in a letter to his supporters in Germany to announce his ascension in March 1088, that they "Trust and have confidence about me thus in all things, just as about my most blessed lord Pope Gregory. Desiring completely to follow in his footsteps, I spit out everything which he spat out, what he reproached I reproach." Robert Somerville in collaboration with Stephan Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, The Collection Britannica, and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 44-5; Latin: "[D]e me ita in omnibus confide et crede sicut de beatissimo domino meo papa Gregorio, cuius ex toto sequi vestigia cupiens, omnia, que respuit, respuo, quod est insectatus insecto."

<sup>444</sup> *The Register of Gregory VII*, 1.46, p. 50-51; 1.49, p. 54-55; 2.37, p. 127-128.

<sup>445</sup> See, for example, Holtzmann, "Die Unionsverhandlungen;" Frankopan, "Co-operation between Constantinople and Rome," and Bernard Lieb, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIe siècle. Rapports religieux des Latins et des Gréco-Russes sous le pontificat d'Urbain II (1088-1099)* (Paris: 1924; r.p., New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

<sup>446</sup> On connections between the Papacy and the Italian Normans in the 11th century, see I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), ch. 10 especially, p. 367-397; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris: 1907), especially starting with chapter 4, p. 112-142, chapter 6, p. 156-172, chapter 10, p. 226-257, and chapter 12, p. 285-326; Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, tr. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart, foreword and additional notes Marshall W.

The third is less concrete, but perhaps the most important, that the culmination of the Gregorian Reform took the form of a papally guided expedition to reclaim the Holy Land, in the name of the reform papacy. There could not possibly be a better symbol of Reform victory than this, something Gregory VII had seemed in favor of and which Urban would finally achieve.<sup>447</sup>

Outside of the Byzantine delegation, Piacenza was a council centered on the Gregorian Reform. Robert Somerville's edition of the canons of the council, based on the manuscript Paris, BNF, lat. 3881, fols. 182v-83r opens with a discussion of simony and the anti-pope.<sup>448</sup> Piacenza as a council was focused on cleansing the church, setting a legal and international statement of Urban's Gregorian intentions. The first seven provisions all dealt with simony, and the following five with the Wibertine schism.<sup>449</sup>

Though a number of the attendees of the council were from Occitania, only a handful of them were from areas controlled by Raymond in a direct way—Richard of St. Victor, who was a papal legate, William of Orange (who would become a papal legate during the First Crusade), and Frothard of St. Pons de Thomières, also a papal legate, surrounded the Bas-Rhône region on all sides. Peter of Aix, Odilo of St.-Gilles (who had been in repeated conflict with Raymond and

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Baldwin (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977), esp. ch. 4; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), ch. 3, p. 107-176 for brief overviews. For one clear example, *The Register of Gregory VII 1073-1085*, tr. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), no. 8.1a, p. 364. For Urban, there are the documents contained in Paul Fridolin Kehr, José Rius Serra, Peter Rassow, and Walther Kienast, *Papsturkunden in Spanien. : I, Katalanien vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926), nos. 15-31, p. 274-298.

<sup>447</sup> *The Register of Gregory VII*, 2.37, p. 127-8.

<sup>448</sup> Somerville, *Piacenza*, 99-100 ; Latin text : « Anno Dominice incarnationis mxcv, indictione iii, Kalendis Martii, celebrata est Placentie synodus presidente domno Urbano papa cum episcopis et abbatibus tam Galliarum quam et Longobardie et Tuscie. Facta est autem magna consultatio de his, qui ecclesias vel prebendas emerant, sed et de his, qui in schismate Guibertino fuerant ordinati. Et primo quidem ac tertio die in campo concilium sedit, tantus enim convenerat populus ut nulla eos ecclesia caperet, exemplo quidem Moysi Deuteronomium commendantis et Domini nostri Ihesu Christi docentis in loco campestri. Septimo tandem die post tractationem diutinam hec sunt capitula prolata et assensu totius concilii approbata. »

<sup>449</sup> Somerville, *Piacenza*, 89-99. The remaining three provisions are all related, if slightly outside of those two larger themes—burial, baptism and chrism, the Ember Days, internal financial issues. The Ember Days seem to have been an especial interest of Urban II, as he wrote a small separate treatise concerning them, preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden supra 90, fol. 27v-29v.



was in Italy to have the pope resolve them in his favor), Gottfried of Maguelonne (whose see had been placed directly in the hands of the papacy by the former count), and Pons of La Chaise-Dieu were also major ecclesiastical figures in Raymond's territories. Only the last could definitely be called an ally of Raymond, and La Chaise-Dieu was still far outside the core territories of Raymond's realm. It is clear that Raymond's interest was not well represented at the council among the clergy, though Occitanian ecclesiastical figures were an important contingent of Urban's supporters at Piacenza.

Much of our knowledge of the attendees for the Council of Piacenza comes from a document written shortly before Urban left for Piacenza, when he was in Cremona on February 18, 1095.<sup>450</sup> This document, a letter surviving in a chancery original dated only two weeks before the Council of Piacenza, claims to have been discussed and approved by the synod.<sup>451</sup> In the letter, there is a clear link between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Urban II, in the form of a confirmation of a restitution, by Raymond, of all possessions taken from the monastery of St.-Gilles.<sup>452</sup> This restitution was a very big step for Raymond, as Saint-Gilles had been one of his first possessions and the source of his most common title.<sup>453</sup> The most interesting part of the letter is the witness list attached to it, as the text was a papal confirmation of an action undertaken by Raymond at the Council of Toulouse under the guidance of Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, and announced to "universis per Gothicam provinciam fidelibus."<sup>454</sup> This papal confirmation at Piacenza, in theory, marked the victory of Saint-Gilles in the course of the

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<sup>450</sup> Somerville, *Piacenza*, 8.

<sup>451</sup> Ibid. Philipp Jaffé and Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leipzig 1885-88), JL 5540; *Bullaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Gilles*, ed. M. l'Abbé Goiffon (Nîmes: Imprimerie P. Jouve, 1882), no. 15, p. 30-33.

<sup>452</sup> Somerville, *Piacenza*, 8.

<sup>453</sup> *Bullaire de Saint-Gilles*, p. 30 ; the earliest mention is Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium 1100*, MGH SS XXIII, p. 813. Seven bulls of Urban II concerning the abbey survive today—the one mentioned, 2 from 1091, and one each in 1095, 1096, 1098, and 1099.

<sup>454</sup> *Bullaire de Saint-Gilles*, p. 30. For the Council of Toulouse, see Mansi 20, 734-736.

second half of the eleventh century over all three of their great foes: the bishop of Nîmes, the abbey of Cluny, and, in this action, the count of Toulouse.<sup>455</sup> The letter, in addition to guaranteeing the independence of the monastery, also has the count acknowledging the supremacy of the papacy in all things, which, for someone twice excommunicated by Gregory VII and a firm supporter of multiple excommunicated and simoniacal bishops and archbishops, was a significant step.<sup>456</sup>

At the end of the collection of canons it was recorded that at Piacenza Urban II added a tenth preface to the mass in honor of the Virgin Mary, something ascribed once again to Urban at Clermont and Nîmes.<sup>457</sup> As Somerville notes, there is no clear reason for this addition, though devotion to the Virgin Mary was important to Cluniac liturgical practice.<sup>458</sup> As Rachel Fulton has shown, the Gregorian Reform party was closely attached to Marian devotion, and Urban II, Gregory's loyal follower, was no different.<sup>459</sup> Barring Urban's personal feeling, however, why does this insertion matter? As has been seen in previous chapters, the emerging cult of the Virgin Mary had particular resonance in medieval Occitania. From the pilgrimage site at the cathedral of Le Puy to the number of *maiestas* statues through the Auvergne and Rouergue, the

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<sup>455</sup> See Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1995), esp. Chapter 6. The cartulary produced by the monastery, now Paris, BNF lat. 11018, proves that these conflicts were only temporarily won, and Raymond's sons would repudiate his giving up of control.

<sup>456</sup> There is not a complete answer for why Raymond changed his attitude so completely, though the death of Guifred and (we assume) his nameless first wife seems to be a part of it. See Ursula Vones-Liebenstein, "L'abbaye de Saint-Gilles et les comtes de Toulouse. L'impact des voyages pontificaux en France," in *Aspects diplomatiques des voyages pontificaux* (Paris: Ecole nationale des chartes, 2009), 97-116, esp. 105-109, for some of the activities between 1080-1096, especially Raymond's marriages into the house of Sicily and Spain.

<sup>457</sup> Somerville, *Piacenza*, 115.

<sup>458</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1999), 175-177, and Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2009), 126-7.

<sup>459</sup> For Fulton, see Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia UP, 2002), 224-232. For an example of Gregory VII's devotion to the Virgin Mary, see his letter to Mathilda of Tuscany encouraging her devotion to the Virgin Mary, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085*, tr. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 51-3.

central regions of Occitania had a very physical Marian presence.<sup>460</sup> The later presence of the cult sites of Rocamadour in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries and, in a more modern period, the shrine at Lourdes, show that the practice of Marian devotion in southern France had a long afterlife, and in using the Virgin Mary in his councils, Urban II tapped into a deep reservoir of pious belief in Occitania.<sup>461</sup> This theme would appear again in his appeals for the First Crusade.

The notice in the canonical collection reads:

Also in the same council a tenth preface was added to the nine ancient prefaces, which goes like this. It is proper and salutary that we always and everywhere give thanks to you, holy Lord, Father almighty, eternal God, and to praise, bless, and proclaim you in the veneration of Blessed Mary, ever virgin, who both conceived your only begotten Son through the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit, and, with the glory of virginity enduring, poured forth the Eternal Light to the world, Jesus Christ our Lord.<sup>462</sup>

The *Liber Pontificalis* records this preface as well, saying that he “fecit praefationem de festivitibus beate Marie virginis,” though it incorrectly attributes the occasion to the council “apud Guardestallum Longobardie.”<sup>463</sup> It was not an innovation on Urban’s part, but rather an authorization of the use of a text that had been composed in the early middle ages.<sup>464</sup> Enrico Mazza’s study shows that it has similarities to the version found in the 8<sup>th</sup> century *Sacramentarium gelasium*, as well as the *Supplementum* on Benedict of Aniane.<sup>465</sup> Though Benedict of Aniane is known for his work in the greater context of the Carolingian reforms, he

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<sup>460</sup> Ilene Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972), 8-26.

<sup>461</sup> See Marcus Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 26-38; Suzanna Kaufman, *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2005), 1-15; for a primary account of Lourdes, see Patricia McEachern, *A Holy Life: The Writings of Saint Bernadette of Lourdes* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005).

<sup>462</sup> Somerville, *Piacenza*, 101. Latin text : « In eodem etiam concilio antiquis viiii prefationibus decima addita est, que ita se habet. Equum et salutare nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, eterne Deus, et te in veneratione beate Marie semper virginis collaudare, benedicere, et predicare, que et unigenitum tuum sancti Spiritus obumbratione concepit et virginitatis gloria permanente lumen eternum mundo effudit, Ihesum Christum Dominum nostrum. »

<sup>463</sup> *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed., intro. et commentaire L. Duchesne (Paris : Ernest Thorin, 1892), 2 : 294.

<sup>464</sup> Fulton, 224-232.

<sup>465</sup> See also Enrico Mazza, « Il Prefazio della Vergine Maria Istituito da Urbano II, » in *Il Concilio di Piacenza e le Crociate*, 71-87, esp. 76-82 for the evolution of the preface.

was still a southern French monastic leader and writer, and that the version of the preface closest to Urban II's came from southern France seems meaningful.<sup>466</sup> At the same time, Urban modifies it for his own purposes—as Mazza writes, “La redazione di Urbano II del prefazio *De Beata Maria virgine* ha portato a compimento la trasformazione del testo in senso ‘devozionale’, che era già stata fatta nella redazione del *Supplementum* di Benedetto d’Aniane. Eliminato il riferimento alle sante vergini, il prefazio è solamente mariano.”<sup>467</sup> Marian devotion played an active and important role in Occitanian piety throughout the eleventh century, suggesting that Urban’s religious beliefs, and his subsequent call for crusade, meshed well with the society on the ground in southern France.<sup>468</sup> While Urban is usually remembered mostly for his major ecclesio-political activities such as calling the Crusade and laying the foundation for the papal victory in the Gregorian Reform, his liturgical reforms were important for understanding his activities, as Alfons Becker points out.<sup>469</sup> This Marian preface, while fulfilling part of his personal liturgical goals, would certainly have an effect on his attempts to induce Occitanian knights and clerics to support his other ecclesio-political goals, especially the First Crusade.

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<sup>466</sup> For Benedict of Aniane, see *Benedict of Aniane, The Emperor’s Monk. Ardo’s Life*, tr. Allen Cabaniss, foreword by Annette Grabowsky and Clemens Radl, Cistercian Studies Series 220 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2008). Mazza, 83-4.

<sup>467</sup> Mazza, 84.

<sup>468</sup> See chapters 1 and 2 for examples. For one theory of the aftereffects of this preface, see Maria Giovanna Forlani, “La Musica delle Crociate,” in *Il Concilio di Piacenza e le Crociate*, 171-175.

<sup>469</sup> See Becker’s great work on Urban II, *Papst Urban II. (1088–1099)*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart 1964–2012), esp. Vol. 2 : 333-376 for Urban’s belief that his time was one special in God’s plan. Reform and expansion seem to go hand in hand for many of the crusades—the mentions of the Marian preface and the text on Ember Days above are small examples of Urban’s liturgical concerns.

### Urban's Itinerary: Putting the House in Order

Urban II spent a month in Piacenza, before moving to Cremona in April, then Milan in May, Asti in June, and then, at some point, traveling into what is now France before he definitively reappears in Valence in August.<sup>470</sup> These briefer stops, while of minor legal or historical significance compared to Piacenza or Clermont, are important for understanding why Urban II felt able to call for such a radical action at Clermont. In Cremona, where he arrived in April 10<sup>th</sup>, “King Conrad, son of Henry, went to meet him and performed for him the office of a groom,” an act of subservience, and then “he took an oath of fidelity to him in respect of his life, his limbs and the Roman papacy.”<sup>471</sup> While Conrad was not, and would never become, the king of Germany in more than name, he would continue to play a part in Italian events until his death in 1101, serving as Urban's anti-king against Henry IV.<sup>472</sup> This act may not have been a final solution to the problem of Henry IV, but between Conrad's oath of fealty and Mathilda's victory at Canossa, Cremona solved many of Urban's problems in Italy. Henry IV's support for Clement III was cut off after the defeat at Canossa, and with the support of the Normans in southern Italy and Urban's retaking of part of Rome, Clement's situation was now dire. Conrad's oath of fealty, and his ensuing role as anti-king, forced Henry IV to focus on something other than papal politics. The revolt of a son was a more serious matter than the long-term problems of Urban II, as it provided an immediate threat to his reign and survival. It may be

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<sup>470</sup> Augustin Fliche, “Urbain II et la croisade,” *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 13 (1927) : 295.

<sup>471</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Chronicle*, in *Eleventh-Century Germany. The Swabian Chronicles*, tr. I.S. Robinson (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 2008), 326. Latin text: “Chonradus rex filius Heinrici domno papae Urbano Cremonam venienti obviam progreditur, eique stratoris officium exhibuit 4. Idus Aprilis. Deinde fecit ei fidelitatem iuramento de vita, de membris, et de papatu Romano. » Bernold, *Chronicon*, *MGH SS* 5 : 463.

<sup>472</sup> Alfred Gawlik, “Konrad,” *Neue deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 12, Kleinhans – Kreling (Berlin: Schriftleitung Hauptschriftl. Fritz Wagner. Genealog. Beratung Friedrich Wilhelm Euler, 1980), 496.

because this meeting was made in a place and time of victory that Urban used it for one of only two direct mentions of investiture during his pontificate.<sup>473</sup>

Sometime between April 15<sup>th</sup> and May 2<sup>nd</sup>, Urban II moved up to Milan, conducting extensive internal business and confirming a donation by Matilda of Tuscany.<sup>474</sup> He also issued a letter to the bishop of Carcassonne, nominally within the counties of Raymond of Saint-Gilles but within the territories that would become the core of the Trencavel lands.<sup>475</sup> This letter established secular canons of the church of S. Nazaire and S. Maria of Carcassonne, raising it to the status of a cathedral.<sup>476</sup> Finally, in late June Urban II had moved to Asti, his final verifiable point in Italy before he began his itinerary in Spain. Two surviving documents show that he was in Asti from June 27 to at least July 1, both dedicating local churches in the city.<sup>477</sup> Based on the location of the city, as well as Urban's starting point in France, it seems likely that the pope came from Asti into France via the Alpine passes into Provence, beginning his itinerary in the farthest corners of Raymond of Saint-Gilles' lands.<sup>478</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> Blumenthal, Ch. 5. Bernold of Constance, *Chronicle*, 326-7; I.S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000) p. 327.

<sup>474</sup> Jaffe p. 463; for Mathilda, Jaffe 4165. Latin text: "Ecclesiae S. Petri Standalnouthensis, a Mathilde comitissa b. Petro traditae, protectionem suscipit, bona confirmat, privilegia instituit, ea lege, ut clerici quot-annis denarium aureum, aut quarto quoque anno bisantium, palatio Lateranensi persolvant."

<sup>475</sup> Jaffe 4163, p. 463.

<sup>476</sup> *Gallia Christiana* 6, Inst. 431-2, no. 23.

<sup>477</sup> Jaffe 4167, p. 463.

<sup>478</sup> For Fulcher, Latin text: "...montes transmeando in Gallias descendit..." Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913), 121. For Albert of Aachen, Latin text: "Qua de causa sollicitus, unenit ad ciuitatem Verzellaus transactis Alpibus, sed conuentum totius occidentalis Francie, et concilium apud Podium ciuitatem// sancte Marie fieri decreuit." *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Albert of Aachen, a Critical Edition*, ed. Susan B. Edgington, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1991, 89-90. The map Alfons Becker used for his itinerary is in the back of his *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*, vol. 2: *Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica Band 19, II (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1988). The other theory is proposed by Auguste Fliche, based on the testimony of Bernold of Constance, which argues a sea route. Bernold, *Chronicle*, in *Eleventh-Century Germany: The Swabian Chronicles*, p. 327. Latin text: « Dominus papa, rebus in Longobardia bene dispositis, in Gallia marino itinere cepit divertere et ad sanctam Mariam ad Podium in Assumptione ipsius pervenit, sinodumque ad montem Clarum in octavam sancti Martini apostolica auctoritate condixit, ad quam diversarum provinciarum episcopos missis literis canonica vocatione invitavit. » *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*, S.S. t. V, 463. As Fliche says, though, in order to next appear in Valence as the documentation shows, Urban II would have had to travel back southeast to Genoa or another port on the Mediterranean, charter ships, and then sail to a port in

According to Becker's itinerary for Urban, Urban would have gone from Asti through Clusa, then over Mont Genève by Embrun, Gap, Die and then to Valence.<sup>479</sup> The dangers of sea travel in the late eleventh century, whether from pirates, storms or accidents, were far too great to risk the pope when an anti-pope was waiting in the wings to block the Gregorian reform.<sup>480</sup> Passing through Die, especially, had the added benefit of travelling through the former bishopric of one of the strongest pro-Gregorian bishops, Hugh of Die, papal legate under both Gregory VII and Urban II.<sup>481</sup> Along with him went Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa and later papal legate to the Levant, and with three companies of cavalry provided by the city of Bologna.<sup>482</sup> At Die itself, he may have met with Count Isoard, who would join Raymond of Saint-Gilles on the First Crusade.<sup>483</sup> Isoard's participation, when he was far enough on the outskirts of the Marquisate of Provence to have no obligation to go, shows the impact not only of the call to the Crusade at

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southern France before proceeding up the Rhône to Valence. This theory certainly follows the source that is closest to Urban's reign, but it makes less sense than the mountain route—if Urban had passed through Genoa, or Arles, or Marseilles, or Avignon, or any of the number of cities the ocean route would have taken him through, one would think there would be some surviving documentation, if only the kind of consecrations of churches done in Asti or in Valence. It also seems unlikely, had he just passed through the region that he would feel it necessary to immediately return to the area after Le Puy. Given the role Genoa was to play in the Crusade, the two papal legates sent to it to recruit them, and the historiographical tradition that arose from the First Crusade, if Urban had gone through it or its possessions, one would expect it to be mentioned.

<sup>479</sup> Becker, p. 435: "Vgl. Auch die Romreise Lamberts von Arras mit Aufenthalt in Clusa Langobardorum 1094 (BOUQUET 14, 746), Oulx (Canonica ss. Petri et Pauli et s. Laurentii) mit Apostolischem Schutz, JL 5556, It. Pont. 6, 2, 133 Nr. 4.—Die Weiterreise vom Mont Genève dürfte dann über Embrun, Gap, Die nach Valence geführt haben. » See Crozet, 274.

<sup>480</sup> See Scott. G. Bruce, "An abbot between two cultures: Maiolus of Cluny considers the Muslims of La Garde-Freinet," *Early Medieval Europe* 15, no. 4 (2007): 426-440 for the early problems with Fraxinetum; Travis Bruce, "The politics of violence and trade: Denia and Pisa in the eleventh century," *Journal of Medieval History* 32:2 (2006): 127-142 and "Piracy as Statecraft: The Mediterranean Policies of the Fifth/Eleventh-Century Taifa of Denia," *Al-Masaq* 22:3 (2010): 235-248, for one example of the complexities of Islamic piracy in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>481</sup> See K. Rennie, *Law and Practice in the Age of Reform: The Legatine Work of Hugh of Die (1073-1106)* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010).

<sup>482</sup> John Hugh Hill and Laurita Lyttleton Hill, *Raymond IV Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 1962), 29. Daimbert was present at the Council of Clermont, at the very least, and the Hills' assume that he travelled with Urban the whole time. As far as I have found, there is no direct primary evidence for this, and given that the call to Clermont came out early enough for bishops to come from Flanders, travelling north from Pisa to attend would also make sense. See William Heywood, *A History of Pisa, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1921), 45-6; Patricia Skinner, "From Pisa to the Patriarchate: Chapters in the Life of (Arch)bishop Daibert," in *Challenging the boundaries of medieval history: the legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), p. 155-172. For the cavalry, see Cregut, 55.

<sup>483</sup> Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, 35.

Clermont, but the role of Urban II's personal contact with important lords who would go on to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

With Urban's rising fortunes, he apparently used his personal contacts with important ecclesiastical figures in and from the region to attempt the same sort of coup, removing the imperial Rhône church provinces from imperial domination and putting them into trusted Reform hands. In the same way that Raymond of Saint-Gilles had effectively wrested control of the Marquisate of Provence out of the Empire under Gregory VII, so now would Urban II carve out the archbishopric of Vienne, putting it in the hands of Hugh of Die and Hugo of Grenoble. Not only did these appointments serve the papacy, returning another archdiocese to pro-Reform hands, but they were a further step in separating Raymond's hold on Provence from the Empire. No documents survive recording Urban's travels in Embrun, Gap, or Die, but his stay in Valence is confirmed on August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1095.<sup>484</sup> His stay in Valence was not a minor event.<sup>485</sup> Urban had been dealing throughout his papacy with the long-standing conflicts between the bishop of Grenoble, the archbishops of Vienne and Lyons, and the abbey of Romans nearby.<sup>486</sup> Some of the business Urban had concluded at Piacenza had concerned conflicts between Guy of Boulogne, Archbishop of Vienne (the future Pope Calixtus II), and St. Hugo of Chateaufort, bishop of Grenoble.<sup>487</sup> In Milan, one of the remaining documents attests to the problem needing more attention, as Urban issued a document on the same topic.<sup>488</sup> The Chronicle of the Bishops of Valence records that Urban arrived on his way to Clermont and consecrated the cathedral in

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<sup>484</sup> Jaffe, p. 463. See Becker, p. 435.

<sup>485</sup> Crozet, 275.

<sup>486</sup> *Cartulaire de l'Église Cathédrale de Grenoble dits Cartulaires de Saint-Hugues*, ed. M. Jules Matrion (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1869), no. XXIII, p. 49-57, are all records of these continued problems.

<sup>487</sup> *Cartulaire de Grenoble*, p. 53-54. Crozet, 275-6.

<sup>488</sup> *Cartulaire de Grenoble*, p. 54-5.



the city.<sup>489</sup> In attendance for this ceremony were the beginnings of the large entourage of major ecclesiastical figures whom Urban II would meet with during his trip in France, in this case Gontard, bishop of Valence.

Gontard was the son of the count of the Valentinois, and thus connected to the nobility of this region, a diocese situated within the borders of the former Ottonian Empire, as was Vienne.<sup>490</sup> Gontard was an ally of Urban II and thus part of a minority of imperial bishops on his side. He was also connected with Adhemar of Le Puy, perhaps via their parents, as Montelimar was also a castle in the Valentinois.<sup>491</sup> While in Valence, he also went to Romans, site of an abbey under the direct oversight of the Holy See.<sup>492</sup> Romans, in addition to being the site of the abbey of St. Barnard, was the home region of Hugh of Die, Archbishop of Lyons, and his former aide while he was legate, St. Hugo of Chateauneuf, bishop of Grenoble.<sup>493</sup> Lordship over the abbey of Romans was under dispute between the archbishop of Vienne and the bishop of Grenoble—possibly because of the church being under the direct protection of the Pope.<sup>494</sup> Urban II seems to have sympathized with the side of Grenoble, whose saintly bishop had been a monk of La Chaise-Dieu earlier in life, as well as an associate with Saint Bruno of Chartreux, who Urban II had known. Bishop Hugo was an overt pro-Gregorian, and Urban II decided to

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<sup>489</sup> For Valence, Latin text : « Post quem Gontardus, quo praesidente bonae memoriae Urbanus II pontifex Romanus, ecclesiarum Christi curam gerens, dum ad générale concilium Claromontem per hanc urbem iter faceret, prospiciens priorum episcoporum summam vigilantiam atque doctus Karoli magni piam intentionem, dissolutis praedictis s. Crucis ac b. Cypriani sacellis iuxta ecclesiam b. Stephani, hanc basilicam magnificam a primo lapide ad summum usque aedificavit, sanctissimorumque martyrum Cornelii et Cypriani ossa coadunando supra maius altare, una cum corporibus ss. martyrum Felicis, Fortunati et Achillei ac primi episcopi Apollinaris, eam dedicavit anno MXCIV, transferendo in eam sedem episcopalem, in qua Eustachius episcopus féliciter sedet. » *Chronique des évêchés de Valence*, in L. Duchesne, *Fastes Episcopaux de l'Ancienne Gaul*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., t. 1 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, Editeur, 1907), p. 218

<sup>490</sup> Corzet, 275.

<sup>491</sup> Ibid.

<sup>492</sup> Crozet, 275-6.

<sup>493</sup> Ibid.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid. Papal protection was instituted by Leo IX in 1050; see *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Barnard de Romans, Première Partie (817-1093)*, ed. U. Chevalier (Romans: 1898), no. 92, p. 109-110 and no. 93, p. 111-2.

settle the conflict in his favor, though the decision had to wait until after the Council of Clermont for final confirmation.

So many of the figures in and from the Valentinois were of great importance to Urban II, as was the solid support of a diocese that was part of the empire—these stops that Urban II made, even seemingly smaller ones, were neither random nor of marginal importance. Mathilda's victory at Canossa and Conrad's submission to the papacy freed Urban from constant worry about his hold on Rome, and Urban's usurpation of imperial prerogative appears to be the beginning of an ecclesiastical offensive of Urban II against Henry IV and the antipope Clement, using these interpersonal relationships to establish papal prerogative in imperial lands. As discussed in previous chapters, Gregory VII's anathema of Henry IV, and his abjuration of all previous vows and oaths of fealty to him, had allowed Raymond of Saint-Gilles to take political control of Provence from the empire.<sup>495</sup>

### **The Assumption in Le Puy: Organizing the Crusade**

From Valence, Urban moved north to Le Puy, with an entourage that included the archbishops of Lyons, Bourges and Bordeaux, as well as the bishops of Cahors, Grenoble, and Clermont.<sup>496</sup> Arriving on August 15<sup>th</sup>, the Feast of the Assumption of Mary, he met with Adhemar of Le Puy, who would be his papal legate on the First Crusade. As Bernold of Constance writes, "he arrived at St Mary's church in Le Puy on the feast-day of the assumption

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<sup>495</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>496</sup> G.-Regis Cregut, *Le Concile de Clermont en 1095 et la première croisade* (Clermont-Ferrand : Louis Bellet, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1895), 55. For Amatus of Bordeaux, see Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, tr. with intro. and notes by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1974), 15.

[15 August],” the date and consequent liturgical performance has not previously been emphasized.<sup>497</sup> Five months before at Piacenza, Urban had recognized an additional Marian aspect to the liturgy. His arrival at the great Marian shrine in Occitania on the date of the Feast of the Assumption is relevant, to meet a bishop who is said to have written one of the great Marian hymns. While almost no liturgical books survive from Le Puy, it can be assumed that the performance of the liturgy on the feast of the Assumption is strongly related to tenth-century Spanish practices, as a result of the transmission of St. Ildefonsus’ *De virginitate sanctae Mariae contra tres infideles* from Spain to Le Puy by Bishop Gottschalk, now Paris, BNF, MS lat. 2855. In all likelihood, with the exception of some local variations, the liturgy for the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin would have seemed familiar to Urban II from his time at Cluny, whose liturgy was similarly influenced by Bishop Odilo’s personal copy of the *De virginitate*, now Paris, BNF, MS NAL 1455. Le Puy was remembered by at least one chronicler as being the city of the Virgin—Albert of Aachen refers to it as “the city of St Mary,” “apud Podium ciuitatem sancte Marie,” and the chronicle of Saint Peter of Le Puy describes the city as “castella Beatae Mariae et res ecclesiarum.”<sup>498</sup> It is known that Adhemar of Monteil, Bishop of Le Puy, was also known for his personal Marian devotion, and has traditionally been considered the author of the *Salve Regina*.<sup>499</sup> The location of the Council of Clermont, too, is relevant, as it was a site of

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<sup>497</sup> Bernold, *Eleventh-Century Germany: The Swabian Chronicles*, 327; Latin text: “et ad Sanctam Mariam ad Podium in assumptione ipsius peruenit.” Bernold, *Chronicon*, p. 463.

<sup>498</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Albert of Aachen’s History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, Vol. i: *Books 1-6. The First Crusade, 1095-1099*, tr. Susan b. Edgington, *Crusade Texts in Translation* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 18; Albert of Aachen, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Albert of Aachen, A Critical Edition*, tr. Susan Edgington, PhD Thesis, University of London, 1991, 89-90. *Cartulaire de l’Abbaye de St-Chaffre du Monastier et Chronique de St-Pierre du Puy*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier (Montbéliard: Imprimerie P. Hoffmann, 1891), 152.

<sup>499</sup> *One Hundred Latin Hymns: Ambrose to Aquinas*, ed. and tr. Peter G. Walsh with Christopher Husch, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 18, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard UP, 2012), xvii, 272-73, 475. See also the discussion in F.J.E. Raby, *A history of Christian-Latin poetry from the beginnings to the close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 226-7, who argues in favor of Ademar of Le Puy over Herimannus Contractus, E. Vacandard, “Les origines littéraires, musicales et liturgiques, du *Salve Regina*,” *Revue du clergé français*, t. 71 (1912): 137-151, and Jean de Valois, *En marge d’une antienne, le ‘Salve Regina’* (Paris: au bureau d’édition de la Schola, 1912), for the 11<sup>th</sup> century dating of the *Salve Regina*. The chronicler Alberic of

Marian devotion, known for its *maiestas* statue, discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>500</sup> Urban's selection suggests a careful choreography of appealing to growth of Marian devotion across southern France, linking not only his Cluniac and Gregorian roots but the ever-increasing number of Marian sites in Occitania into his appeal—not only would the crusade contain elements of pilgrimage, but attending the council itself would contain an element of Marian pilgrimage.

In Le Puy, Urban “summoned a synod by his apostolic authority to meet in Clermont on the octave of St Martin’s day [18 November], sending letters to the bishops of the various provinces and inviting them with a canonical summons.”<sup>501</sup> Two of those letters at least survive, sent by Urban II to Lambert, bishop of Arras and to Rainald of Reims.<sup>502</sup> The letter to Lambert of Arras reads:

Urbain, évêque, serviteur des serviteurs de Dieu, à son cher frère Lambert, évêque d’Arras, salut et bénédiction apostolique. Ta dilection sait qu’au mois de novembre prochain, dans l’octave de la Saint Martin, nous avons décidé de tenir à Clermont, avec l’appui du Seigneur, un concile synodal auquel nous invitons ta prudence, afin qu’en écartant tout prétexte tu ne manques pas de venir à la date fixée au lieu susdit. Sache en outre que l’évêque de Cambrai, après nous avoir envoyé une lettre et des représentants, nous a vivement interpellé au sujet de l’Église d’Arras, disant que lui et son Église étaient protégés par des privilèges de Rome. Voilà pourquoi il faut que ta prudence vienne avec tes clercs, prête à répondre sur cette affaire. Donnée au Puy, le dix-huitième jour des calendes d’août.<sup>503</sup>

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Trois-Fontaines also makes the claim that it was written by Ademar of Le Puy, *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS* 23, p. 804: “E quibus fuit Aimarus insignia potentie, Podiensis episcopus, qui postea christianum exercitum prudentia rexit et eloquentia sua. Auctor : Quod iste episcopus antiphonam *Salve Regina* fecerit, audiisse me recolo. Qualiter autem beatus Bernardus eam ab angelis audierit decantari, ubi oportunitatem invenero, assignabo. »

<sup>500</sup> See L. Bréhier, “La cathédrale de Clermont au Xe siècle et sa statue d’or de la Vierge, » *La Renaissance de l’art français et des industries de luxe* 7 (Jan. 1924) : 205-210.

<sup>501</sup> Bernold, *Eleventh-Century Germany: the Swabian Chronicles*, 327; Latin text: “et ad Sanctam Mariam ad Podium in assumptione ipsius pervenit, sinodumque ad montem Clarum in octavam sancti Martini apostolica auctoritate condixit, ad quam diversarum provinciarum episcopos missis literis canonica vocatione invitavit.” Bernold, *Chronicon*, p. 463.

<sup>502</sup> D’Achery, *Spicilegium*, p. 424-5. Jaffe, 4168, 4169, p. 463. Mansi 20, p. 694-695. Becker, p. 436, also posits a letter to Bishop Ademar of Angoulême.

<sup>503</sup> *Le Registre de Lambert Évêque d’Arras (1093-1115)*, ed. And tr. Claire Giordanengo, Source d’Histoire Médiévale publiées par l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes 34 (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2007), 177. Latin: “Urbanus, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto fratri Lamberto, Atrebatensi episcopo, salutem et apostolicam

Clearly, it was in Le Puy that Urban set a location and a date for the council where he would call the First Crusade. There are, then, two questions to be asked: What happened when he was in Le Puy, and how did he decide on Clermont?

Unfortunately, we do not have clear answers to either question. In Le Puy, Urban II clearly met with Adhemar of Monteil, and while he was there, he must have discussed the location and date of the council.<sup>504</sup> We can assume that they discussed some of the details of what would be said at Clermont, that Adhemar would be Urban's papal legate, and it has been posited that they discussed enlisting Raymond of Saint-Gilles as "the core of military aid for his program."<sup>505</sup> As seen in the previous chapter, Raymond of Saint-Gilles had recently become involved in the affairs of the Auvergne, particularly La Chaise-Dieu, where Urban II would go to immediately after leaving Le Puy.<sup>506</sup> One chronicler, at least, thought that the entire Crusade idea originated in Le Puy:

Duke Godfrey lost no time in hurrying from Genoa to Saint-Gilles, and there he discussed the liberation of the [Holy] Sepulchre with Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, and many other counts and barons from that area. They formed a plan along these lines, that they would gather on the forthcoming Day of the Annunciation [25 March] at Le Puy, and make proposals and firm commitments on what action they would take in performing their duty to God. After word of this had spread throughout that area within the notice period referred to above, 12 men were in the Church of the blessed Mary in Le Puy wanting to discuss their duty to God. They debated for three days how they could make the journey to Jerusalem. It happened during the night of the third day that the Angel Gabriel came in a dream to one of the 12, named Bartholomew, and said: 'Bartholomew, arise!' He said, 'What are you, lord?' 'I am the angel of the Lord, and the Lord's wish is that His Sepulchre be freed from servitude to the Saracens; so receive this cross on your right shoulder, go first thing in the morning with your companions to the

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benedictionem. Noverit dilectio tua nos in proximo novembri, in octavis videlicet Sancti Martini, apud Clarummontem, annuente Domino, synodale concilium statuise ad quod tuam prudentiam invitamus ut, omni occasione seposita, statuto in tempore, predicto in loco non omittas occurrere. Noveris preterea Cameracensem episcopum, missis nos litteris ac nuntiis, pro Atrebatensi ecclesia vehementer interpellasse, dicente se et ecclesiam suam Romanis privilegiis esse munitam. Unde oportet prudentiam tuam ad hujus negotii responsionem paratam cum tuis clericis convenire. Data apud Anicum, XVIII kalendas augusti." *Le Registre*, p. 176.

<sup>504</sup> James A. Brundage, "Adhemar of Puy: The bishop and His Critics," *Speculum* 34, no. 2 (Apr. 1959): 202-3.

<sup>505</sup> Hill and Hill, 29. See also Liche, p. 299.

<sup>506</sup> See Chapter 3.

bishop of Le Puy, show him this cross which I have made for you, and tell him to send his representative with you to Pope Urban, [urging him] to come to this area without delay, and to instruct the people [to make] the journey to Jerusalem in remission of their sins'. All this was done. Hearing of the angelic vision, the pope undertook the journey without hesitation and arrived in Le Puy.<sup>507</sup>

Caffaro's account is certainly a minority view, but the combination of angelic inspiration and a centralization of Le Puy is a reflection from a chronicler whose home city had important political and economic links with Occitania in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and whose First Crusade compatriots were associated with Raymond of Saint-Gilles. Given the later reputation of Godfrey, and the connection between Genoa and the counts of Toulouse-Tripoli, the leading role these two men play makes historiographical if not historical sense. The emphasis on Le Puy as the point of origin is worth noting, as is the source of the inspiration: the archangel Gabriel. The angelic source puts the vision that leads Urban to Le Puy in the same category as Daniel's visions of the Antichrist and the Destruction of Jerusalem, and the announcements of the births of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, announced and explained by Gabriel and thus of the highest heavenly importance. This story is, of course, pure fantasy, as Godfrey of Bouillon was never at Le Puy, but at least one second-generation Crusade chronicler acknowledges the importance of Le Puy, and the seemingly God-granted nature of the First Crusade.<sup>508</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> Caffaro, *Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades*, tr. Martin Hall and Jonathan Phillips (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 108-9. Latin: "Dux vero Gotofreus sine more illinc sactum Egidium ire festinauit, ibique cum Raymundo sancti Egidii comite et cum aliis multis comitibus et baronibus illarum patrium de deliberatione sepulcri loquutus est. Unum tale posuerunt consilium, ut ueniente die sanctae Mariae ad Podium conuenirent, ibique de seruitio Dei quid facturi essent ponerent et firmarent. Cum uero infra dicti termini spacium uox per partes illas publice sonauisset, fuerunt duodecim uiri in sancta Maria de Podio de predicto seruitio Dei tractare optantes, et per tres dies tractantes, quomodo Iherosolimitanum iter peragere possent. Accidit in nocte diei tercii, quod angelus Gabriel ad unum de duodecim, Bertholomeum nomine, in sopnium uenit et dixit : *Bertholomee, surge. Et ipse : quid es tu domine ? Angelus Domini sum, et uoluntas Domini est ut sepulcrum eius a seruitute Saracenorum deliberetur ; quare accipe crucem in dextero humero, et cum sociis tuis summo mane perge ad episcopum Podiensem, et hostende sibi crucem quam tibi feci, et dic ut ipse mittas legatum suum tecum ad Urbanum papam, qui ad has partes sine mora ueniat, et iter Iherosolimitanum in remissione// peccatorum populum doceat.* Ita factum est. Papa enim, uisione angelica audita, sine mora iter accepit, et ad Poium uenit." Caffro, *De Liberatione Civitatem Orientis*, in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, ed. Luigi Belgrano (Rome : Istituto Storico Italiano, 1890), 1 :100-1

<sup>508</sup> Daniel 8:15-26 and 9:21-27, and Luke 1:11-38.

These accounts do not necessarily answer the question of what was discussed at Le Puy, though it does seem clear that later chroniclers recognized the fundamental importance of the meeting in Le Puy for the organization and calling of the Crusade. The role of Adhemar himself was probably also discussed.<sup>509</sup> The only letter from Urban that touches on the subject, written sometime after the council of Clermont reads, “We constituted our most beloved son Adhemar, Bishop of Le Puy, as leader in our place of this journey and labor, so that whoever perchance wishes to embark on this path should obey his orders as if they were ours, and should submit totally to his loosings or bindings, as far as it will be seen to pertain to this business.”<sup>510</sup> While this letter, along with the repeated references to his importance in Crusade chronicles, suggests a degree of forethought on Urban’s part, there is the complicating factor of the chronicle of Robert the Monk, which says Adhemar was elected leader of the Crusade at Clermont by a vote of the attendees.<sup>511</sup> All that can be clearly said is that Urban and Adhemar discussed the crusade itself.

Urban’s dilemma, then, was to figure out a location, and his discussions with Adhemar would have suggested several reasons for the choice of Clermont over Le Puy. The discussion of why Clermont is well-trod ground, but it is worth repeating what Urban II saw from Le Puy.<sup>512</sup> Clermont would end up being the most important stop on his itinerary, but it still falls within a

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<sup>509</sup> See Robert Somerville, “Adhemar of Le Puy, Papal Legate on the First Crusade,” in *Law as Profession and Practice in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of James A. Brundage*, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Melodie Harris Eichbauer (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 371-385, and Jean Richard, “La Papauté et la direction de la première croisade,” » *Journal des Savants* (1960): 49-58.

<sup>510</sup> Somerville, “Adhemar.” 373. Latin text: *celebriter eis iniunximus et carissimum filium Ademarum. Podiensem episcopum, huius itineris ac laboris ducem, uice nostra constituimus, ut quibus hanc uiam forte suscipere placuerit, eius iussionibus tamquam iiostris pareant atque eius solutionibus seu ligationibus, quantum ad hoc negotium pertinere uidebitur, omnino subiaceant.* » Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 136-7.

<sup>511</sup> Robert the Monk, *Robert the monk’s History of the First Crusade*. *Historia Iherosolimitana*, tr. Carol Sweetenham, *Crusade Texts and Translations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 83. Latin text: “Uniuersi uero elegerunt Podiensem episcopum, asserentes eum rebus humanis ac diuinis ualde esse idoneum, et utraque scientia peritissimum, suisque actionibus multividum. Ille itaque, licet inuitus, suscepit, quasi alter Moyses, ducatum ac regimen dominici populi, cum benedictione domini papae ac totius concilii.” » *Roberti Monachi historia Iherosolimitana*, RHC Occ. 3, p. 731.

<sup>512</sup> This is not an attempt to present new ideas; L’Abbé G.-Regis Cregut, *Le Concile de Clermont en 1095 et la Première Croisade* (Clermont-Ferrand: Librairie Catholique, 1895), 56-7, presents essentially the same arguments.

list of specific stops in a greater journey. Le Puy was in a relatively remote forested region, surrounded by powerful, semi-hostile feudal lords, despite its location on the major trade road through the Auvergne.<sup>513</sup> Adhemar, for all of his personal sanctity and connection to Urban II, had inherited his episcopal throne from a scion of the noble Polignac family, whose fortress, still intact today, offers an incredible view over the entire city as well as the trade route.<sup>514</sup> Second, if the goal of Urban's council was to bring his edicts to France, a location further north would make sense, but not so far north as to place him under the direct influence and control of the excommunicated King Philip of France.<sup>515</sup> Clermont was north of the Massif Central, along the main road, allowing easy access from Francia, Occitania, and Burgundy to any council there. The location at the foot of the Puy-de-Dome, looking out onto the northern plains, meant that there would be plenty of room for as many delegates as might attend. Finally, the bishop of Clermont was in Urban's entourage when he arrived in Le Puy, and was one of the main supporters of the Gregorian Reform in the Auvergne, along with Adhemar of Le Puy.<sup>516</sup> Clermont was a stronghold of reformist sentiment under a strong leader, and the count of Clermont, as we have seen, was in the debt of Raymond of Saint-Gilles for his fortuitous marriage to the daughter of the Count of Sicily.<sup>517</sup> As a location for a papal synod in France, it was perfect. Before the Council, however, Urban II needed to continue his trip, leaving Le Puy for the same reasons why he could not hold his council there.

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<sup>513</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>514</sup> See Mélinda Bizri, "Polignac en Velay, relecture de l'origine et de l'évolution du site. Entre tradition, célébrité et réalité archéologique, » in *Château, naissance et métamorphoses. Actes des Rencontres d'Archéologie et d'Histoire en Périgord les 24, 25 et 26 septembre 2010*, ed. Anne-Marie Cocula and Michel Combet (Bordeaux : Ausonius, 2011), 93-107.

<sup>515</sup> Somerville, *Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza*, 118

<sup>516</sup> See Maureen M. O'Brien, *Far From the Heart: The Social, Political, and Ecclesiastical Milieu of the Early Abbots of La Chaise-Dieu, 1052-1184*, PhD Thesis, Western Michigan University, 2006, chapters 3 and 4 for the role of La Chaise-Dieu under Durand and Seguin of Escotay in the Gregorian Reform, and an excellent discussion of the Gregorian Reform in the Auvergne.

<sup>517</sup> For the bishop of Clermont and the marriage of the count of Clermont to the heiress of Sicily, see chapter 3.



## **The First Leg: The Auvergne, the Bas-Rhône, and Urban's Appeal to Raymond of Saint-Gilles**

The Council of Clermont, where Urban went after Le Puy, needed more than a location and ecclesiastical support in order to succeed in calling for the crusade. What he needed was a strong lay patron for the event, someone whose participation could be assured and provide the starting point for a greater army. In the same way that reformist popes had counted on Matilda of Tuscany, or, occasionally, the Norman leaders of southern Italy, Urban II needed a powerful lord to lend a secular legitimacy to his venture. After three days of what we must presume were productive discussions in Le Puy, he seems to have been sent towards Raymond of Saint-Gilles. Urban left Le Puy, heading just north of the city to La Chaise-Dieu, spending August 18/19<sup>th</sup> there.<sup>518</sup> He dedicated the new abbey there in the honor of the saints Vital and Agricola.<sup>519</sup> He may have only spent a day at La Chaise-Dieu, but the abbot, Pons of Tournon, was a supporter, and the trip may have helped confirm Urban's decision to speak to Raymond of Saint-Gilles.<sup>520</sup> One of the best examples of Raymond of Saint-Gilles' turn towards a more reformist and penitential attitude had been his increasingly close connection to La Chaise-Dieu, and his personal devotion to St. Robert of Turlande, its founder, as referenced in the previous chapter. Urban's entourage contained three former Casadeen monks: Durand, bishop of Clermont, who had been the abbot of Le Puy until his appointment in 1076; Audebert of Montmorillon,

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<sup>518</sup> Becker, 436.

<sup>519</sup> Rene Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et son importance au point de vue archéologique," » *Annales du Midi* 49 (1937) : 43. Latin text : « monasterium Sancti Roberti de Casa-Dei in honore sanctorum Agricolae et Vitalis, quorum reliquias ibidem condam Hrenco episcopus Arvenensis collocaverat, 15. Kalendas Septembris consecravit. » Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Ex Gaufridi de Bruil Prioris Vosiensis Chronica*, in *MGH SS* 26, 199.

<sup>520</sup> For Pons of Tournon, see O'Brien, Ch. 5

archbishop of Bourges; and Hugh, bishop of Grenoble.<sup>521</sup> Pons himself had been in the monastery since his childhood, during the abbacy of Durand, and had attended the council of Piacenza to seek papal confirmation of his abbey's rights—he had been at the Pope's side, one assumes, since Piacenza.<sup>522</sup> If Marcus Bull's model of monastery-bishopric-nobility recruitment for the First Crusade holds true, spending a day in discussion at La Chaise-Dieu was an excellent plan, both for the Auvergne and for Raymond of Saint-Gilles.<sup>523</sup> At La Chaise-Dieu Urban issued a document confirming the organization of secular canons at Cahors, placing them under the protection of the Holy See.<sup>524</sup>

From La Chaise-Dieu, where Durand and Pons would both leave Urban's entourage, Urban turned south and spent the next month in the heart of Raymond's holdings in the Rouergue and the Bas-Rhône valley. At some point between August 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup>, he was in Chirac, a monastery on the border between Rouergue and Gevaudan.<sup>525</sup> From Chirac, he moved

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<sup>521</sup> Crozet, 44.

<sup>522</sup> O'Brien, 129-130.

<sup>523</sup> See Chapter 2 for more on La Chaise-Dieu. For the interaction between churches/monasteries and the nobility as a means of recruiting for the First Crusade, see Marcus Bull, "The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade," *History* 78, no. 254 (Oct. 1993): 353-372.

<sup>524</sup> Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," p. 277-8. This plan had been well laid-out, prepared by the former bishop Gerald of Gourdon and approved by St. Hugh, abbot of Cluny, and in confirming it, Urban II was also pleasing Gerald of Cardaillac, the current bishop of Cahors who would go on to Jerusalem.<sup>524</sup> The papal bull, misdated to 1096, begins "Urbanus episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis in Christo hliis *Gosberto* priori, ejusque fratribus in Caturcensi ecclesia canonicam vitam professis, & eorum successoribus in eadem religione permansuris in perpetuum." Urban takes the chapter in charge, "communiter secundum SS. Patrum institutionem omnipotenti domino deservire proposuistis," and makes sure that it is known he is not the sole initiator, "quae venerabilis frater noster *Giraldus* Caturcensis episcopus," had discussed this with him. See *Gallia Christiana* I, 127-8, and *Gallia Christiana* I, Insr. p. 31 no. VIII.

<sup>525</sup> Becker, 436-7. *HGL* 3, 281. He consecrated the church St. Sauveur while he was there, with the bishop of Mende, Aldebert, attending, as well as placing the church under the authority of Richard of St. Victor of Marseilles, which held the monastery as a priory from then on. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St Victor de Marseille* no. 854, 2 :242-243, a letter from Calixtus II dated 11 April 1123 that mentions this visit by Urban : « Quapropter, dilecte in Christo fili, Rodulfe abijas, petitioni tue clementer aunimus et sancti Salvatoris monasteium , in loco qui Quiriacus dicitur situm, quod, predecessore tuo Ricardo, tunc Massiliensi abbate, rogante, et domino antecessore nostro saicte memorie Urbano papa, qui preseus ibi aderat, jubente, a quam plurimis arcbiepis et episcopis, vice ipsius doniini, dedicatum est, cum omnibus ecclesiis, terris et possessionibus ejus, ita liberiim et quietiim tibi ac successorihus tuis et per vos Massiliensi ceiiobio permanere sancimus, sicut ipsuni a die consecracionis sue idem Ricardus et fratres Massilienses tenuisse noscuntur. »

to Millau, where he was on August 25<sup>th</sup>, before arriving at the end of August in Nîmes.<sup>526</sup> For the next two and a half weeks Urban would stay in the heart of Raymond of Saint-Gilles' territories. We have only the most limited surviving documentary evidence for this part of Urban's itinerary, but it seems clear that the purpose for the trip was to meet with Raymond. Urban II spent some small period in Nîmes at the end of August, perhaps laying the groundwork for his return the following year for the council at the end of his French expedition.<sup>527</sup> He then spent September 1<sup>st</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> at the abbey of Saint Gilles, where he celebrated the Feast of Saint-Gilles. As Urban proclaimed via papal bull from Avignon a week later, "GRATIE SUPERNE miserationi tam per nos quam et per vestram religionem agende sunt, quia nos ad vestrum cenobium pervenire et una vobiscum Beati Egidii sollemnitatem celebrare disposuit."<sup>528</sup> Crozet believes that Urban used his presence to effect reconciliation between Odilo of Saint-Gilles and the new bishop of Nîmes during the week-long stay in the Argence, the land south of Avignon on the western bank of the Rhône; certainly, the troubles between Saint-Gilles and the bishops of Nîmes were winding down in this period, and it is not unlikely.<sup>529</sup>

After several years of dealing with issues concerning the monastery, the only document issued from Saint Gilles during this visit, was concerning La Chaise-Dieu. On September 6<sup>th</sup>, Urban II published the bull of papal protection that Pons of Tournon has sought at Piacenza.<sup>530</sup> This location for the charter, "datum apud burgum sancti AEGidii," actually suggests that the stop at Nîmes was very important—both La Chaise-Dieu and Saint Gilles were having problems

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<sup>526</sup> Becker, 437.

<sup>527</sup> Ibid.; *HGL* 3, p. 281. Crozet believes that Urban consecrated a new bishop of Nîmes while he was there, Bertrand of Montredon, following Devic and Vaissete. Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," p. 278. Fliche, p. 295, disagrees and says there is no evidence for a papal visit to Nîmes; given the route from Le Puy to Saint-Gilles, a brief passage through Nîmes seems almost unavoidable on the Via Regordane.

<sup>528</sup> *Bullaire de Saint-Gilles*, no. 16, p. 33

<sup>529</sup> Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," p. 278.

<sup>530</sup> *Monumenta pontificia Arvernicae* no. 46, p. 72-3.

with the bishop of Nîmes, maintaining independence in the case of Saint Gilles and maintaining the priory of Saint Baudile, a gift of Raymond of Saint Gilles, in the case of La Chaise-Dieu.<sup>531</sup> It is inconceivable that Urban II did not have the approval of Raymond of Saint-Gilles in making these arrangements. There was no region more important to Raymond's holdings than the Nîmes-Saint-Gilles-Avignon triangle, his boyhood patrimony, and few churches more important to his prestige than his namesake abbey of Saint-Gilles and the church of Saint Baudile. Urban II had firmly crushed the aspirations of the bishops of Nîmes over the monastic holdings in and around their city, but had also removed any potential control over them by the count. There is no surer proof of Raymond of Saint-Gilles's conversion to the reform movement than these actions, except for his participation in the First Crusade.

From Saint-Gilles, Urban II crossed the Rhône to Tarascon, where he spent September 11-12, 1095. There is an unexplained five-day gap between his time in Saint Gilles and Tarascon, but it is almost certain that he was meeting with Raymond of Saint-Gilles in Beaucaire, one of the original holdings of Raymond's youth.<sup>532</sup> Given Raymond's actions over the course of the next year, embracing the Gregorian reform with the fervor of a convert rather than the political maneuverings he had previously employed, one might be tempted to argue for a very direct motivation. What could be a better conversion experience for an aging noble with a

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<sup>531</sup> Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, 218-243; *Bullaire de Saint-Gilles*, no. XVI, p. 33-34; *The Register of Gregory VII*, 1.68, p. 71; O'Brien, 140-2; Le Puy-en-Velay, AD de la Haute-Loire, 1 H 179 c. 1.

<sup>532</sup> There is no documentary evidence for this suggestion, but within the region there are limited options for where else he could have gone. Arles, across the river, would have documented his arrival, and was still not in Reform hands. Psalmodi farther south was a possibility, but relatively removed from other locations; with the near-total destruction of the monastery's archives, along with the monastery, it would be difficult to make much of an argument either way. To the north, Avignon was the next major city, and he traveled there after Tarascon. Beaucaire would offer the possibility of the face-to-face meeting with the man whose envoys would be the first to pledge a major noble's support for the First Crusade. It also formed the best crossing-point of the Rhône south of Avignon, which was one of the reasons for its importance. It was directly across the river from Tarascon, and the city was the urban center of the Argence. With only 28 kilometers between Saint-Gilles and Tarascon, and the stay in Saint-Gilles well-documented, Beaucaire is the only logical location for the lost five days.

history of excommunication and resistance to papal decree than a meeting with a Pope, who, coming from the aristocratic-military class, would know exactly what buttons to push?

Raymond's past lukewarm support of the Gregorian Reform, and his previous excommunications, would have left him, arguably, with a lot of spiritual baggage. As his donation to Saint-André d'Avignon, discussed in chapter 1, shows, he was concerned with salvation, in some instances at the cost of temporal power in key regions. And given his age, the Pope could very easily have pointed out that if he died in his current spiritual condition, all the money and power in the world would not keep him out of Purgatory.<sup>533</sup>

In Tarascon, Urban officiated over the dedication of land for the construction of the priory of Saint-Nicolas for Saint-Victor of Marseilles, doing so in the presence of abbot Richard of Saint-Victor, bishop Gibelin of Arles and abbot William of Montmajour, with Urban blessing the land meant for the church and the cemetery.<sup>534</sup> The land had been a donation of the countess Stephanie of Provence, given for the sake of the soul of her son, the count Bertrand, and donated specifically to Saint-Victor to found a church in honor of Saint Nicholas.<sup>535</sup> The proclamation was sent out, according to the charter, to “universis per Gothiam et Provintiam fidelibus,” with the witness list showing the caliber of ecclesiastical figures Urban summoned to the region:

Hec largitio et apostolice autoritatis confirmatio facta est apud Tarasconem, prelibato venerabilii Ricardo, abbati Massiliensi, et monachis suis, successoribusque eorum in perpetuum, presentibus episcopis Daigberto Pisano, Joanhne Portuensi, Brunone Signensi; cardinalibus Teutione et Alberto, in presentia Wilelmi, abbatis Montis Majoris, et quorundam suorum monachorum, predicte comitisse, Laugerii de Bulbone, Petri Albarici, Pétri Isnardi, et aliorum multorum diversi generis et etatis, die et anno quo supra.<sup>536</sup>

<sup>533</sup> For an overview of the development of Purgatory, see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, tr. Arthur Goldhammer. (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990).

<sup>534</sup> Crozet, “Le Voyage d’Urbain II et ses négociations,” p. 278-9. Becker, 437-8. Elisabeth Zadoka-Rio, “Lieux d’inhumation et espace sacrés; Le voyage du Pape Urbain II en France (août 1095-août 1096),” in *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires : Approches terminologiques, méthodologiques, historiques et monographiques* (Rome : Ecole française de Rome, 2000), 204-6.

<sup>535</sup> *Cartulaire de Saint Victor*, 1: 242-43.

<sup>536</sup> *Cartulaire de Saint-Victor*, 1: 243-244.

From this point, his business nearly concluded, Urban would begin making his way back north, stopping in Avignon for three days.

Avignon was a business stop, with two charters issued from the city and one issued from Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux concerning it shortly thereafter. The bishop of Avignon, Albertus, had died the year before, and his successor Arbertus would not be officially recognized until 1096.<sup>537</sup> As a result, Gibelin of Arles was officially in charge of the city, probably more firmly than he held Arles itself.<sup>538</sup> The two charters issued in Avignon dealt with the monastery of Saint-Gilles and the canons of Avignon's cathedral.<sup>539</sup> The charter for Saint-Gilles has been dealt with above, but the one for Avignon was the culmination of Gibelin's attempted reforms in the region, and his attempts to implant secular canons throughout the Bas-Rhône.<sup>540</sup> Urban's approval of these measures would have a lasting legacy, making the cities of the region a stronghold for the practice the Rule of St. Augustine, both the regular Augustinian and the new Order of St Ruf, which he granted an official charter to while in the region.<sup>541</sup> From the papal

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<sup>537</sup> *Gallia christiana novissima* 1, 810.

<sup>538</sup> Becker, 438.

<sup>539</sup> Jaffe, 4174-4175, p. 464.

<sup>540</sup> *Gallia christiana* 1, Instr. XI, p. 140. Latin: Sanctitum esse constat, & veteribus libris insertum, ut donationes praesignentur litterali signatione, quatenus contra obloquentium verboritates perpetuum obtinere possint firmamentum ; donatio quoque maneat inconcussa. Qua propter ego Gibelinus archiepiscopus Arelatensis gerens curam Avenionensis ecclesiae, dono canonicis in claustris sine proprio viventibus, omnem decimam de episcopali dominatura, videlicet in Avenione, in Bertorrita, in Castro-novo, in Novas, in Agillo; hoc est in fructibus terrarum, in campiis, in theloneo, in pratis, in nemotibus, in piscatoriis. Per haec omnia dono omnem decimam supradictis canonicis. Videant igitur episcopi, qui post nos futuri sunt, quomodo hanc donationem firmam teneant, & frequenter cogitent, in quanto honore supra dicti canonici ecclesiam S. Mariae multis diebus tenuerunt, videlicet in matutinis, in missarum solemnibus, & in omnibus quae ad ritum ecclesiasticum pertinent; & ideo quod nos fecimus similiter faciant, & eandem gloriam quam speramus accipere a Deo accipiant. Acta est hec carta sub anno Dominicae incarnationis MXCIV. Indictione prima. Signum domni Gibelini archiepiscopi, qui hanc donationem scribi iussit, & propria manu firmavit." The bull he issued in Avignon, once again misdated to 1096, was to Silvestro and his brother-canons in the church of Avignon, presumably Notre-Dame des Doms, placing it and the new secular canons under the protection of the Holy See. *Gallia Christiana* 1, Instr. XIII, p. 141, and Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations, » 279

<sup>541</sup> The Order of St. Ruf would go on to become very important in the region, and Raymond of Saint-Gilles would donate a church to them from the Holy Land. For the church, see Rudolf Hiestand, "St.-Ruf d'Avignon, Raymond de Saint-Gilles et l'Eglise latine du Comté de Tripoli," *Annales du Midi* 98 (1986): 327-336, esp. 330-331.

perspective, the increased number of communities of secular canons in the south, made obedient to the Holy See, represents an attempt to replicate to the success of Cluny, where Urban had been a monk—he was laying small colonies of papal power throughout France.<sup>542</sup> To the canons of Avignon, he specifically gave control over a number of strategic churches, “ecclesiam scilicet S. Marthae apud Tarasconem, S. Agricolae de Lupera, & S. Pauli de Palude, S. Dom... & S. Columbae de Cortedune &c. S. Georgii de Gartiga, pagi de Mairranica partem quartam, & insularum ad ipsum pertinentium.”<sup>543</sup> Urban’s bull put them in charge of the churches ringing the city itself, giving a papally-dependent organization a degree of temporal power over the bishop’s holdings and effectively placing a large portion of the diocese under papal control. The inclusion of St. Martha of Tarascon also was an indication of Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ acquiescence to Urban’s power, as Tarascon was one of his three initial boyhood holdings, and the second of them to be taken from him by the pope.<sup>544</sup>

Urban II must have met with representatives of the Order of Saint Ruf while he was in Avignon. From Avignon, Urban II moved north to Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, where he issued one of the foundational documents for the order, the papal bull found as number VI in the *Codex*

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<sup>542</sup> This is similar to Urban II’s politics concerning Cluniac monasteries. See H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 58-63, p. 82-106, p. 174-187.

<sup>543</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, 1, XIII, p. 241.

<sup>544</sup> In another sign of Raymond’s giving up of ecclesiastical control in the Bas-Rhône to the pope, Urban II, while in Avignon, reconfirmed the submission of Montmajour to Saint-Victor of Marseille, which Gregory VII had ordained April 18th, 1081, under the leadership of Richard, abbot of Saint-Victor and papal legate. This control over Montmajour was repeated by Urban II twice, on February 20th 1089 and April 4 1095. Whether or not this was reconfirmed from Avignon, it would be over the following year, when Montmajour would retake possession of its rights. This put Richard of Saint-Victor in an incredibly powerful position over Aicard of Arles, who still more or less controlled Arles but had lost control over the abbey that overlooks it, and Gibelin, who as the titular archbishop of Arles might have had control. See Crozet, « Le Voyage d’Urbain II et ses négociations, » 279. Eliana Magnani Soares-Christen, *Monastères et aristocratie en Provence, milieu Xe-début XIIIe siècle* (Berlin : Lit Verlag, 1999), p. 126-7 ; *The Register of Gregory VII*, 9.6, p. 406-8 ; Jaffe, 4029, p. 151 and 4160, p. 462. For discussion of the reform efforts in Provence, see Magnani, and chapter 2 of this dissertation.

*Diplomaticus Ordines sancti Ruffi* put together by Ulysses Chevalier.<sup>545</sup> The charter is headed, “Urbanus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis in Xpristo filiis Arberto abbati eiusque fratribus in Ecclesia Sancti Rufi canonicam vitam professis, et eorum successoribus in eadem religione permansuris, in perpetuum.”<sup>546</sup> The official recognition by the pope was important for the new order, which had been well established in Avignon and the surrounding region, and whose properties farther out were also confirmed by Urban in the same bull:

Preterea per presentis decreti paginam apostolica vobis auctoritate firmamus, ecclesiam Sancte MARIE infra urbem Ludg(unensem), ecclesiam Sancti PETRI secus Diam, ecclesiam Sancti JACOBI de Melgorio, ecclesiam de Buxa, ecclesiam de Turre, ecclesiam de Caveirag, ecclesiam de Vences, ecclesiam de Armazanzas cum capella, ecclesias de Beterrota; et omnia que episcopi Avennionenses Benedictus, Rostangnus et Gibilinus vestre ecclesie contulerunt.<sup>547</sup>

Given the extraordinary spread of the Order of St. Ruf, and its influence throughout the twelfth century, Urban’s voyage through Die (where St. Ruf controlled the church of St. Peter) and Avignon must have left a good impression—the papal confirmation allowed them to make their meteoric rise over the course of the next century.<sup>548</sup> Part of that meteoric rise would be aided and abetted by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who, continuing his patronage of churches in Avignon, granted them a church in the Levant before his death in 1105.<sup>549</sup> Not only was Raymond allowing Urban to place groups within his core territories over which he had no control, he was, in his later years, actively patronizing them.

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<sup>545</sup> Becker, p. 438. Ulysses Chevalier, *Codex Diplomaticus Ordines sancti Ruffi*, no. VI, p. 9-11. Number V has difficult dating, but it is also a foundational document from Urban II for the monastery, and I am tempted to guess that it comes from this same period, either the 1095 or 1096 trip to Avignon.

<sup>546</sup> *Ordines sancti Ruffi*, p. 9.

<sup>547</sup> *Ordines sancti Ruffi*, p. 10.

<sup>548</sup> Their legal expertise in the twelfth century is well-documented. See Ursula Vones-Liebenstein, “Les débuts de l’abbaye de Saint-Ruf: contexte politique et religieux à Avignon au XIe siècle,” in *Crises et réforme dans l’Eglise, de la Réforme grégorienne à la Préréforme* (Paris : Editions du CTHS, 1991), 9-25; and *ibid.*, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien. Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regular-kanoniker von Saint-Ruf in Avignon auf der iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)* (Biblioteca Victorina VI, 1/2), 2 vol. (Brepols: Turnhout 1996).

<sup>549</sup> Hiestand, 330-331 ; *Ordines sancti Ruffi*, 19.



The pope would also have had to deal with the repercussions of one of his previous edicts. In a bull dated May 17, 1095, he had announced that upon the death of William, bishop of Orange, the diocese of Orange would be merged with that of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux.<sup>550</sup> As a result, William of Orange had imprisoned the bishop of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, Pons III of Port, in order to maintain his dominance over his rival.<sup>551</sup> Urban must have solved this conflict, and William of Orange would go on to be one of Urban's preachers for the crusade and legate. From Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, Urban moved north to one more stop within the greater realms of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, stopping at Cruas, near Privas in what is now the Ardèche and what was the county of Vivarais, sometime between September 9<sup>th</sup> and October 8<sup>th</sup>.<sup>552</sup> After leaving the Ardèche, he headed north to Vienne, Lyon, Macon, Cluny, Autun, Souvigny, and Montet-aux-moines, spending September, October and the first part of November travelling through Burgundy, regions closely connected with his Cluniac roots and his Burgundy birthplace.<sup>553</sup> This leg of the journey, while poorly documented, was vital to the success of the Council of Clermont and the call for the First Crusade.

Urban's trip from Auvergne through Raymond of Saint-Gilles' core territories had gained him a powerful lay supporter, in the same way he had cultivated Matilda of Tuscany in Italy. The charters he had issued had proven that Raymond of Saint-Gilles had thoroughly subscribed

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<sup>550</sup> Crozet, "Les Voyages d'Urbain II et ses négociations," p. 279.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid.

<sup>552</sup> Becker, 438. He consecrated the monastery of S. Maria de Crudiaco while he was there, though the records for this are very scant. The church as dedicated "in honorem omnipotentis Dei et Virg. Marie ejus genitricis, quod vulgariter B. Marie de Crudacio nuncupatur. » The description writes of the church that « Urbanum papam II, cum duobus archiepiscopus Turonen. et Pisan. et aliis septem episcopis consecratum, » which would make sense considering the entourage accompanying Urban in the Rhône valley. See P. Henri Denifle, *La désolation des églises, monastères et hôpitaux en France pendant la guerre de Cent ans*, Tome I : *Documents relatifs au XVe siècle* (Paris : Alphonse Picard et Fils, Editeur, 1897), p. 398 no 847 ; Jean Vallery Radot, « Notes sur deux mosaïques de pavement romanes de l'église de Cruas (Ardèche) commémorant les consécration de 1095 et 1098, » *Genava* 11 (1963) : 175-181.

<sup>553</sup> For the other stops of Urban's itinerary, see Becker, 439-440.

to the reform agenda, and in convincing him to join the First Crusade had taken Raymond's epistolary title of *milite sancti Petri* and turned it into a reality. The crusade had a leader, it had a lay patron, and it had a location—now it needed to be called.

### The Council of Clermont

Clermont is remembered best for the call to the Crusade, but it was also a major synod in its own right, dealing with important events on a variety of topics. A reconstruction of decrees based on surviving fragments of evidence shows that it was fairly similar in many ways to Piacenza, or to Melfi and Benevento before that.<sup>554</sup> The Register of Lambert, the bishop of Arras whose invitation to Clermont from Urban II still survives, records thirty-four canons made at Clermont, in addition to other business.<sup>555</sup> This council, in the surviving canons, is one of the few surviving examples of Urban II to mention investiture explicitly.<sup>556</sup> Lambert's record includes the word itself, "investituram," and Clermont seems to have been an opportunity for the French and German clergy to see Urban's commitment to Gregory's program.<sup>557</sup> The canons are

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<sup>554</sup> Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*, Part I Ch. 2 and Part II in general, which give introductions to the difficulties of recreating the

<sup>555</sup> *Le Registre de Lambert, évêque d'Arras (1093-1115)*, ed. and tr. Claire Giordanengo, Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par l'institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes 34 (Paris : CNRS Editions, 2007), C.52, p. 186-193. Lambert's registry is one of the most complete and best sources for the Council of Clermont. There are two manuscript copies of canons that may come from southern France: Paris, BNF, MS lat. 9631, which contains the twenty-one canons of Clermont in the supplementary material at the end of a collection of canons from various periods, with a final text in the codex entitled *In Pictavensi concilio*, providing a Eucharistic profession that would not have circulated widely outside of the Poitevin. Interestingly, it neither mentions the crusade nor the renewal of the Truce of God. The other comes from a copy of the *Liber Censuum* found by Baluze in the monastery of St. Sauveur in Montpellier sometime in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and now Paris, BNF, MS lat. 3881, written in the twelfth century somewhere in southern France/northern Spain. It only contains fourteen canons, though they are all significantly expanded versions from something like Lambert's. Canon nine is the one most interesting from this collection, the call to the crusade: "Tunc etiam expedition facta est, et constituta est equitum et peditum ad Ierusalem et alias Asie ecclesias a Sarracenorum potestate eruendas. Et in eorum bonis usque ad redditum pax continua emulgata."<sup>555</sup>

<sup>556</sup> *Le Registre de Lambert*, canons 17-23.

<sup>557</sup> *Le Registre de Lambert*, p. 188.

consistent with the broad agenda of the Gregorian Reform. The crusade is, of course, mentioned, in Lambert's canon IV reading, "Tout homme qui, par seule dévotion et non pour gagner honneur ou argent, sera parti à Jérusalem pour libérer l'Église de Dieu, que ce voyage lui tienne lieu de pénitence complète."<sup>558</sup> These aspects are both important for Urban's program, begun at Piacenza and even before, and for the call for the Crusade, emphasizing proper thought and its role as a substitute for penance, are vital. But taking us back to the importance of the Peace and Truce of God in the previous chapters, the first three canons reestablish the Truce of God throughout Latin Christendom. For monks, clerics, women and all those who are with them are protected "in pace permaneat;" for everyone else, violence is only allowed on Monday through Wednesday, otherwise they will be accused of making "infractio[n]is sanctae pacis reus habeatur et prout iudicatum fuerit puniatur."<sup>559</sup> While this canon does not have the millenarian flavor of the Peace of God in its original inception, it is still a connection between the Truce in Europe and the ability of the militant class to go to war abroad.

Urban returned to Clermont on November 15 with an array of upper clergy, notably Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa; Ranger, archbishop of Reggio; John, bishop of Porto (who died during the course of the voyage); Bruno, bishop of Segni; Gautier, bishop of Albano; John of Gaeta, the papal chancellor; Milon, bishop of Palestina; and many others.<sup>560</sup> Outside of the papal entourage, the council was not a particularly large event, but was certainly well represented by ecclesiastical figures from southern France. Among the many others enumerated by Rene Crozet, a handful stand out as being particularly important: Richard of Saint-Victor, papal legate and abbot of Saint-Victor of Marseille; Gontard, bishop of Valence; Hugh, bishop of Grenoble;

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<sup>558</sup> *Le Registre de Lambert*, p. 186-7; Latin: "Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniae adeptione, ad liberandam Ecclesiam Dei Hierusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni paenitentia ei reputetur."

<sup>559</sup> *Le Registre de Lambert*, canons 1-3, p. 186-7.

<sup>560</sup> Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," p. 282-3 and 285-6.

Hugh of Die, archbishop of Lyons and papal legate; William, bishop of Orange; Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy; Durand, bishop of Clermont; Pons, abbot of La Chaise-Dieu; Amatus of Oléron, archbishop of Bordeaux and papal legate; Godefroy, bishop of Maguelonne; Bertrand of Montredon, bishop of Nîmes; and Dalmace, archbishop of Narbonne, among many others from the Midi in general. These representative bishops and abbots were all connected to Raymond of Saint-Gilles and had been personally visited by Urban II, and their presence made sure that the core regions of Raymond's lands were well-represented at the council.<sup>561</sup>

The arrival of the various prelates led to the beginning of the council on November 18.<sup>562</sup> The next ten days were a whirlwind of activity, of which the call for the First Crusade was only one part. It was, however, the part most remembered by chroniclers, not just those who wrote First Crusade account. In the chronicle of Saint Peter of Le Puy, the description of the council is almost solely about the crusade, neglecting to describe the abbey's submission to the bishop of Maguelonne.<sup>563</sup> This omission may also be a product of the timing of the call. According to Mansi's record of the council, the second item of business among the canons was "*De itinere Hierosolymitano,*" though it occurred on the next to last day of the council.<sup>564</sup> The call itself is disputed and subject to a long historiographical debate.<sup>565</sup> The debate is often about the purpose

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<sup>561</sup> Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urban II et ses négociations," 282-3, 285-7. For the entire guest list, see the *Monumenta pontificia Arverniae* no. XLVIII, p. 77-80.

<sup>562</sup> Jaffe, p. 464.

<sup>563</sup> The text of the chronicle reads: "Unde pastor optimus, condolens suis ovibus, in Gatliarum partibus factis sinodissaepius, veniens ad Claromontensem civitatem, congregavit ibi multos patres sanctee Ecclesiae, episcopos, archiepiscopos cum principibus terras, quibus voce lacrymabili ostendit de sepulchro Domini et Miseriis pauperum captivorum transmarinas partes inhabitantium hoc omnes audientes, vexillum sanctae Crucis in dextra scapula ponentss, Spiritus Sancti gratia inflammati, dixerunt se paratos esse pro Christo mori et vivere. » *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St-Chaffre du Monastier*, 162-3. Jaffe, 4183, p. 464.

<sup>564</sup> Mansi, 815; Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 22.

<sup>565</sup> For only a small selection, see L'Abbé G.-Regis Cregut, *Le Concile de Clermont en 1095 et la première croisade* (Clermont-Ferrand: Librairie Catholique, 1895); Dana Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095," *The American Historical Review* 11 (January 1906): 231-242, which argues for the primacy of Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Dol, and William of Malmesbury over other chronicles; Augustin Fliche, "Urban II et la croisade," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 13, no. 60 (1927): 289-306; Niall Christie

of the First Crusade at its inception—was it to rescue the Byzantine Empire, or to take Jerusalem? Were indulgences given, and, if so, what type? These questions matter because of the extraordinary appeal of the Crusade and because of its incredible impact on Latin Christendom and its place in the Mediterranean world.<sup>566</sup> The real problem is that there is no surviving version of Urban's sermon. All of the written accounts were memories or paraphrases written years after the First Crusade succeeded.<sup>567</sup> There are a few things that can be confirmed, however. First, whatever aspect of Urban's thought and sermon may have concerned defending the Eastern Christians, the sermon itself was about Jerusalem. Secondly, Urban reconfirmed and pled for the imposition of the Peace and Truce of God, not only in the local region of Clermont, or as a theoretical construct, but as the new way of life for all of Christendom. Third, that by going along with Urban's crusade, any participants would be able to substitute the voyage for all penance.<sup>568</sup> This promise is much less than the idea of permanent indulgence, which seems to have been understood even by some of the participants, but it, was still a further development of the link between penitential pilgrimage and crusading.

Only the account of the sermon by Fulcher of Chartres was written by a participant of the First Crusade, but the three of the four best versions are from later Crusade chronicles, as well as

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and Deborah Gerish, "Parallel Preachings: Urban II and al-Sulamī," *Al-Masa'iq*, 15 (September 2003): 139-148; Deborah Gerish, "Men, Women, and Beasts at Clermont, 1095," *Working Paper Series*, Middlebury College Rohatyn Center for International Affairs, 2005, available at <http://www.middlebury.edu/media/view/207011/original/GerishPaper.pdf>; Giles Constable, "Charter Evidence for Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade," in *Canon Law, Religion, and Politics: "Liber Amicorum" Robert Somerville*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 228-232; Georg Strack, "The Sermon of Urban II in Clermont and the Tradition of Papal Oratory," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 56 (2012): 30-45.

<sup>566</sup> John France, "Patronage and the appeal of the First Crusade," in *The First Crusade: Origins and impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997), p. 5: "The central mystery of the First Crusade has always been why so many people responded to Pope Urban II's appeal to the East, launched at Clermont in 1095."

<sup>567</sup> Rubenstein, 22.

<sup>568</sup> Rubenstein, 22-24.

that of William of Malmesbury, who seems to have had access to other primary information.<sup>569</sup> Most of the details on these versions have been covered extensively in the past, starting with Dana Munro's seminal article "The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095," in 1906. Retreading the same ground would not be productive, but the versions from a southern French perspective are worth going over again.

The gloss on the *Gesta Francorum* written by Peter Tudebode is an underutilized source for the council of Clermont, and of the two southern French accounts of the Crusade, it is the only one to mention the council.<sup>570</sup> Peter was a priest at Civray, in the Poitevin, and his gloss on the *Gesta Francorum* consistently focuses on pastoral and liturgical matters, adding an ecclesiastical layer not present in his source. In his description of the council, Peter has Urban arriving not only with clergy but with "highly respected member of the Roman laity. Furthermore he added to his entourage Amatus of Bordeaux, an archbishop and papal legate."<sup>571</sup> Peter, like Baudri of Bourgueil, comments on Urban's eloquence and uses the word *predicare* to describe his speech, "to preach," focusing on its form as a sermon more than the content of the appeal itself, using almost solely references to scripture.<sup>572</sup> Peter's status as a priest from the Limousin, who self-consciously identifies himself as such, is likely the reason. Tudebode writes that Urban tells the potential pilgrims that "it is necessary that we suffer greatly for Christ's

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<sup>569</sup> Dana Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095," *The American Historical Review* 11, no. 2 (Jan., 1906): 232.

<sup>570</sup> Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, intro. Philippe Wolff, revised by Jean Richard, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 12 (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1977); Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, tr. With intro. And notes John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1974). The edition and translation are problematic, based on a diplomatic edition of Paris, BNF, MS lat. 5135A, and the notes are limited. A much more useful basis for an edition would be the "B" manuscript, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 4892, which is clearly from the monastery of Maizelais, home of Abbot Peter, a First Crusader and the corrector of Baudri's chronicle.

<sup>571</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 15. Latin: "ac cum honestissimis Romanorum laicis personis est profectus ac proinde, domno Amato Burdegalensis ecclesie archiepiscopo et Rome legato sibi adhibito." Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 31-32.

<sup>572</sup> Peter Tudebode, 15, and fn 7, 15. Baldric of Bourgueil, 6-10 for the sermon. Georg Strack, "The Sermon of Urban II in Clermont and the Tradition of Papal Oratory," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 56 (2012): 36.

sake,” and that for doing this, “finally you shall receive great rewards.”<sup>573</sup> There is no discussion of vengeance, or pollution, or eastern Christians—only that suffering for the sake of Christ is needed, and that for that suffering there will be heavenly reward. After the council, as the reports of the council spread, Peter reports that the pilgrims sewed crosses on their right shoulders, and formed themselves up into armies.<sup>574</sup> The sermon is not substantially different from the *Gesta Francorum*, but the distribution of Peter Tudebode’s chronicle, largely the Poitevin and Limousin, reflects a consensus that this appeal worked for the audience that Peter Tudebode was part of.<sup>575</sup> Other accounts emphasize the selectiveness of the call, but in Peter’s, the focus is on the universal quality of the appeal.<sup>576</sup> All the hearers should “not hesitate to take humbly the way of the Lord.”<sup>577</sup> This appeal is an egalitarian message, one that fits with the shape of the southern French army in the coming crusade, embracing as it did the ranks of the poor. Peter’s account is a very small one, but it reinforces some of the sermon’s aspects and the promise of some form of salvation to all who went. Peter does not claim to have been in the audience at Clermont, but given the location of his church, it is possible he heard Urban at one of

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<sup>573</sup> Peter Tudebode, 16. The Latin version of the sermon reads: “dicens ut si quis animam suam salvam facere voluisset, non dubitasset viam humiliter incipere Domini et Sancti Sepulchri, ac si ei denariorum deesset copia, divina ei satis daret misericordia. Ait quippe dominus apostolicus : Fratres, oportet vos pati multa pro nomine Christi, videlicet miserias, paupertates, persecutiones, egestates, infirmitates, nuditates, famem, sitim et alias huiusmodi, sicuti idem ait suis discipulis: Oportet vos pati multa pro nomine meo. Et nolite erubescere loqui ante facies hominum; ego vero dabo vobis os et eloquium ac deinceps persequetur vos larga retributio.” Petrus Tudebodus, 32.

<sup>574</sup> Peter Tudebode, 16.

<sup>575</sup> Compare Petrus Tudebodus 32 with *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), 1-2. Paris, BNF, MS lat. 5135A is likely from the Limousin, judging by the regional nature of the chronicle and the currently uncatalogued hymns attached to the end; Paris, BNF MS lat. 4892 clearly comes from either the abbey of St. Maixent or Maillezais, which not only contains a heavily modified copy of Peter Tudebode, but the chronicle of St. Maixent in the manuscript uses a separate, no longer extant copy of Peter Tudebode for its information about the First Crusade.

<sup>576</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, “Pope Urban II and the Idea of Crusade,” *Studi Medievali* 3rd seri 36, no. 2 (Spoleto, 1995): 725.

<sup>577</sup> Peter Tudebode, 16. Latin: “non dubitasset viam humiliter incipere Domini et Sancti Sepulchri, » Petrus Tudebodus, 32.

the other councils, or that he came into contact with one of the many churchmen who had been present.

Two other southern French chronicles record the council of Clermont, though they are both later than Tudebode. The chronicle of the monastery of Saint Peter of Le Puy, towards the end, has a lengthy passage concerning the First Crusade. It begins by discussing the council of Clermont, with Urban crossing the Alps and giving a sermon, saying “quibus voce lacrymabili ostendit de sepulchro Domini et miseris pauperum captivorum transmarinas partes inhabitantium: hoc omnes audientes, vexillum sancte Crucis in dextra scapula ponentes, Spiritus Sancti gratia inflammati, dixerunt se paratos esse pro Christo mori et vivere.”<sup>578</sup> The same focus on the Holy Land that we saw from Tudebode, with the sign of the Holy Cross—points that recall martyrdom and a concern with the pollution of the Holy Land—all come through very clearly in the chronicle. The chronicle of St Peter was probably written in the 1120s-1130s, so it is about contemporary with chronicles like William of Malmesbury.<sup>579</sup>

The other chronicle is that of Geoffrey of Vigeois, also from the Limousine/Poitevin region, and written in the middle-late twelfth century.<sup>580</sup> His chronicle, while later, is an invaluable resource, as it is one of the very few proper “chronicles” in southern France, considered the first since Adhemar of Chabannes. Geoffrey offers very little in regard to the actual sermon at Clermont, but his description of it is nonetheless interesting, as it subordinates the call to the crusade to one particular piece of business—the Marian devotionals.

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<sup>578</sup> *Chronique de St-Pierre du Puy*, in *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de St-Chaffre du Monastier et Chronique de St-Pierre du Puy*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier (Montbéliard : Imprimerie P. Hoffmann and Paris : Librairie Alphonse Picard, 1891), p. 163.

<sup>579</sup> *Chronique de St-Pierre du Puy*, p. 166.

<sup>580</sup> *Chronique de Geoffroy, Prieur de Vigeois*, tr. François Bonnêlve (Tulle : Imprimerie de Mme Veuve Detournelle), p. 3



In Geoffrey's version, the crusade call is given a single paragraph, which also describes the end of the council and the moving on of the papal entourage to Limoges. The Marian section, on the other hand, is almost twice as long. He writes:

Il y fut décidé qu'on dirait chaque jour les Heures de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie, et qu'on réciterait son office tous les samedis. De là, vint la coutume, dans certaines églises, de faire l'office de neuf leçons avec neuf répons et les autres choses nécessaires, si ce n'est en Carême, ou s'il y a une fête double ayant ses leçons ou ses répons, propres aux Vigiles de Pâques, de la Pentecôte, de la Toussaint, de la Nativité, de l'Épiphanie, et aux Vigiles des apôtres dans lesquelles le jeûne est ordonné, aux fêtes des Quatre-Temps, excepté celles de l'Avent, parce qu'on y lit, le mercredi : *missus est*, le vendredi : *insurgens maria*, et le samedi, parce que tout l'office est de la Vierge Marie. C'est pour cela que beaucoup de personnes font, pendant ces trois jours, l'office de la Vierge Marie avec six leçons et les homélies de la fête, le tout de la même Vierge Marie. D'autres font l'office de la fête ainsi que le nocturne, mais on peut faire comme on veut.<sup>581</sup>

Admittedly, given the lateness of the date and because it is from the region of Rocamadour during its hey-day, there is certainly a possibility of writing the present concerns into the past. It is not the only source for this Marian focus, though the other three are significantly later. In the *Vita* of St. Bruno, founder of the Carthusians, included in a sixteenth century manuscript by Laurentius Suerius, there is a recorded vision from Clermont that has Urban II "beatissimae Matris Dei preces Horarias a toto Clero dicendas instituit."<sup>582</sup> The other is from Vincent of Beauvais, which in a section on Clermont not taken directly from William of Malmesbury, relates that "Ex chronicis: Ibiq[ue] statutum est ut hore de beata Maria virgine dicantur, et eius

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<sup>581</sup> *Chronique de Geoffroy Prieur de Vigeois*, tr. François Bonnêlve (Tulle : Imprimerie de Mme. Veuve Detournelle, s.d.), 43. Labbe, *Novae Bibliothecae Manuscriptor Librorum, Rerum Aquitanicarum Collection, Tomus II* (Paris: 1657), p. 292-3. Latin text: "Hic Papa Claromonte in Aruernia Concilium celebrat mense Nouembris hoc anno sequenti, in quo statute est ut Horae B. Mariae quotidie dicantur, Officiumque eius diebus Sabbati fiat. Ex quo mos in quibusdam Ecclesiis inoleuit, facere nouem Lectiones cum nouem Responsoriis, & aliis necessariis, nisi in Quadragesima, vel nisi adsit festum duplex, vel quod habeat Lectiones & Responsoria propria, vel in Vigiliis Paschae, Pentecostes, omnium Sactorum, Natiuitatis, Epiphaniae, & Vigiliis Apostolorum habentium ieiunium, & feriis quatuor Temporum, exceptis in Aduentu Domini, quia in feria 4. Legitur, *Missus est*, & feria sexta, *Exargens Maria*, & Sabbato, quia Omnia sunt de Virgine Maria, & ideo plures faciunt illis tribus diebus de Virgine Maria sex Lectiones, & Homilias de feria, quod eiusdem B. Mariae est. Aliis faciunt Officium feriale cum Nocturno. Sed fac ut volueris."

<sup>582</sup> Robert Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II Volume I: Decreta Claromontensia* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1972), p. 127.

officium diebus Sabbatorum solemniter celebretur.”<sup>583</sup> Finally, a sixteenth-century manuscript from the Bibliothèque municipale of Lille, MS 69 contains a fragment concerning Clermont on f. 125r:

Incipit cursus beate Marie virginis iuxta statutum Urbani pape secundi editum in concilio iuxta Clarummontem celebrato: Ingressus angelus ad Mariam ait, Ave gratia plena Dominus tecum, Nativitas tua, Dei genitrix virgo, gaudium annunciavit universo mundo, ex te enim ortus est sol iustitie, Christus, Deus noster, qui solvens maledictionem dedit benedictionem et confundens mortem donavit nobis vitam sempiternam. Sentiant omnes tuum levamen, quicumque celebrant tuam commemorationem. Amen.<sup>584</sup>

All three of these passages, with their references of varying lengths to Marian devotional instructions at Clermont, importantly indicate that Urban II already had clear interests in the Marian cult. He had imposed a new preface at Piacenza, and these may have been part of a similar effort to impose new Marian devotional practices. The choice of Ademar of Le Puy as the papal legate for the First Crusade reinforces the importance of the Marian aspect of the crusading call, and the universality of Marian devotion blends nicely with the universalist message that Peter’s gloss contains. The mix of praising the Mother at home while departing to the land of the Son made for a potent liturgical and salvific combination, and, as mentioned above, one that resonated for centuries in Occitania.

Two other chronicles should be noted for the Biblical passages they cite in Urban II’s sermon, the chronicles of Guibert of Nogent and Baudri of Bourgueil. Guibert of Nogent’s account contains a strong apocalyptic streak, making one of the foundational points of the crusade the appearance of and the necessity of fighting the Antichrist.<sup>585</sup> Guibert’s text is rich in

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<sup>583</sup> Ibid.

<sup>584</sup> Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*, p. 129-130.

<sup>585</sup> Munro, 240. Jay Rubenstein, “How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit,” in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. Susan Ridyard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 57, points out that this is the only account of Clermont that sees the sermon as “an apocalyptic call to arms,” and Guibert himself admits that he cannot be trusted on this point, as he is just trying to give the flavor of the sermon.

Biblical allusions, with numerous borrowings from Second Thessalonians to support the Antichrist message. As Guibert writes:

For it is clear that the Antichrist makes war neither against Jews, nor against pagans, but, according to the etymology of his name, he will move against Christians. And if the Antichrist comes upon no Christian there, as today there is scarcely any, there will be no one to resist him, or any whom he might justly move among. According to Daniel and Jerome his interpreter, his tent will be fixed on the Mount of Olives, and he will certainly take his seat, as the Apostle teaches, in Jerusalem, ‘in the temple of God, as though he were God; and, according to the prophet, he will undoubtedly kill three kings preeminent for their faith in Christ, that is, the kings of Egypt, of Africa, and of Ethiopia. This cannot happen at all, unless Christianity is established where paganism now rules. Therefore if you are eager to carry out pious battles, and since you have accepted the seedbed of the knowledge of God from Jerusalem, then you may restore the grace that was borrowed there. Thus through you the name of Catholicism will be propagated, and it will defeat the perfidy of the Antichrist and of the Antichristians.’<sup>586</sup>

Guibert was not an eyewitness.<sup>587</sup> His account here is likely to be a reflection of what he believed to be the result of the First Crusade, rather than an attempt to recount the sermon in a factual manner.<sup>588</sup> He did, however, make it the core of his literary reconstruction, so much so that, as Rubenstein writes, he dedicated “almost half of the speech at Clermont to the problem of the Last Days and to how it might relate to the capture of Jerusalem.”<sup>589</sup> More importantly, perhaps, he seems to have understood the crusade through this eschatological lens. If we look

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<sup>586</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, tr. Robert Levine (Middlesex: Echo Library, 2008), 39. Latin: “Perspicuum namque est Antichristum non contra Iudeos, non contra gentiles bella facturum, sed iuxta ethimologiam sui nominis Christianos pervasurum, et si Antichristus ibidem christianum neminem, sicuti hodie vix aliquis habetur, inveniat, non erit qui sibi refragetur aut quem iure pervadat: iuxta enim Danielelem et Iheronimum Danielis interpretem fixurus est in Oliveti Monte tentoria, et Iherosolimis in dei templo tanquam sit deus certum est apostolo docente quod sedeat et iuxta eundem prophetam tres reges, Egypti videlicet, Affricae ac Ethiopiae, haud dubium quin pro christiana fide, primos interficiat. Quod quidem nullatenus fieri poterit, nisi ubi nunc paganismus est Christianitas fiat. Si ergo piorum preliorum exercitio studeatis, ut sicut ab Iherosolimis dei notitiae seminarium accepistis, ita illic mutuatae reddibitionem gratiae restituatis, ut per vos nomen catholicum propagetur quod Antichristi antichristianorumque perfidiae refragetur, quis non conicere potest quod deus, qui universorum spem exuberantia virtutis exuperat, per scintillam vestram tantae paganitatis arundineta consumat, ut Egyptum, Affricam Ethiopiamque, quae a nostrae credulitatis communiione desciscunt, intra huius rudimenta legis includat et homo peccator, filius perditionis, aliquos rebelles inveniat ? », Guiberti Abbatis Sanctae Mariae Novigenti, *Historia quae inscribitur Dei Gesta Per Francos*, in *Guibert de Nogent Dei Gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnholt : Brepols, 1996), 111-2.

<sup>587</sup> Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land*, 9.

<sup>588</sup> Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 27-8.

<sup>589</sup> Rubenstein, “How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit,” 62.

forward to the chronicle of Raymond d'Aguliers, the apocalyptic message of Guibert de Nogent seems to be absolutely present, infusing every step of a chronicle that is more sacred history and typology than chronicle.

Baudri of Bourgueil's account also focuses on the plight of the East. Baudri was an eyewitness to the Council, and participated actively in some of the business conducted there.<sup>590</sup> Not only was he an eyewitness, but in writing his chronicle, he seems to have asked Abbot Peter of Maillezais, a participant on the First Crusade and head of a Poitevin abbey, for corrections. This letter only exists in one manuscript collection, now in the Cathedral Archives in Burgo de Osma, but is referenced in another manuscript, now in Paris, that is originally from the Loire Valley. Whatever corrections Peter may have made to the chronicle would be difficult if not impossible to extrapolate, even with multiple recensions of Baudri's chronicle, but it does suggest at least an indirect southern French accent on the chronicle.<sup>591</sup>

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Baudri records Raymond of Saint-Gilles being the first lay noble to join Urban's venture. This moment, the arrival of the legates, is Baudri's chosen moment to claim eyewitness status. The sermon, on the other hand, is not necessarily claimed as being a word for word recounting, so much as a literary rendition of likely themes. Baudri writes that Urban linked the crusading venture to the Book of Exodus, with Urban's last

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<sup>590</sup> Gerald Bond, "'Iocus Amoris': The Poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil and the Formation of the Ovidian Subculture," *Traditio* 42 (1986): 147. Baudri's view of the reform papacy were mixed, and he encountered problems with Urban's legates and pro-reform figures in France in his own career, especially Ivo of Chartres; Baldric of Bourgueil, xxii-xxiii. See Susannah Brower, *Gender, Power, and Persona in the Poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil*, PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2011, 170-177 and Bond, 147, who posits negative to at best neutral feelings. For an alternative view, see Henri Pasquier, *Un poète latin du XIe siècle: Baudri abbé de Bourgueil, archevêque de Dol 1046-1130*, (Paris : Ernest Thorin and Angers : Lachèse et Dolbeau, 1878), who puts Baudri in the best possible light vis-à-vis the Gregorian Reform.

<sup>591</sup> Baldric of Bourgueil, Appendix I, p. 121-124.

line being “Nos extendemus cum Moyse manus indefessas, orantes in celum; uos exerite et uibrate intrepidi preliatores in Amalech gladium.”<sup>592</sup> Adhemar of Le Puy then enters the story:

Inter omnes autem in eodem concilio, nobis uidentibus, uir magni nominis et summe ingenuitatis episcopus Podiensis, nomine Aymarus, ad dominum papam uultu iocundus accessit, et genu flexo licentiam et benedictionem eundi poposcit et impetrauit; insuper et ab apostolico mandatum promeruit, ut omnes ei obedirent <et ipse>, pro officio suo in omnibus exercitui patrocinareretur; utpote quern omnes magne strenuitatis et singularis industrie presulem nouerant. Digno itaque exercitui Dei inuento primicerio prebuit assensum multitudo multa nobilium; et statim omnes in uestibus superamictis consuerunt sancte crucis uexillum. Sic etenim papa preceperat; et ituris hoc signum facere complacuerat.<sup>593</sup>

This account of Adhemar’s taking the cross takes a more spiritual approach to the ritual than the other accounts, with “Aymarus” coming up to the Pope voluntarily, genuflecting, and taking up the role of Urban’s servant and legate on this trip. The pope then makes the sign of the cross over him, and gives Adhemar the commission in front of the assembled audience. When Adhemar has finished, Raymond’s legates arrive, as described above. Urban’s response to these two events in turn set up the book of Exodus as an important part of the entire sermon:

‘Si quis est Dei, ’ iungatur ei, quoniam et opes suas indigentibus communicabit, et auxilium ’et consilium suum’ nemini uiantium denegabit. Ecce, Deo gratias, iam Christianis ituris duo ultronei processere duces, ecce sacerdotium et regnum, clericalis ordo et laicalis’ ad exercitum Dei conducendum concordant. ’ Episcopus et comes, Moysen et Aaron nobis reimaginantur.<sup>594</sup>

This last line, importantly, makes Adhemar and Raymond of Saint-Gilles the Moses and Aaron of the Crusade, leading the crusaders into the Promised Land. This passage is a direct reference to Exodus, putting both the bishop and the count in the position of official leaders of the Crusade. This is something that Raymond must have hoped for when he agreed to take part.<sup>595</sup>

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<sup>592</sup> Baldric of Bourgueil, p. 10.

<sup>593</sup> Ibid.

<sup>594</sup> Baldric of Bourgueil, p. 11.

<sup>595</sup> Adhemar’s role as leader is reinforced by Urban II’s letter to “all the faithful in Flanders,” sent in December 1095. The letter says explicitly, “We have constituted our most beloved son, Ademar, Bishop of Puy, leader of this expedition and undertaking in our stead.” Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 136.

The fact that the artistic scheme of the cathedral of Le Puy reflects the Adhemar-as-Moses motif lends the account a degree of legitimacy.<sup>596</sup> The frescoes of the south transept of the cathedral had scenes from the lives of Moses, Solomon and Christ that appeared nowhere else in Romanesque fresco cycles, the emphasis on Moses especially being unique.<sup>597</sup> The best explanation of this artistic scheme is the role of Adhemar as the new Moses of the First Crusade, with the rest of the fresco sequences echoing aspects from the chronicles of Raymond d'Aguilers and others.<sup>598</sup> These frescoes act as a physical dimension to the literary portrayals of Adhemar-as-Moses in Urban's sermon. From Clermont itself, the Provençal army was explicitly linked with the Israelites, with Adhemar and Raymond of Saint-Gilles fulfilling the leadership roles of a new Exodus. This sacred journey would reflect itself in Raymond d'Aguilers chronicle, which took the typological link between Old Testament and the First Crusade as a driving force.

### **The Great Itinerary: Urban's Councils and Synods of 1096**

From Clermont, where Urban stayed until December 2<sup>nd</sup>, he made a circuitous trek through the Auvergne, Limousin, Aquitaine, Toulousain, and back through Languedoc-Provence before heading back into Italy. For the various regions he traveled in, these briefer stops and smaller assemblies had a disproportionate impact on the number of local lords recruited for the First Crusade, with even the briefest appearances on purely local ecclesiastical matters leading to large numbers of knights, peasants and priests from Occitania heeding the call of Clermont. The power of seeing the Pope, God's vicar on Earth, arriving in a place and preaching the crusade

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<sup>596</sup> Anne Derbes, "A Crusading Fresco Cycle at the Cathedral of Le Puy," *The Art Bulletin* 73, No. 4 (Dec., 1991): 561-576, esp. 568-570 and 573-5.

<sup>597</sup> Derbes, 571-2.

<sup>598</sup> Derbes, 572-575.

must be born in mind, and as a result even small stops need to be considered within the context of the recruitment drive. In the Auvergne, Urban made three stops en route to his councils in the Limousin/Poitevin/Anjou areas: Sauxillanges,<sup>599</sup> Brioude,<sup>600</sup> and Saint-Flour.<sup>601</sup>

After Saint-Flour, Urban's path took him out of the Auvergne, moving through Aurillac before moving to Uzerches and the Limousin, councils that do not affect the general course of Raymond's preparations. Even the business in the Auvergne after the council is removed from the contingents who went on the First Crusade, dealing mostly with Cluniac business. It is when Urban and his entourage finished their tour in the regions of Limoges, Anjou, Poitiers, and Aquitaine that they entered the pivotal final stage of Urban's French itinerary, reentering the county of Toulouse in May 1096.<sup>602</sup>

The date of his first entry back into Raymond's territory is difficult to ascertain, but he was certainly at Moissac by May 13<sup>th</sup>. All signs indicate that Moissac was a church interested in Jerusalem's plight, as it preserves the only copy of what is apparently a papal encyclical, written by Sergius IV, calling for what has been called by some a "proto-crusade".<sup>603</sup> The encyclical

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<sup>599</sup> Church consecration : Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II en France et son importance au point de vue archéologique, » 46. Jaffe, p. 465. *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*, no. 472, p. 356-8. Pilgrimage benefits: *Monumenta Pontificia Arverniae* L, p. 86.

<sup>600</sup> Bull in favor of canons of Brioude: Becker, 441, *Monumenta Pontificia Arverniae* LI, p. 86. From Brioude, he issued bulls reinforcing links between Rome and Cluiny and Santiago de Compostella: Jaffe, 4193 and 4194, p. 465.

<sup>601</sup> Becker, 441-2; Jaffe, 4195-4196, p. 465; *Cartulaire de Saint-Flour*, 9-10, p. 37-8 ; *Monumenta Pontificia Arverniae* LII-LIV, p. 86-94. Charter issued there for Sauxillange : *Monumenta Pontificia Arverniae* LII, p. 86-7. Latin: "Igitur tam pro vestra speciali religione quam pro venerabilis fratris nostri Hugonis; Cluniacensis abbatis dilectione, ad cuius curam ex Cluniacensis coenobii jure locus vester pertinet, filii in Christo carissimi, precibus annuentes, monasterium vestrum praesentis decreti auctoritate munimus." Confirmation of rights of Saint-Flour and Marcigny: *Cartulaire de Saint-Flour*, X, p. 38 and *Monumenta Pontificia Arverniae* LIV, p. 94; *Monumenta Pontificia Arverniae* LIII, p. 93-4 . Confirmation of rights of Marcigny:

<sup>602</sup> Jaffe, 4226-4227, p. 468. See Becker, p. 450, for the difficulties in the dating scheme—my belief is that the May 13<sup>th</sup> document from Moissac records his first reentry into the region. There are conflicting dates as to where Urban was on May 7<sup>th</sup>, with both Leyrac and Toulouse recorded. Given the 117 kilometers between them, and the fact that Urban was coming from Aquitaine, the stop at Moissac makes the most sense.

<sup>603</sup> Jaffe, 4227, p. 468. Alexander Gieytor, "The Genesis of the Crusades. The Encyclical of Sergius IV," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1950): 21-31, argues that the Encyclical of Sergius IV, a proto-crusading text, was created at Moissac during Urban II's visit. This has recently come under contention, as some now believe it to be a genuine document—see the discussion before the translation in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. Edward Peters, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Press,

responds to the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Fatimid Caliph Hakim by calling for vengeance and the taking of Jerusalem. Along with this document, Moissac retained numerous other connections to Jerusalem, both before and after 1096. The hymns of Moissac in the eleventh century contain examples of a deep-seated reverence for the mystical vision of Jerusalem.<sup>604</sup> There was also a more contemporary connection to Urban's visit, as in 1088, Sergius, the legate of Patriarch Euphemius of Jerusalem, had given lands in France to Moissac, who were to pass on the rents of the lands entrusted to them to representatives of the patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>605</sup> While the surviving copy of the encyclical is a copy made by Baluze, if, as has recently been argued by Schaller, it is authentic, it suggests that Urban's visit to Moissac was a time to reaffirm the regions commitment crusading, through the powerful monastic, ecclesiastic and aristocratic networks connected to Moissac. From Moissac itself, he spent the rest of May and through the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June in Toulouse, where he conducted major business.<sup>606</sup> Toulouse as a

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1998), 298-9. See, for the most recent view, Philippe Buc, "La Vengeance de Dieu. De l'exégèse patristique à la réforme ecclésiastique et à la première croisade," in *La vengeance, 400-1200*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy, Francois Bougard et Régine Le Jan (Rome : École française de Rome, 2006), 465, agreeing with the H.-M. Schaller, *Zur Kreuzzugszyklika Papst Sergius IV*, in *Papstrum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1991), 135-153. I find their arguments persuasive, though it will likely remain a contested point. Colin Morris, "Memorials of the Holy Places and Blessings from the East: Devotion to Jerusalem before the Crusades," in *Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History: Papers Read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the 1999 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), 92, noted the general problem with both sides, saying "The authenticity of this letter has been a matter of constant debate among historians. I personally think that it is what it appears to be, and that as a forgery it would have had little purpose; but it is certainly true that it had no recorded consequences."

<sup>604</sup> *Hymnarius Moissiacensis, Das Hymnar der Abtei Moissac in 10. Jahrhundert*, ed. Guido Maria Dreves, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi II (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1888), Hymn 93, p. 73.

<sup>605</sup> Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, 183; Gieysztor, 25, who cites Paris, BNF, Coll. Doat 128, f. 216a-217b for the Latin text.

<sup>606</sup> Becker, 450-1; Jaffe, 4228, p. 468. This included confirming the possession of another abbey by Cluny: Jaffe, 4228, p. 468; dedicating the cathedral of Saint-Sernin on May 24th: The *Chronicon Sancti Saturnini Tolosae*, in *HGL V*, p. 49-50. Latin: "Anno MXCVI, indictione quarta, nono calendas junii, dominus papa Urbanus, una cum archiepiscopo Toletano Bernardo & Amato, Burdegalis archiepiscopo, Pisanoque archiepiscopo, & Galterio Albiensi, & Petro Pampilonensi episcopo, cum aliis decem consecravit ecclesiam Sancti Saturnini! martyris, Tolosae episcopi, & altarc in honorem ejusdem martyris gloriosissimi & sancti Asisecli martyris & omnium sanctorum, posuitque in eodem altari quam maximam partem capitis gloriosissimi Saturnini!, reliquiasque sancti Asisecli martyris aliorumque sanctorum & reliquias sancti Exuperii, confessoris, episcopi Tolosani. » Church business for Agen, St. Michael de Cuxa, and Moissac: Becker, 451.



city had been reformed by the Cluniac monks of Moissac, with active support of William IV of Toulouse and the bishops of Toulouse, Durand and Isarnus. If Moissac was a strong place for a Jerusalem connection, Toulouse was a strong place for Moissac's support to bolster Urban's message.<sup>607</sup>

From Toulouse, he went to Carcassonne, where he consecrated the churches of St. Nazianus and St. Mary, and then to St. Pons-de-Thomières, where he granted privileges to the church of Pamplona.<sup>608</sup> From St. Pons-de-Thomières, Urban II moved to Maguelonne, where he reentered territory that had long been controlled by Raymond of Saint-Gilles's. Urban stayed in Maguelonne from June 28<sup>th</sup> until July 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup>, a location favorable for a papal visit.<sup>609</sup> Jaffe records three papal bulls in Maguelonne, with another at Montpellier during this time period.<sup>610</sup> These mostly concern the affairs of Maguelonne itself, as well as the consecration of churches, but the attendees of these affairs, as well as the presence of William of Montpellier, who went on the crusade, makes them important.<sup>611</sup> The bishop of Maguelonne, Godefroy, as well as William of Montpellier, both went on the First Crusade with Raymond of Saint-Gilles.<sup>612</sup>

From Maguelonne, Urban II went to Nîmes, where he spent July 5<sup>th</sup> through 14<sup>th</sup> holding the last great council of his French itinerary, held before the assembled clerics and, according to Crozet, most likely in the presence of Raymond of Saint-Gilles.<sup>613</sup> The meeting had originally

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<sup>607</sup> Cowdrey, *Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, 113-118.

<sup>608</sup> Jaffe, 4229, p. 468. Becker, p. 451-2. Crozet, "Voyage d'Urbain II en France et son importance," 54 ; Crozet, "Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," 304-5.

<sup>609</sup> Becker, 452; see chapter 2 for the donation of the county of Maguelonne to the papacy in 1085.

<sup>610</sup> Jaffe, 468.

<sup>611</sup> Becker, 452. The entire island of Maguelonne was consecrated: Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," 305. The consecration text is problematic, but the attendee lists is likely correct. Latin: "congregato totius pene Magalonensis episcopatus clero, et populo sermone facto, assistentibus archiepiscopis Pisano et Tarraconensi, ac episcopis Albanensi, Signiensi, Nemausensi et Magalonensi, presentibus comité Substantionensi, Guillermo Montispezzulani domino, ac aliis terre nobilibus, totam insulam Magalone solemniterconsecravit,» *Bullaire de l'église de Maguelonne* 1, no. 8, p. 24-5 ; the discussion of p. 25 lays out the initial problems of the text of the document..

<sup>612</sup> Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," 305.

<sup>613</sup> Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II en France et son Importance," 55

been planned for Arles on the octave of the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, but it had been moved to the more securely pro-reform city of Nîmes.<sup>614</sup> This last great synod in France by Urban was an occasion of significant local/regional ecclesiastical business, as were Clermont and Tours, but was also another forum for the preaching of the Crusade and for dealing with the excommunication of Philip, king of France.<sup>615</sup> For the preaching of the crusade, we only have the most limited information; other chronicles have suggestions that Urban preached the crusade at the various regional councils, but only one chronicle explicitly links the call at Clermont to Nîmes.<sup>616</sup> Mansi's description of the council of Nîmes was based on flawed manuscripts, but Robert Somerville and Stephan Kuttner have managed to do the preliminary work of reconstructing genuine canons of the council.<sup>617</sup> The register of Lambert of Arras shows that he was present at the council and that business involving the bishopric of Thérouanne was conducted.<sup>618</sup> He also handled the long-standing dispute between Conques and Figeac, referred to in a letter from Saint-Gilles immediately after the council.<sup>619</sup> Ultimately, we can say very little beyond some of the conciliar *acta*, with Kuttner and Somerville finding only two authentic canons, and those being copied legislation from Clermont.<sup>620</sup> The copied legislation can be

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<sup>614</sup> Somerville, *Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza*, 121.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid., 22; *La Chronique de Saint-Maixent*, p. 154 ; *Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsessio Dyrrachio* in *RHC Occ.* V, p. 356 ; Latin : « Insequenti quo que anno, apud Nemausum aliud congregavit in mense julio concilium; » « Jubet etiam omnibus episcopis, ut unusquisque in sua diocesi praedicet, praeconetur, exoret haec. »

<sup>617</sup> Stephan Kuttner and Robert Somerville, "The So-Called Canons of Nîmes (1096)," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 38 (1970): 175-189. As Robert Somerville wrote in his *Pope Urban II's council of Piacenza*, a monograph could still be written on the council, as he has shown is possible for most of Urban's councils with their complex manuscript traditions.

<sup>618</sup> *Le Registre de Lambert d'Arras*, p. 376-9, and p. 416-7 ; Latin : « Reverendissimo domino et patri patrum, papae Urbano, Lambertus, sanctae Atrebatensis ecclesiae episcopus servus inutilis, debitam cum orationibus obedientiam. Dominus Gerardus, Morinensis episcopus, sperans apud sanctitatem vestram nos posse intercedere, ut pro eo vobis litteras nostras dirigemus exoravit. Nos vero, quid de cause ejus post Nemausense concilium definieritis ignorantes, sicut tunc ita et adhuc ut ei, secundum Deum, faciatis misericordiam, sanctitatem vestram ab eo rogati exoramus. Bene valete, reverendissime pater. », p. 376/378.

<sup>619</sup> Robert Somerville, "The French Councils of Pope Urban II: Some Basic Considerations," *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 2 (1970): 60. Jaffe, 4230, p. 469.

<sup>620</sup> Kuttner and Somerville, 179-180.

followed through a variety of manuscripts, but it also means that many of the canons from Piacenza on were being promulgated at Nîmes, including, according to the *Caesaraugustana*, an early twelfth century manuscript from southern France/northern Spain, the Marian preface.<sup>621</sup> Given that Urban II also consecrated a church of St. Mary while in Nîmes, he may have had an opportunity to use the new liturgy.<sup>622</sup>

From Nîmes, Urban II spent his remaining time in southern France in the heartland of the Bas-Rhône. He returned to Saint-Gilles, consecrating a new altar and celebrating the abbey's liberation from Raymond of Saint-Gilles' control, a power he surrendered at the council of Nîmes.<sup>623</sup> He used the visit to conduct extensive local business, as recorded by Jaffe.<sup>624</sup> Some of these were further developments from Nîmes, but they dealt with issues across Languedoc and northern Spain.<sup>625</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles was almost assuredly in the area with the Pope, and the time may also have been spent recruiting soldiers for the Provençal army. From Saint-Gilles, Urban II went to Villeneuve-les-Avignon, where he confirmed the privileges given to the church.<sup>626</sup> In the papal bull, he mentions Raymond by name and title, "Cornes nimirum Tholosanorum ac Ruthénsiüm et marchio Proventie Raimundus," and though the bull does not have witnesses attached it may be assumed that Raymond was there.<sup>627</sup> It is also important to note that this charter confirms Raymond's decision to go on the First Crusade, and his confirmation of this fact at the council of Nîmes.<sup>628</sup> After Saint-André, there were only a handful

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<sup>621</sup> Somerville, "The French Councils," 64.

<sup>622</sup> Jaffe, p. 468. *Chronique de Nîmes* in *HGL* V, p. 29 ; Latin : « MXCVI, consecrata est Nemausensis ecclesia ab Urbano -papa, & eodem anno in Claromontensi concilio facta est super Jérusalem expeditio. »

<sup>623</sup> Becker, p. 454. *Bullaire de Saint-Gilles*, XVII, p. 35-6 ; Crozet, "Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," 307.

<sup>624</sup> Jaffe, 4232-4236, p. 469.

<sup>625</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>626</sup> Crozet, "Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," 307.

<sup>627</sup> *Bullaire de Saint-Gilles*, p. 35.

<sup>628</sup> *Ibid.* Latin: "quam videlicet missionem apud Nemausense concilium jurans in mana nostra Odiloni abbati et ejus fratribus fecit, in Jherosolimitanam expeditionem iturus." Hill and Hill, 33.

of other stops. He was in both Avignon and Arles at the end of July, stopping in Cavaillon, Apt,<sup>629</sup> Forcalquier, and Gap before returning to Italy.<sup>630</sup>

Urban's itinerary made an impact on the areas of recruitment for the First Crusade, and on Raymond of Saint-Gilles, personally and politically. The councils of Clermont and Nîmes led to the recruitment of most of Raymond's army, as the largest number of named knights came from the Auvergne and the Bas-Rhône. The cathedrals, monasteries, and canons established throughout the region placed a vast number of institutions under papal control, taking a region that had, at best, been a lukewarm and opportunistic supporter of the Gregorian Reform and seeding it with enclaves of papal representation. Finally, despite the numerous factors making the nobility, and Raymond especially, susceptible to Urban's call, Raymond volunteered to go on this expedition because the Pope himself came to the region to ask him. It was the Pope's personal summons that led the leader of Occitania to join the First Crusade.

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<sup>629</sup> Becker, 454-455; Jaffe, p. 470; Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," 307 ; he consecrated the cathedral of Apt and the abbey of Saint-Eusebius, a priory of Saint-Gilles.

<sup>630</sup> Becker, 455; Jaffe, 4242-4243, p. 470; Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations," 307; see Bruce Lanier Venarde, « La Réforme à Apt (Xe-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles), Patrimoine, patronage et famille, » *Provence Historique* 152 (1988) : 131-147 for the role of Apt in the Gregorian Reform.

## Chapter 4: The Papal First Crusade: Raymond of Saint-Gilles, *Milites Sancti Petri*, and the Road to Saint Peter of Antioch

### The Departure of the First Crusade

By the time Urban had returned to Italy, the planned date of departure had already past. The feast of the Assumption, August 15<sup>th</sup>, was just over a month after the council of Nimes, and occurred while Urban was en route to Gap. Sometime shortly before departing, Raymond made a pilgrimage north to Le Puy. Some of his followers who had taken the cross likely accompanied him. There, he donated the church of *Segurii* to the cathedral of Le Puy, in what appears to be the final charter before his departure. Within the text, he mentions, “domni Urbani papae & omnium episcoporum & abbatum, qui Claromontensi concilie interfuerunt, » so it must be from after November 1095.<sup>631</sup> This charter, studied by J. Bousquet, is a perfect example of a crusading charter.<sup>632</sup> Raymond made his donation because of the crusade, “illi faciunt qui ad dominici Sepulchri liberationem vadunt,” and as a result it served as a final spiritual salvific act before his departure.<sup>633</sup> In the preface to the charter, Raymond says:

I Raymond of Saint-Gilles count of Toulouse and Rouergue, for the redemption of my sins and those of my parents, and for the honor and love of Saint Gilles, who I have often offended through all manner of injuries, and so that his feast with be celebrated annually in the church of Puy and the others under its control, and so that all of the canons will be able, through my generosity, to have a banquet on that day, as is only right for such a feast day of venerable association, and that a candle will burn continuously day and night, as long as I live, for me in front of the statue of the Venerable Mother of God on the altar, so that after my death the office of the dead will be sung every year, and that a daily prayer will be said for me living or dead.<sup>634</sup>

<sup>631</sup> *HGL* V, 395, p. 748.

<sup>632</sup> J. Bousquet, “La donation de Ségur par Raymond de Saint-Gilles, Comte de Toulouse à l’église du Puy-ev-Vely (1096), » *Annales du Midi* 74 (1962) : 65-70.

<sup>633</sup> *HGL* V, 395, p. 748.

<sup>634</sup> Bousquet, 67. Latin: “In nomine sanctae& individuae Trinitatis. Ego Raimundus de Sancto AEGidio tam

The donation itself, the few bits of territory, is less important than his purpose: the redemption of himself and his parents, with a deep-seated worry about prayers for his soul. This is the heart of what convinced him to go on Urban's crusade, contained within this preamble. It is for "the honor and love of Saint Gilles, whom I often offended with all sorts of injuries." Whatever these unnamed slights were, they seemed dangerous enough to his soul to require a donation specifically to fund an annual festival at the famed pilgrimage shrine of Le Puy.<sup>635</sup> The legacy of his childhood possession, the source of his enduring name, remained at the forefront of his spiritual malaise, and it is this link that allowed the reluctant reformer to be swayed into leaving behind his realm for the greatest of penances. The final aspect of this bequest, the candle in front of the *maiestas* status of the Virgin Mary, now the Black Madonna of the Cathedral of Le Puy, with offices sung for his soul every year after his death, connects Raymond to the greater Marian spirit of Urban's councils.<sup>636</sup>

While in the area of Le Puy, he also made his final pilgrimage to his new spiritual patron, Saint Robert of Turlande, at La Chaise-Dieu. While the distance between Le Puy and La Chaise-Dieu is relatively short, making the pilgrimage up through the thick wooded hills of the

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Tolosanorum quam Ruthenensiuni comes, pro redemptione delictorum nieorum & parentum meorum, ob honorem & amorem sancti AEGidii quem multis injuriarum modis fréquenter offendi, quatenus ejus festum in Aniciensi ecclesia & in caeteris illi subditis ecclesiis annuatim celebretur, & ut in omni canonicorum Podiensium conventu illo festivitatis die de meae largitionis servitio annuus victus, qui tantum festum tamque venerabilem conventum deceat, perenniter exhibeatur, & ut candela dum vixero incessanter die ac nocte pro me ante Dei genitricis venerandam imaginem super altare ardeat, & ut post mortem meam defunctorum officium in eadem & in caeteris illi subditis ecclesiis annuatim mihi decantetur, & ut indesinenter quotidiana oratio pro me vivente seu mortuo ibidem dicatur." *HGL V*, 395, p. 747.

<sup>635</sup> Ibid. Latin: "ob honorem & amorem sancti AEGidii quem multis injuriarum modis fréquenter offendi, quatenus ejus festum in Aniciensi ecclesia & in caeteris illi subditis ecclesiis annuatim celebretur."

<sup>636</sup> Ibid. Latin: "& ut candela dum vixero incessanter die ac nocte pro me ante Dei genitricis venerandam imaginem super altare ardeat, & ut post mortem meam defunctorum officium in eadem & in caeteris illi subditis ecclesiis annuatim mihi decantetur." This is the first documentary attestation of the statue itself; see Joseph Breck, "A Souvenir of the Black Virgin of Le Puy," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1, no. 2 (May 1929): 156. For greater details on the statue, see Paul Olivier, *L'Ancienne Statue romane de Notre-Dame du Puy, Vierge noire miraculeuse. Essai d'iconographie critique* (Le Puy-en-Velay, 1921).

Livradois, just before departing on the First Crusade, would have given Raymond a taste of the wilderness that waited. Recorded in the hagiography of Saint Robert, the connection between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and La Chaise-Dieu, discussed in chapter 2, remained an important event in the memory of the Casadeen congregation. The *Tripartite Life of Robert, Abbot of La Chaise-Dieu*, written by Bernard of La Chaise-Dieu in 1160, records that:

It pleased Divine Providence to liberate His holy city, Jerusalem, which was oppressed by the wicked yoke of the pagans. He stirred up the hearts of some Christian princes to go in arms to the Lord's sepulcher to restore its former freedom. Among them was Raymond, count of St.-Gilles, about whom we are speaking. When he gave himself most zealously to this endeavor and took up the cross, he had a cup of blessed Robert. He took with him Arbert, the prior of Privezac, a monastery of La Chaise-Dieu.<sup>637</sup>

This last act before leaving, making a pilgrimage to La Chaise-Dieu to get a token from Saint Robert, shows the spiritual preparation of Raymond before departing on his armed pilgrimage.<sup>638</sup>

Raymond's army contained a vast number of soldiers from across Occitania, but the represented regions were deeply uneven. From the Bas-Rhône, Languedoc and Provence, a number of the most important lords followed Raymond on Crusade.<sup>639</sup> This group, more than

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<sup>637</sup> Bernard of La Chaise-Dieu, *The Tripartite Life of Robert, Abbot of La-Chaise Dieu*, in *Robert of La Chaise-Dieu & Stephen of Obazine*, intro. and tr. Hugh Feiss, Maureen M. O'Brien and Ronald Pepin, The Lives of Monastic Reformers 1 (Collegesville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2010), 63-70 for the introduction to Bernard's chronicle, text on 88. Latin: "Dispensatori exinde superno placuit urbem suam sanctam Jerosolymam, quae dudum a nefandissimo paganorum jugo premebatur, liberare, & corda nonnullorum procerum Christianorum excitavit, ut sepulcrum Dominicum armis adirent, & pristinae libertati restituerent. Inter quos Raymundus Comes sancti Aegidii iste de quo loquimur, cum ad hoc negotium ardentius insisteret, facta cruce, scyphum beati Roberti habuit, & Privazacensem priorem ejusdam loci Casae-Dei, Arbertum nomine, secum duxit." *AA SS ORB* 6, part 2: 223.

<sup>638</sup> Maureen M. O'Brien, *Far From the Heart: The Social, Political, and Ecclesiastical Milieu of the Early Abbots of La Chaise-Dieu, 1052-1184*, PhD Thesis, Western Michigan University, 2006, p. 135-6; Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV of Toulouse*, 19.

<sup>639</sup> This list compiled from Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (1997), Appendix I; Hill and Hill, 35-6; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The motives of the earliest crusaders and the settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095-1100," *English Historical Review* 389 (Oct. 1983): 728-9; Jean-Pierre Poly, *La Provence et la Société Féodale 879-1166: Contribution à l'étude des structures dites féodales dans le Midi* (Paris: Bordas, 1976), 266-8.: William of Sabran, William V of Montpellier, Isoard, count of Die, Raimbaud of Orange, Raymond Pilet of Ales, Peter of Roaix, William, bishop of Orange (and papal legate), Bernard of Valence, Aufan Agoult, bishop of Apt, Beranger of Narbonne, Beranger Peter of Gignac, Bernard Raymond of Béziers, Fulk and Bertrand of Marseille, Pons of Fos, Jauffre and Guigue of Signes, Isoard of Mison, Raimbaud d'Agoult, Piere d'Aups, Guigue of Romoules, Fulk d'Aubagne, Jauffre d'Auriol, Jauffre de Pennes, Gausserand of Vitrolles, Raimon of Brignolles, Godfrey, bishop of Maguebonne, and Fulk of Grasse, among numerous others.

any other, was from the heart of Raymond's power base, and as Jean-Pierre Poly has shown, these groups were not only people associated closely with Raymond, but people in a similar spiritual state—those who had defied the Gregorian Reform, who had plundered monasteries, who had penance to perform.<sup>640</sup> A large contingent from the Auvergne left as part of the entourage of Adhemar of Le Puy. Its number included Raymond d'Aguilers, discussed in chapter 2. Another smaller contingent joined the army from the Limousin and Poitevin regions. It included Raymond, viscount of Turenne, the famous Gouffier of Lastours, the future chronicler Peter Tudebode, and, we can imagine, the vernacular chronicler Gregory Bechada.<sup>641</sup> The smallest contingent, but a fascinating one, came from the Pyrenees, on both sides, with Gaston IV of Béarn, William Jordan, Count of Cerdagne, and Ermengald of Roussillon, bishop of Elne, and others. Accompanying this group may have been the anonymous author of the Jerusalem account, now incorporated in a manuscript from the monastery of Ripoll.<sup>642</sup> The Ripoll account combines a modified version of Raymond d'Aguilers chronicle, now only in fragmentary form, with an anonymous account of the capture of Jerusalem from the viewpoint of someone in the

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<sup>640</sup> Poly, 267-8.

<sup>641</sup> Gregory Bechada's lost Occitan chronicle of the First Crusade may have provided the basis of the Occitan translation/modification of the *Chanson d'Antioche*, the *Canso d'Antiocha*. See *The Canso d'Antiocha: An Occitan Epic Chronicle of the First Crusade*, ed. and tr. Carol Sweetenham and Linda M. Paterson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 5-17. For Gouffier, see Nicholas Paul, "The Knight, the Hermit, and the Pope: Some Problematic Narratives of Early Crusading Piety" (paper presented at the Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Conference, Villanova, Pennsylvania, October 2007), accessed August 26, 2014, [https://www.academia.edu/7949661/The\\_Knight\\_the\\_Hermit\\_and\\_the\\_Pope\\_Some\\_Problematic\\_Narratives\\_of\\_Early\\_Crusading\\_Piety](https://www.academia.edu/7949661/The_Knight_the_Hermit_and_the_Pope_Some_Problematic_Narratives_of_Early_Crusading_Piety).

<sup>642</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (1997), Appendix I. The Ripoll manuscript is Paris, BNF, MS lat. 5132, a later manuscript but preserving, in the midst of a fragment of Raymond d'Aguilers, a unique Provençal eyewitness account of the capture of Jerusalem. See John France, "The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem in the Ripoll Manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale (Latin) 5132," *The English Historical Review* vol. 103, no. 408 (July 1988): 640-657 and idem., "An Unknown Account of the Capture of Jerusalem," *The English Historical Review* vol. 87, no. 345 (October 1972): 771-783. The account is discussed in brief in Connor Kostick, *The Siege of Jerusalem: Crusade and Conquest in 1099* (London and New York: Continuum, 2009), 109 and Barbara Packard, "Remembering the First Crusade: Latin Narrative Histories 1099-c. 1300," PhD Diss., Royal Holloway-University of London, 2011, p. 68.



Provençal encampment to the south of the city.<sup>643</sup> In addition to the large number of knights who flocked to Raymond and Adhemar from the areas where Urban II preached, a vast following of the poor came along with them.<sup>644</sup> The poor, the unarmed, the women, the clergy, the vast groupings of the unarmed pilgrims, attached themselves to the Provençal army, whether because of Raymond or Adhemar or both this group would play a very important role in the shaping of the Provençal crusade experience.<sup>645</sup> Moreover, many of these contingents included a historical writer. These writers collectively had a particular perspective, shaped to a degree by their interactions with the poor pilgrims who followed the Provençal army, something particularly true of Raymond d'Aguilers.

### **A Gregorian Mission: The Crusade Itinerary through Dalmatia**

This composite army, led by the new Aaron and Moses, Adhemar and Raymond, left from Le Puy later than anticipated, probably at the end of September or early October.<sup>646</sup> While only a limited number of routes exist between Le Puy and the account of Raymond's course in Dalmatia, there is no documentary evidence for where the army actually passed. Most modern accounts have the army passing through northern Italy, and this seems to be correct, but any actual stops along the way are, at best, conjectural.<sup>647</sup>

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<sup>643</sup> Paris, BNF lat. 5132 begins with Tancred's expedition towards Jerusalem, but is somewhat abbreviated from the other manuscripts; given that it begins only shortly before the Jerusalem narrative, and that the first page is in terrible shape and is clearly not the original beginning, one can bemoan the loss of the majority of the modified Raymond chronicle, which may have contained more original material.

<sup>644</sup> Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 74.

<sup>645</sup> See Walter Porges, "The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-combatants on the First Crusade," *Speculum* 21, No. 1 (Jan. 1946): 1-23.

<sup>646</sup> Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 75.

<sup>647</sup> Genoa, in particular, seems to have played an important role in Urban's planning. He had sent two bishops to the city to preach the Crusade, William of Orange and Hugh of Grenoble, two men whom Urban had had dealings with

Raymond d'Aguilers, whose chronicle begins with the entry into Dalmatia, found travelling through the Balkans a less than pleasant experience. Recording the passage of Raymond of Saint-Gilles' crusading army there in 1096, Raymond d'Aguilers writes:

Following its departure, the army entered Sclavonia and underwent many privations during the winter season. Truly, Sclavonia is a forsaken land, both inaccessible and mountainous, where for three weeks we saw neither wild beasts nor birds. The barbarous and ignorant natives would neither trade with us nor provide guides, but fled from their villages and strongholds and, as though they had been badly injured by our infirm stragglers, slew these poor souls—the debilitated, the old women and men, the poor, and the sick—as if they were slaughtering cattle. Because of the familiarity of the Slavs with the countryside, it was difficult for our heavily armed knights to give chase to these unarmed robbers through the midst of rugged mountains and very dense forests. Yet our army endured these marauders because our soldiers could neither fight them in the open nor avoid skirmishes with them.<sup>648</sup>

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during his French itinerary. See Caffaro, *De Liberatione Civitatum Orientis*, in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro*, 101-2. We have almost no information about Genoa and the preaching of the First Crusade; Caffaro's story, used above, remains apocryphal, and his involvement in the crusades began later. With an approximate birth date of around 1080, Caffaro would have been sixteen when the crusade passed through, but he leaves only a small later record of William of Orange and the preaching campaign; Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 28. Contemporary monastic records similarly leave a large lacuna; the cartulary of the monastery of San Siro of Genoa, which was connected with Caffaro's family, jumps from 1089 to 1099, without any charters in between; *Le carte del monastero di San Siro di Genova (952-1224)*, ed. Marta Calleri, *Fonti Per la Storia della Liguria V, Vol. 1* (Genova: Regione Liguria—Assessorato alla Cultura Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1997), 106-8 (charter 65, 1089, settembre) and 108-9 (charter 66, 1099, settembre, Genova). *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, ed. Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, *Fonti Per la Storia della Liguria, Vol. 1* (Roma: Dall' Instituto Storico Italiano, 1890), LXXV, for the Caffaro-S. Siro connection, and *Le carte del monastero di San Siro 122-3* (charter 73, 1111, febbraio), which is a charter of Caffaro himself. A priory of Saint Victor of Marseilles was founded in the city in the 1090s, but it also leaves no trace of crusading activities; P.-A. Amargier, "Le prieuré Génois de Saint Victor de Marseille au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Provence Historique* 14 (1964): 137; *Cartulaire de Saint-Victor*, no. 840, II: 209. This is a shame, because Caffaro's small description of the preaching has them making the call to the Holy Sepulcher from San Siro itself; Caffaro, *De Liberatione Civitatum Orientis*, 101-2. Elena Bellomo, "Tra Bizantini e Normanni. I Genovesi in oltremare agli esordi del XII secolo," in *Miscellanea in memoriadi Giorgio Costamagna*, ed. D. Puncuh, *Atti della Società Ligure di storia Patria* 43 (2003): 1:144-5; Christopher Marshall, "The crusading motivation of the Italian city republics in the Latin East, 1096-1104," in *The Experience of Crusading Volume One: Western Approaches*, eds. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 65-7; F. Cardini, "Profilo d'un crociato, Guglielmo Embriaco," *Archivio storico italiano* 136 (1978): 419-20. The surviving register of the archdiocese of Genoa suffers a similar problem, leaving charters for 1094 and 1095, but not mentioning the pope or his councils, and the entries for 1096 and 1097 deal solely with internal affairs in the city of Genoa; *Cartario Genovese ed Illustrazione del Registro Archivescovile*, ed. Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria Vol. II-Part I* (Genova: Tip. Del R.I. De' Sordo-Muti, 1870), 195-200. Despite this lack of attention by the monasteries and the archdiocese, Genoa was clearly part of the papal plan for the East, as the legates show.

<sup>648</sup> The Latin is: "Illi igitur Sclavoniam ingressi, multa dispendia itineris passi sunt, maxime propter hiemem que tunc erat. Sclavonia etenim est tellus deserta et invia, et montuosa, ubi nec fera, nec volucres per tres ebdomadas vidimus. Incole regionis adeo agrestes et rudes sunt, ut nec commertium nobis nec ducatum prebere voluerint sed fugientes de vici, et de castellis suis, debilis anus et pauperres infirmos, qui a long pre infirmitate sua sequebantur exercitum nostrum, ac si multum nocuissent ut peccora trucidabant nec facile nostris militibus armatis erat, latrones inermes, locorum scientes per abruta montium et condense silvarum persequi sed assidue eos sustinebant nec

Given how little Raymond d’Aguilers actually writes about the passage of the Provençal army through the Balkans, the portrayal is damning. The land is “forsaken,” the inhabitants are “barbarous and ignorant,” and, as the army passed through these regions, the Slavs attacked and murdered stragglers, though those particular attackers are described as “robbers” and “marauders” rather than as Croatian troops.<sup>649</sup> The narrative is also explicitly Biblical. Like the Israelites of Exodus, who spent forty years in the wilderness, or like Christ, who fasted for forty days in the desert, the Provençal army struggled for forty days in the wilds of the Balkans.<sup>650</sup> The only other eyewitness account to recount the voyage through Sclavonia is the revised version of the *Gesta Francorum* written by Peter Tudebode. His story, in this part, seems to be a summarized version of Raymond’s description, saying that “in passing through Sclavonia, a land in which he [Raymond of Saint-Gilles] should have had no difficulty, actually lost many noble knights and suffered much for the name of Christ and the way to the Holy Sepulchre.”<sup>651</sup>

Despite raids against the poor, unarmed pilgrims, Raymond of Saint-Gilles felt comfortable scouting along the route personally with small groups of soldiers—he is described, in one encounter, as being “hedged in by the Slavs,” and in order to escape the conflict Raymond

rushed and captured some six of them. The Count, now sorely pressed by their menacing comrades, realized that he must break through to his army and so gave a command to snatch out the eyes of some of his captives, to cut off the feet of others, and to mangle the nose and hands of yet others and abandon them. Thus, he and his comrades fled to safety

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pugnare valentes, nec sine pugna esse poterant. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Le ‘Liber’ de Raymond d’Aguilers*, ed. and tr. John Hugh and Laurita L. Hill, introduction and notes Philippe Wolff (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1969), 36. For the English, I will be using throughout Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, tr. with intro. and notes by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968), 16.

<sup>649</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 16; Raymond, *Liber*, 36.

<sup>650</sup> Exodus 16:35, “Filiis autem Israel comederunt man quadraginta annis donec venirent in terram habitabilem. Hoc cibo aliti sunt usquequo tangerent fines terrae Chanaan.”

<sup>651</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, tr. with intro. and notes John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1974), 27; Latin: “...exiens de Sclavania, in qua multa pro Christi nomine et Sancti Sepulchri via fuit passus, que minime pati deberet, in quo et plures honestissimos perdidit milites, » Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris : Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1977), 43.

while the enemy was horror-stricken by the gruesome sight of their mutilated friends and paralyzed by grief.<sup>652</sup>

This is the most gruesome action reported concerning Raymond's passage through the Balkans, and it occurs in a defensive setting. Despite the small scale (six men) and the context (an attack on Raymond by bandits), the incident has become infamous—in Krešimir Kužić's brief chapter on the First Crusade in Croatia, he says that "Raimond IV of Saint-Gilles punished the captured Croats mercilessly — gouging their eyes out and cutting off their arms and legs — and he certainly caused the first crusading army to remain a bad memory, and because of these issues the following crusades did not dare to pass through the mountains of Croatia."<sup>653</sup> This seems rather to have been an instance of punishment of criminals, guaranteeing a deterrent against future bandit attacks. Indeed, this was the only skirmish the Provençals had that Raymond d'Aguilers felt worthy of record until they entered Byzantine territory.

One gets the sense from Raymond d'Aguilers' description that he remained in camp throughout the voyage in Slavonia rather than personally witnessing the skirmishes. He writes that "Actually, we find it difficult to report the bravery and judgment displayed by Raymond in Slavonia," probably because he was not yet the Count's official chaplain.<sup>654</sup> As Annetta Lieva and Mitko Delev have pointed out, "[Raymond d'Aguilers'] opening section has been annotated in detail, so there is no need here to stress again the combination of classical Latin phrases with liturgical, Old Testament and patristic references that confer a foggy mysticism upon these

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<sup>652</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 16-17; Latin: "... atque ex eis usque ad sex cepit. Cumque propter hoc Sclavi vehementius inminerent, et comes/ sequi exercitum compelleretur erui oculos aliorum et aliorum pedes abscidi iussit et nasum et manus aliorum truncari precepit, ut taliter aliis deterritis et doloris cognitione occupatis secure comes effugere cum sociis suis posset. » Raymond, *Liber*, 36-7.

<sup>653</sup> Krešimir Kužić, *Hrvati i križari* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2003), 24-27; my thanks to Emir Filipovic for translating this chapter for me.

<sup>654</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 17; Latin: "Quanta vero ibi fortitudine et consilio comes ibi claruerit, non facile referendum est." Raymond, *Liber*, 37. My guess is that he becomes Raymond's chaplain sometime close to the siege of Antioch.

lines.”<sup>655</sup> The foggy mysticism in this case refers to actual fog: “For almost forty days we journeyed in this land at times encountering such clouds of fog we could almost touch these vapors and shove them in front of us with our bodies.”<sup>656</sup> The lack of concrete information on Raymond’s part may explain why this section of the text is so rich with literary allusions—Saint Ambrose, the Psalms, Cicero, Julius Caesar, the Gospels, and 2 Maccabees.<sup>657</sup> What small concrete details he does recount are exploits of the Count, like the mutilation during the battle mentioned above, or that “the Count always protected his people by fighting in the rearguard,” by being the last one to reach his quarters and by only returning to his tent at vespers or *Gallicantu*.<sup>658</sup> It is possible that Raymond d’Aguilers had not, by this point, decided to write a history of the expedition, so that this section is relying on the memories of day-to-day marching, drudgery, and suffering; if so, the misery of the crusaders experience seems to have stuck with him, and these few dramatic episodes may reflect the only actual military encounters during the march.

Despite these stories that indicate hardship, privation and battle, Raymond writes that:

We passed through Slavonia without losses from starvation or open conflict largely through God’s mercy, the hard work of the Count, and the counsel of Adhemar. This successful crossing of the barbarous lands leads us to believe that God wished His host of warriors to cross through Slavonia in order that brutish, pagan men, by learning of the strength and long suffering of His soldiers, would at some time recover from this savageness or as unabsolved sinners be led to God’s doom.<sup>659</sup>

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<sup>655</sup> Annetta Lieva and Mitko Delev, “Slavonia and Beyond: The Gate to a Different World in the Perception of Crusades (c. 1104-c. 1208),” in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: the Crusades and Crusader societies, 1095-1500: selected proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 10-13 July 1995*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Brepols: Turnhout, 1998), 166.

<sup>656</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 17; Latin: “Quadragesima etenim fere dies in Slavonia fuimus in quibus tantam spissitudinem nebularam passi sumus, ut palpare et per motum removere, eas a nobis aliquatenus possemus.” Raymond, *Liber*, 37.

<sup>657</sup> See the footnotes in both versions of Raymond, Book 1, for the exact location of these quotations. P.

ALphandery, “Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade, » *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 99 (1929) : 142, among other pages, says that Raymond utilizes the Psalms more than any other crusade historian.

<sup>658</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 17; Latin: “Inter hec comes assidue in postremis pugnans, semper populum defendens erat, numquam prior sed semper ultimus, hospitabatur, et licet alii meridie, alii vespere comes frequenter media nocte vel galli cantu ad ospicium veniebat.”

<sup>659</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 17; Latin: “Tandem per Dei misericordiam, et comitis laborem, et episcopi consilium, sic exercitus transivit ut nullum fame, nullum in aperta congressione ibi perderemus. Ob illiam reor causam voluit Deus

Lieva and Delev have pointed out the connection of paganism to Sclavonia.<sup>660</sup> This particular description carries through to the first contact that the Provençal army made in the Balkans with a ruler, when Constantine Bodin is referred to by Raymond d'Aguilers as the "king of the Slavs."<sup>661</sup> Bodin, ruler of the principality of Duklja since 1081-2, had been an ally of the reform papacy in return for the elevation of the see of Bar to the status of archbishopric, and could be considered receptive to forces under a papal legate.<sup>662</sup> The connection to paganism clearly does not hold up in light of the activity of the Reform Papacy, but reinforces the comparison between the crusading forces and the Israelites in Exodus, encountering the pagan Canaanites.

Peter Frankopan, in his 2012 *The Call from the East* and in other articles, argues that Raymond of Saint-Gilles' route was based on an agreement between Urban and Alexius, and on the old concept that the First Crusade was about defending the Byzantine Empire rather than focusing on Jerusalem.<sup>663</sup> To help make this case, he argues for the legitimacy of the well-known letter from Alexius to Robert of Flanders based on a similar appeal found in the Croatian version of the *Letopis Popa Dukljanina*.<sup>664</sup> In the *Letopis Popa Dukljanina*, sometime between

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exercitum suum transire per Sclavoniam, ut agrestes homines qui Deum ignorabant, cognita virtute et pacientia militum eius, aut aliquando a feritate respiscant, aut inexcusabiles Dei iudicio adducantur." Raymond, *Liber*, 37.

<sup>660</sup> Lieva and Delev, 166-7.

<sup>661</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 18; Latin: "regem Sclavorum." Raymond, *Liber*, 37.

<sup>662</sup> John Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1983), 220-3.

<sup>663</sup> Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press at Harvard UP, 2012), 6-7; idem. "Expeditions Against the Serbs in the 1090s: The *Alexiad* and Byzantium's North-West Frontier on the Eve of the First Crusade," *Bulgaria Medievalis* 3 (2012), 385-97 and *ibid.*, "Co-operation between Constantinople and Rome." The relationship between Urban and Alexius is a well explored field. See, for example, H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Gregorian Papacy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13 (1988): 145-69; John Hugh Hill, "Raymond of Saint Gilles in Urban's Plan of Greek and Latin Friendship," *Speculum* 26, No. 2 (Apr. 1951): 265-76; Paul Magdalino, *The Byzantine Background of the First Crusade* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Balkan Studies, 1996); Jonathan Shepard, "Aspects of Byzantine attitudes and policy toward the west in the tenth and eleventh century," *Byzantinische forschungen* 13 (1988): 67-118; idem., "Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade," in *The first crusade: origins and impacts*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002), 107-29; Walther Holtzmann, "Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexius I und Papst Urban im Jahre 1089," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (1928): 38-67.

<sup>664</sup> Frankopan, "Co-operation," 5. *Letopis popa Dukljanina*, ed. Ferdo Siscic (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1928), 413-416

1087 and 1089, emissaries from both the pope and Alexius Comnenus arrived at the court of King Zvonimir of Croatia bearing letters.<sup>665</sup> The text, if it can be believed, states that the emissaries were essentially calling for a crusade to Jerusalem; the plan backfired, and Zvonimir was murdered by his own knights as a result.<sup>666</sup> Frankopan argues that the true goal was to recruit soldiers to help fight the Petchenegs, but he does use the First Crusade to argue for the authenticity of the *Letopis Popa Dukljanina* account. He writes, “It is worth noting that Raymond of Toulouse passed through Croatia and Dalmatia on his way to Constantinople and the East. Given Raymond’s position on the crusade, it is tempting to think that he had been asked to pass this way by the pope or by the emperor, or by both, perhaps in order to gather more knights from this region—particularly if help had been forthcoming in the past.”<sup>667</sup>

Frankopan emphasizes the importance of Raymond to Urban II’s plans, not only because of his connection to Gregory VII but because of his status as a major lord from outside of Henry IV’s lands.<sup>668</sup> He offers a concrete reason for Raymond’s route, after pointing out that “So difficult was the journey that Raymond’s chaplain only made sense of the travails by concluding that God was using the strength and suffering of the Crusaders to inspire ‘brutish pagan men’ to turn from their sinfulness and thus be spared from doom.”<sup>669</sup> He puts the Dalmatian march into a Byzantine context, concluding that the goal of Raymond’s march was “to bring to heel Constantine Bodin, the Serbian ruler whose attacks on Byzantium on the eve of the Crusade had

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<sup>665</sup> Ibid.; Latin: “Contigit enim, ut Roma, caesaris pontificisque legati ad Zvonimerum regem missi cum binis litteris venirent,” 12. The dates for the entry, between 1087 and 1089, are based on the charter mentions with the names of Zvonimir and his successor, Stephan. *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Slavoniae et Dalmatiae*, ed. Ivan Kukuljevic Sakcinski, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Stamparija Dragutina Albrechta, 1874), 180-1, charters 217 and 220; charter 217 is from St. Mary of Zadar, in *Zadarski Kartular Samostana Svete Marije*, ed. Victor Novak (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1959), no. 9, p. 248

<sup>666</sup> Frankopan, “Co-operation,” 6.

<sup>667</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>668</sup> Frankopan, *Call from the East*, 102-3.

<sup>669</sup> Ibid., 116.

done much to increase pressure on the emperor and whose contacts with the antipope had aggravated Urban.”<sup>670</sup> For Frankopan, this is an example of the careful planning and cooperation between Urban and Alexius. I would argue instead that travelling on the road through Dalmatia was part of the politics of the Gregorian Reform. The links between Croatia, both Zvonimir’s and Bodin’s kingdoms, and the Gregorian reform served as a motivation for Raymond’s march. Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and the papal legate Adhemar of Le Puy, marched through Croatia to reinforce the links between Urban II and two troubled, pro-Gregorian countries, as well as to gather intelligence on the Byzantine Empire.<sup>671</sup>

Croatia in the eleventh century presented an especially rich target for the Reform Papacy, with its close links to Italy but its independence from the Holy Roman Empire. Two ecclesiastical figures, whose tenures spanned the period from the start of the Gregorian reform to the end of the First Crusade, especially illustrate these connections. The Archbishop Lawrence of Split, a native Dalmatian who reigned from the end of 1059/beginning of 1060 until around 1099, was elected at a synod presided over by the papal legate Maynard and was a friend and advisor to King Zvonimir.<sup>672</sup> At around the same time, an Italian named Giovanni Ursini was

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<sup>670</sup> Ibid.

<sup>671</sup> I have expanded on this concept in the article “«*Sclavonia etenim est tellus deserta et invia, et montuosa*: Reassessing the Provençal Route through the Balkans on the First Crusade,” in *Proceedings of “The Fairest Meadows in the World”: Crusades and Crusaders in the Balkans*, forthcoming.

<sup>672</sup> For Lawrence’s election, see Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, ed. and tr. Damir Karbić and Mirjana Matijević-Sokol (New York: Central European University Press, 2006), p. 72-5. See Sanjek, “Church and Christianity,” 227. *The Cartulary of the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter of Gumanj (Croatia) 1080-1187*, ed. Edo Pivčević, tr. S.J. Tester (Bristol: David Arthur & Sons Publishers, 1984), p. 41, 75, 85, 95, 97, 99; *Zadarski Kartular*, p. 243-4, 248-9, 253-6. According to Thomas of Split, p. 90-1, he occupied the archbishopric for 40 years, thus dying around 1099. Lawrence is mentioned throughout the early parts of the cartularies of St. Peter of Gumanj and St. Mary of Zadar, Benedictine abbeys founded during the reform period, witnessing many of Zvonimir’s acts and reporting the coronation of Zvonimir’s short-lived successor Stephan II: *The Cartulary of the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter of Gumanj (Croatia) 1080-1187*, ed. Edo Pivčević, tr. S.J. Tester (Bristol: David Arthur & Sons Publishers, 1984), p. 41, 75, 85, 95, 97, 99; *Zadarski Kartular*, p. 243-4, 248-9, 253-6. According to Thomas of Split, p. 90-1, he occupied the archbishopric for 40 years, thus dying around 1099. See the *Documenta Historiae Chroaticae Periodum Antiquam Illustrantia*, Vol. 7, ed. Fr. Racki (Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium, 1877), p. 147, no. 123 for the coronation of Stephan II. He also commissioned Adam of Paris, a scholar heading to Athens for study that stopped in Split en route, to write a “more elegant and polished version of the passions of the blessed martyrs Domnius and Anastasius,” as well as composing hymns for



elected bishop of Trogir, remaining in that position from 1062-1111 and serving as counsellor to kings Peter Kresimir IV and Zvonimir.<sup>673</sup> Equally importantly, the links between Croatian monasteries and Italian ones, especially the network of Beneventan and Montecassian monasteries, were particularly strong; the use of Beneventan script, liturgy, and chant throughout Croatia are well-known, and a number of eleventh-century examples of manuscripts linking Italy and Croatia survive.<sup>674</sup>

When Zvonimir succeeded Kresimir, he made his support of the reform papacy even clearer, receiving papal blessing to be crowned, and being crowned by the papal legate Gebizo at Split in October 1075.<sup>675</sup> The record of the coronation oath describes him receiving the flag, crown and scepter from the hand of Gebizo, swearing to protect the church and the reform party, and conceding the monastery of St. Gregory in Vrana to the Holy See as a permanent residence of the papal legates.<sup>676</sup> Zvonimir used his relationship with Gregory VII to keep the Normans at

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Domnius: Thomas of Split, 74-7; Latin: "Hic temporibus Adam quidam Parisiensis, optime in artibus elimatus, pergendo Athenas ad Graecorum studia devenit Spalatum. Et cum fuisset a Laurentio antistite honorifice susceptus, rogatus est ab eodem, ut passiones beatorum martirum Domnii et Anastasii, que inculto fuerant antiquitus sermone conscripte, luculenta faceret compositione nitere. Quod ille gratani corde consentit sumptoque temate a veteribus ystoriis legendas utriusque martiris lepido satis dictamine innovavit. Ymnos etiam composuit et quicquid de beato Domnio musice canitur metrico sermone conscripsit. » See Stéphanie Gioanni, « La Vita Domnii d'Adam de Paris (XIe siècle) : la construction d'un lien hagiographique entre l'Église de Split et le siège de Rome, » *Hagiographica* 19 (2012) : 83-123.

<sup>673</sup> Thomas of Split, 76-77.

<sup>674</sup> See, for example, the Lectionary and Pontifical of Kotor, which shows a clear subordination to the customs of Bari. Richard Gyug, "An Edition of Leningrad, BAN, F. no. 200: The Lectionary and Pontifical of Kotor," PhD diss., University of Toronto (1983). For more examples within the realm of liturgical, and specifically chant, links, see Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), and for more examples linked by the use of Beneventan script, see Rozana Vojvoda, "Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts Written in Beneventan Script and Benedictine Scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir," Central European University, PhD Diss., 2001.

<sup>675</sup> Fine, 283. Sanjek, "Church and Christianity," 232-5.

<sup>676</sup> For the coronation oath, see *Documenta* 103-5, no. 87. The Latin for the donation of the monastery: "Dono insuper, concedo atque confirmo apostolice sedi sancti Gregorii monasterium, cui Vrana est uocaulum, cum omni suo thesauro, scilicet cum capsula argentea, reliquais sacri corporis eiusdem beati Gregorii continente, cum duabus crucibus, cum calice et patena, cum duabus coronis aureis gemmis ornatis, cum euangeliorum textu de argento, cumque omnibus suis mobilibus et immobilibus bonis, ut sancti Petri legatis sit semper ad hospitium et omnino in potestate eorum, hoc tamen interposito tenore ut nulli alii potestati detur sed omni tempore sancti Petri sir proprium, et a me meisque successoribus defensum atque ab omni honore liberum et securum," p. 104. The same month as his coronation, he issued a charter guaranteeing rights and privileges of the see of Split under Archbishop Lawrence, and Lawrence appears on a wide variety of charters between Zvonimir and various churches over the next fifteen years. For the first charter between Lawrence and Zvonimir, see the *Documenta*, p. 106-7, no. 88.

bay, so that he could deal with aggressions by the Venetians and Byzantines.<sup>677</sup> Gregory VII acted to protect Zvonimir directly on at least one occasion, forbidding the knight Wezelino from attacking Zvonimir.<sup>678</sup> The death of Zvonimir and the short reign of Stephan II left Croatia in chaos. As Mladen Ancic has concluded, the decade between 1091 and 1102 was a “long lasting dynastic clash with a radical impact,” showcasing the divide between “Sclavonia” and Croatia throughout the twelfth century.<sup>679</sup> The conflict between Petar Svacic and the kings of Hungary for control of Croatia was not settled until 1102, when negotiations between King Coloman of Hungary and the surviving Croatian nobility produced the *Pacta Conventa*.<sup>680</sup> War, and the lack of a king, was bad for the church and its possessions, and Urban II, as he was just beginning to gain real power, would not want to lose a potential refuge so close to Rome.<sup>681</sup> The presence of a large army, under the command of a papal legate and sworn to Urban II, was a powerful symbol of the authority and might of the church, a symbol that would, potentially, show even the warring nation that the Papacy and the Church were powers not to be trifled with.

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<sup>677</sup> Ibid. Sanjek, « Church and Christianity, » 232-5 and idem., “La reforme gregorienne en Croatie sous la regne de Demetrius Zvonimir (1075-1089),” *Studi gregoriani per la storia della Libertas ecclesiae* 14 (1991) : 245-251 is a good introduction to this. The aggressions by the Venetians in Dalmatia, and their relationship to Gregory, can be seen in Venetian source *Historia ducum Venetorum*, in *Testi Storici Veneziani (XI-XIII secolo)*, ed. and tr. Luigi Andrea Berto (Padova: CLEUP, 1999), p. 2-5 esp., and the article by P. Domenico Mandic, “Gregorio VII e l’Occupazione Veneta della Dalmazia nell’anno 1076,” in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. Agostino PErtesi (Firenze: Elo S. Olschki Editore, 1973), 1: 453-471.

<sup>678</sup> *Documenta*, p. 124, no. 107.

<sup>679</sup> Mladen Ancic, “Desetljece od godine 1091. Do 1102. U zrcalu vrela,” *Povij. Pril.* (1998), 258.

<sup>680</sup> Mladen Svab, “Kriticki pregled historiografije o kralju Petru na kraju XI. Stoljeca,” *Povij. Pril.* 17 (1998): 223-232 re-examines the reign of King Peter, who reigned during the Hungarian conquest of Croatia.

<sup>681</sup> The Peace of God movement in southern France developed from a similar situation, with the end of a dynasty and the contestations and decline of central authority that accompanied the transition to another and that movement was designed to protect the possessions of the church from lay usurpers. It is worth noting that a new round of the Peace was declared in Germany just before the turmoil in Croatia, starting in the 1080s—1082 in Liège, 1083 in Cologne and 1085 in Mainz, by both reform and imperial supporters; throughout 1093-4 reform supporters in South Germany supported peaces as well, though they were by this point no longer based on ecclesiastical dioceses but upon temporal *provinciae*, like Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia, and Alsace. See H.E.J. Cowdrey, “From the Peace of God to the First Crusade,” in *La primera cruzadam novecientos años después: El concilio de Clermont y los origines del movimiento cruzado*, ed. Luis Garcia-Guijarro Ramos (Castellon: Castelló d’Impressió, 1997), 58-9. See chapter 2 for a fuller explanation.

The region known as Duklja fell into the same category of ally to the reform papacy, though it was under less internal duress at the time. Between 1046 and 1081, the area was led by Michael Bodin, according to the *Letopis Popa Dukljanensis*, who unified the various appanages of his brothers and the other nobles into a single realm.<sup>682</sup> As part of his political maneuverings to create a truly independent Duklja, he appealed to Rome, seeking his own archbishopric and to become a papal vassal, receiving his crown from Gregory VII in 1077 but having difficulty lifting Bar out of the yoke of Ragusa.<sup>683</sup> Bar was elevated to the status of archbishopric in 1089, by Urban II.<sup>684</sup> Bodin's son Constantine, one of the boogymen of late eleventh century Byzantium, continued these policies, marrying the daughter of the Norman party in Bari, staying out of the Norman invasion of the Balkans, and, crucially, supporting the pope against the antipope in 1089, leading to Bar's elevation.<sup>685</sup> When the Provençal army arrived in Duklja, Raymond's report is that "Cum eo comes fraternitatem confirmavit," affirming brotherhood, not just a temporary peace; this was Latin territory, ruled by a prince, who, unlike John and Laurita Hill's account, was part of Urban's camp.<sup>686</sup>

Duklja had the dubious honor of being one of the largest threats to Byzantine western security in the 1090s, after Alexius' victory over the Petchenegs at Lebounion in the spring of 1091 ended them as a significant force.<sup>687</sup> Duklja had arisen out of the collapse of Byzantine power that led Zvonimir to declare independence, in the period of the mid-eleventh century when

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<sup>682</sup> Fine, 212-3. The *LPD* is an incredibly complex and difficult source, and the controversies over it exceed the scope of this study. See, for example, Stefan Trajkovic Filipovic, "Saint Vladimir of Zeta Between Historiography and Hagiography," M.A. thesis, Central European University (2012), esp. Chapter 1; Stephanson, chapter 4; Frankopan, "Co-operation," 5-10.

<sup>683</sup> *The Register of Gregory VII*, 5.12, p. 258. Ivan Dujev, "Relations entre les Slaves méridionaux et Byzance aux Xe-XIIe siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 36 (Oct.-Dec. 1966) : 553.

<sup>684</sup> Fine, 215-6.

<sup>685</sup> Fine, 223.

<sup>686</sup> Raymond, *Liber*, 38. For brotherhood oaths in a Byzantine context, see Claudia Rapp, "Ritual Brotherhood in Byzantium," *Traditio* 52 (1997): 285-326.

<sup>687</sup> Frankopan, *Call from the East*, 57.

four revolts broke out in the Slavic Balkans against imperial authority just in the years 1040 to 1042.<sup>688</sup> From that period on, the various pseudo-Serb principalities would pose a grave threat to the Empire.<sup>689</sup> Constantine Bodin in particular played the role of a Serbian bogeyman, attacking Byzantine holdings repeatedly and maintaining Dioclean neutrality during the Norman invasion. Duklja was also too close to the Byzantine frontier to safely leave alone, especially as Michael and Constantine connected themselves to Rome and the West. The raising of Bar to a Latin archbishopric was almost as troubling as the crowning of Michael as the king of Zeta/Dioeclea. This took territory from Split and Ragusa, but the reduction of the role of a Byzantine see in the region, combined with the papal crowning, meant that Duklja was a pro-Gregorian principality in a period when the excommunication of the Byzantine emperor and the endorsement of the Norman invasion of the Empire were fresh memories.<sup>690</sup>

Bodin, then, continued to be a worry for the Comnenian dynasty up to the beginning of the First Crusade. By passing through Duklja and meeting with Bodin in person, Raymond of

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<sup>688</sup> Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, p. 130.

<sup>689</sup> According to Jean Skylitzès, an official under Alexius Comnenus who an important chronicle covering the eleventh century up to the ascension of Isaac Comnenus, the Bulgarian revolt came right on the heels of a disastrous expedition into Serbia. See Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs de Constantinople*, tr. Bernard Flusin and annotated Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Réalités Byzantines* 8 (Paris : Éditions P. Lethielleux, 2003), Michel le Paphlagonien 22. and 23., p. 338-43. In the 1070s, Constantine Bodin supported a revolt in Macedonia from Skopje, and when that was put down Constantine ended up in Byzantine captivity in Constantinople until 1078; see Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letter of a Byzantine Archbishop*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 2, eds. Anthony Bryer and John Haldon (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 58-9. The taste of captivity kept Bodin in line after his release until the Norman invasion where, while not actively supporting the Normans, he refused to come to the aid of the emperor.

<sup>690</sup> *The Register of Gregory VII* 6.5b, p. 281-5, for the excommunication of Nicephorus III Botaneiates, alongside Guifred of Narbonne and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and 8.6, p. 371-2 for military support in favor of Michael VII. One might think that the Gregorian inroads in the Balkans were made more troubling by the contact Gregory made with the Armenian catholicos Gregory II Vkasaser in 1080, surrounding the empire—*Register*, 8.1, p. 361-4. This was matched by the Pope's endorsement of Alexius Comnenus' enemy Constantine, The first time Alexius mounted a campaign against Bodin, he was forced to turn aside to deal with the rebellion of his nephew, John Comnenus, the *doux* of Dyrrachium: see Peter Frankopan, "Expeditions against the Serbs in the 1090s: The *Alexiad* and Byzantium's North-West Frontier on the Eve of the First Crusade," *Bulgaria mediaevalis* 3 (2012): 386. Even after that particular rebellion (brought to the Emperor's attention by Theophylact of Ochrid) was suppressed, the Serbs continued to be a grave threat, with Alexius Comnenus himself taking charge of a campaign against Constantine Bodin; Frankopan, "Expeditions," 387.

Saint-Gilles and Adhemar would have gained several advantages. For their own purposes, they would have been able to gather valuable intelligence about the road ahead, the situation in the Byzantine Empire, and the welcome they could expect in Dyrrachium. For the purposes of the Reform Party, the size of Raymond's army would have dwarfed the armed forces of Bodin and Duklja, and reinforced Bodin's impression of the power of the reformist Papacy. Any thoughts of switching to the anti-pope, or reverting to the Byzantine church, would have been quashed through a show of overwhelming strength. And for the Byzantines, following Frankopan's argument, Adhemar and Raymond could have forced Bodin to agree to a truce between Duklja and the Byzantine Empire, in order to allow Alexius to focus his efforts on the passage of the Crusade, without worrying about attacks to his Balkan possessions.

Why do these potential stops matter, when there is almost no documentary record of them? This was a moment when these contested regions in the reform struggles began coming over to the side of the Pope, after the struggles in northern Italy and Croatia between the Gregorian and Imperial camps. Genoa, strategically located, Croatia, a Gregorian stronghold now engaged in civil war, and Dioclea, a new ally for the papacy, would all drift more and more into the papal sphere. As a mechanism of the Gregorian Reform, a large army, under a papal legate, made a very convincing standard for which way the winds were blowing—as a symbolic gesture, the First Crusade was an emblem of the victory of the Gregorian Reform over the hearts and minds of the military class.

**The Provençal in Byzantium: Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles, Emperor Alexius Comnenus,  
and the Crusade in the Byzantine-Papal Context**

John Zonaras, a functionary in the Byzantine administration during Alexios' reign as emperor, recorded the approach of the crusaders towards Constantinople as the approach of "an infinite multitude of locusts coming from the West," giving a sense of the Byzantine reaction to the arrival of the First Crusade.<sup>691</sup> In addition to stripping the land of supplies on all sides of their march, the crusaders were viewed with suspicion and fear—given the recent papally-sanctioned Norman invasion of the Empire, it is not surprising. The first meeting between the crusade leaders and Alexios Comnenus, then, was going to be crucial to the papal plan of Byzantine-Crusader cooperation. Adhemar of Le Puy and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, the new Moses and Aaron, would have been especially important in this regard, and their safe, swift, and pleasant journey to Constantinople would be needed to make necessary arrangements for the alliance.

The move out of Dioclea to Dyrrachium put the Provençal army onto the route of most of the crusaders. Hugh of Vermandois, Bohemond of Taranto, and eventually Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Blois, and their respective contingents would all make the crossing from southern Italy to Dyrrachium, and follow the Via Egnatia through the Balkans to Constantinople. As mentioned above, Raymond's army seems to have suffered some sort of misunderstanding in Dyrrachium, with two Provençal knights dying under mysterious circumstances in the region, but otherwise to have been received peacefully by the *doux* of the

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<sup>691</sup> John Zonaras, *Historia di Giovanni Zonara* (Vinegia: Appresso Lodouico de gli Auanzi, 1560), Parte Terza, 252: "Imperoche un'infinita moltitudine di Locuste uenuta di Ponente."

city. Peter Tudebode writes that “The duke of Durazzo pledged security to those who entered so happily into his domain,” before accusing the Greeks of killing one of the knights and wounding the other.<sup>692</sup> John Comnenus was the emperor’s nephew, and had a good rapport with the bishops and major administrators along the route.<sup>693</sup> He had also been accused of conspiring with Bodin against the emperor, as well as having been in the vanguard of the wars against Dioclea.<sup>694</sup> One can imagine there was some sort of strain in the back-to-back reception between Bodin and John, perhaps somehow related to Raymond’s description of the death of Pontius and Peter under truce.<sup>695</sup>

From Dyrrachium, Raymond and Adhemar followed the *Via Egnatia*. Raymond d’Aguilers’ chronicle makes no mention of the road itself, still the major thoroughfare through the region. The road was still in excellent shape, one of the most serviceable routes in the West.<sup>696</sup> While the territory in between cities may not, as the *Liber* describes, have been safe, the crusaders were passing through some of the largest urban areas in western Byzantium. As Raymond describes, “En route, we had letters concerning security and brotherhood, and—I might even describe it as—filiation from the emperor; but these were empty words, for before and behind, to the right and to the left Turks, Kumans, Uzes, and the tenacious peoples—Pechenegs and Bulgars—were lying in wait for us.”<sup>697</sup> The letters from the emperor, regardless

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<sup>692</sup> Peter Tudebode, 27; Latin: “Erat autem ibi dux illius civitatis qui continuo eis fiduciam quousque terra fuerit sua gavisus spondit.” Petrus Tudebodus, 44.

<sup>693</sup> Stephenson, *Byzantium’s Balkan Frontier*, 151. *Theophylacte d’Achrida Lettres*, 166-9, 194-5, 202-5, 214-7, 208-11, for communication between Theophylact of Ohrid and John Comnenus.

<sup>694</sup> Stephenson, *Byzantium’s Balkan Frontier*, 151.

<sup>695</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, p. 19.

<sup>696</sup> K. Belke, “Roads and Travel in Macedonia and Thrace in the Middle and Late Byzantine period,” in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. Ruth Macrides (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 73-90; John H. Pryor, “Introduction: modelling Bohemond’s march to Thessalonike,” in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 1-24; John W. Nesbitt, “The Rate of March of Crusading Armies in Europe: A Study and Computation,” *Traditio* 19 (1963): 167-181.

<sup>697</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, p. 18-9. Latin: “Incepimus iter, habuimus obviam litteras imperatoris de pace, de fraternitate et ut ita dicam de filiatione. Hec autem verbo tenus. Nam ante et retro dextrorsum et sinistrosum. Turci, et Comani,

of the effectiveness of the promised security and brotherhood, were part of a Byzantine epistolary tradition.<sup>698</sup> Ochrid, for example, would have been one of the earlier stops on the *Via Egnatia*, and though it is not mentioned in any crusade chronicle, the route taken meant the crusaders would have had to pass directly by the city.<sup>699</sup> Theophylact of Ochrid himself only mentions the passage of the First Crusade in a single letter, “As for me, it is first of all the passage of the Franks or their invasion or whatever other word you would have, that has sealed my lips.”<sup>700</sup> The description of the crusade as either a passage or an invasion, and that the experience was such that Theophylact did not want to discuss it, reinforces the sense of tension between crusaders and Byzantines in the region.<sup>701</sup> The recipient, another bishop in the region whose town was also on the *Via Egnatia*, would have had the same experience, but this is the only surviving reference to the Crusade passage from a local perspective.<sup>702</sup>

It is unlikely the crusade entered any of the cities they approached. More probably, they negotiated for and bought supplies in markets outside of the gates. In the countryside between settlements, however, the Crusaders had an even less pleasant experience. As Raymond writes:

To add to our troubles, one day we were in the valley of Pelagonia when the Pechenegs captured the Bishop of Le Puy, who had wandered a short time from camp looking for a

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Husi, et tanaces, Pincenati, et Bulgari nobis insidiabantur. » Raymond, *Liber*, 38. Peter Tudebode repeats this phrase almost verbatim, Peter Tudebode, 27.

<sup>698</sup> See Margaret Mullet, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letter of a Byzantine Archbishop*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 2, eds. Anthony Bryer and John Haldon (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997).

<sup>699</sup> Toni Filiposki, “Via Egnatia, Ohrid and the First Crusade,” in *Proceedings of “The Fairest Meadows in the World”: Crusades and Crusaders in the Balkans*, forthcoming. Theophylact of Ohrid was an very important figure in the Byzantine church, powerful and educated enough to send official discourse to Alexius I in 1088. See Paul Gautier, “Le Discours de Théophylacte de Bulgarie a l’Autocrator Alexis Ier Comnène (6 janvier 1088), » *Revue des études byzantines*, 20 (1962) : 93-130.

<sup>700</sup> `Théophylacte d’Achrida, *Lettres*, intro., ed., tr. and notes Paul Gautier (Thessalonique : Association de Recherches Byzantines, 1986), 52, p. 302-3 : « Quant à moi, c’est en premier lieu le passage des Francs ou leur invasion ou tout autre mot qu’on voudra, qui a close mes lèvres ».

<sup>701</sup> `Ibid.

<sup>702</sup> Ibid. The only other sources are artistic, possibly some rock art from the southern Balkans, as argued by N.G.L. Hammond, “Was some rock art in the southern Balkans due to Crusaders?” *Journal of Medieval History* 22, no. 1 (1996): 43-52; and the frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery, near Kastoria in Greece, as argued by Ann Wharton Epstein, “Frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Anti-Semitism in the Wake of the First Crusade,” *Gesta* 21:1 (1982): 21-29.



comfortable lodging. They threw him from his mule, stripped him, and struck him heavily upon the head. But one of the fellow Pechenegs, while seeking gold from Adémar, saved him from his fellow brigands; and so the great bishop, indispensable to God's justice, was spared to mankind because of God's compassion. When the commotion was heard in camp, the attacking crusaders saved the Bishop from the Pechenegs, who had been slow in dispatching him.<sup>703</sup>

This seems, at least according to the Hills, to have taken place in the vicinity of Ochrid, so perhaps Theophylact's reticence to discuss the matter of the Crusade in detail was a cover-up for the problems faced by the Byzantine Balkans in general. Raymond's description from there continues the same problem. Adhemar went to Thessalonica, the second city of Byzantium.<sup>704</sup> Paris, BNF lat. 5511A records that "Cum vero venissemus Thessalonicam, infirmatus est episcopus, et remansit cum paucis infra civitatem."<sup>705</sup> The cult of St. Demetrius had made the city a pilgrimage destination, and after the appearance of the *myron*, sweet-smelling oil that flowed from the tomb of St. Demetrius starting in about 1040, the church became a major center for healing as well.<sup>706</sup> Adhemar may have even taken an *ampullae* with him, filled with the oil, as these were becoming popular for Demetrius's cult in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, "with the likeness of St. Demetrius dressed as a warrior on one side and the Virgin, St. Nestor, or St. George and St. Theodora on the other."<sup>707</sup> St. Demetrius would appear later in the crusade, being

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<sup>703</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 21; Latin: "Quadam autem die cum essemus in valle Pelagonie episcopus Podiensis gratia convenienter hospitandi cum paulisper a castris discessisset, a Pincenatis captus est. Qui deicientes eum de mula spoliaverunt, et in capite graviter eum percusserunt. Sed quia tantus pontifex adhuc populo Dei erat necessarius, per eius misericordiam vite est reservatus. Nam unus Pincenatus dum aurum ab eo quereret, a ceteris eum defendebat. Interea sonus auditur in castris, et sic inter moram hostium et impetum sociorum eripitur." Raymond, *Liber*, 39. Peter Tudebode does not mention the bandit who saved him, saying instead "since this great churchman was indispensable to God's justice, his life was spared through God's mercy. When the commotion was heard in camp, his companions rushed to him and hurriedly saved him from the Pechenegs." Peter Tudebode, 28. Raymond's extra knowledge probably comes from being part of entourage of Adhemar himself.

<sup>704</sup> For a discussion of the importance of the cult of St. Demetrius for the Balkans in general, see Tomislav Bali, "Sv. Demetrije Solunski I njegov kult: historiografska I naratoloska analiza *Cudesa sv. Demetrija*," *Radovi* 44 (2012): 143-174.

<sup>705</sup> Raymond, *Liber*, 39, note c and fn 6; Paris, BNF MS lat. 5511A, f. 7r.

<sup>706</sup> Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Pilgrimage to Thessalonike: The Tomb of St. Demetrios," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002), 175-6, 177-9.

<sup>707</sup> Bakirtzis, 183; Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002), 82-3.

included in the letter drafted by Adhemar and the Patriarch of Jerusalem “to the West,” along with Sts. George, Theodore and Blaise, and in the visions of warrior saints seen by Peter Tudebode and the Anonymous author of the *Gesta at Antioch*.<sup>708</sup> Whether or not Adhemar’s stay had anything to do with this tradition is unknown, but St. Demetrius seems to have become part of the heavenly entourage accompanying the First Crusade.<sup>709</sup>

The forts built by Alexius to defend against the Normans and Dioclea, described above, seem to have become a haven for bandits and Petchenegs. One of them, Bucinat, is described as being a place “where Raymond heard that the Petchenegs lay in ambush for us in the defiles of a nearby mountain. The Count reversed the tables by lying in ambush for them, and, along with his knights, took these mercenaries by surprise in a sudden attack, killing many and routing the others.”<sup>710</sup> The description of the battle exemplifies the problem of using racial epithets to describe political relations in the Byzantine Empire. The first group of Petchenegs, who captured Adhemar of Le Puy, was probably bandits, but this second group, which the Provençals attacked first without any direct motivation, may have been imperial soldiers assigned to patrol the route and keep the Crusade in line. The racial description in no way lets the modern historians know their political allegiance, but in Raymond d’Aguilers eyes, all Petchenegs, rather than sworn enemies of the Empire, have to be imperial soldiers.

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<sup>708</sup> “Epistula Patriarchae Hierosolymitani et aliorum episcoporum ad occidentales,” in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, ed. Hagenmeyer, 146-149; Elizabeth Lapina, “St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki: Patron Saint of Crusaders,” *Viator* 40 (2009), 93. Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 87, at the battle against Kerbogha at Antioch; Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 100.

<sup>709</sup> Lapina, in her excellent article on the subject, argues for a political motivation on the part of Bohemond; this certainly seems plausible, but the use by Peter Tudebode, who changes one of the saints’ names from the *Gesta Francorum* account but maintains the sighting, suggests more than Norman political machinations.

<sup>710</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 21. Latin: “Taliter per insidias cum venissemus ad quoddam castrum quod vocatur Bucinat, didicit comes quod in angustiis cuiusdam montis, Pincenati exercitum nostrum aggredi vellent, cum militibus quibusdam in occultis remanens, Pincenatis occurrit, atque pluribus interfectis, ceteros in fugam vertit.” Raymond, *Liber*, 39. 175-6, 179-80.

After this particular battle, which must have taken place near the time when the Crusaders would have been celebrating Easter, more missives arrived from Alexius.<sup>711</sup> By this point (April 1097), the other crusade leaders had arrived in Constantinople, so the emperor likely had a good idea of the tensions and conflicts that had already sprung up on the route with previous armies.<sup>712</sup> Raymond's army was making the final approach to Constantinople across the Thracian plain. As a result of the frustration experienced by the seemingly random attacks by various *ethne*, upon arriving at Roussa, "the open contempt of its citizens so strained our customary forbearance that we seized arms, broke down the outer walls, captured great booty, and received the town in surrender".<sup>713</sup> Peter Tudebode even more explicitly describes the actions at Roussa, writing, "Here the inhabitants openly committed whatever devilish harm they could devise for the Provençals. When Raymond observed this enmity, he was so furious that he ordered his men to take up arms and to shout his battle cry; whereupon they attacked and surprisingly captured Roussa."<sup>714</sup> This marks one of the most violent early actions between Crusaders and Byzantines. Not only did they sack the town, but when the army did move on, "we had raised our banner over the town and shouted *Tolosa*, the rallying cry of the Count."<sup>715</sup> When they arrived at the next town, Rodosto, the local imperial forces understandably attempted

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<sup>711</sup> Easter in 1097 for both the Latin and Greek churches was April 5<sup>th</sup>. "Side-by-side Easter calendar reference for the 11<sup>th</sup> century," <http://5ko.free.fr/en/easter.php?y=11> Accessed 2-27-2014.

<sup>712</sup> For the date, see Raymond, *Historia*, p. 21 fn 3.

<sup>713</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, p. 21, and fn 3. Latin: "Post hec venimus ad quandam civitatem nomine Rossam, ubi cum manifeste cives eius in nos multa mala molirentur, paulisper nostra solita paciencia displicuit. Itaque arreptis armis, diruntur antemuralia capitur ingens preda, et civitas in dedicionem atque illatis signis in civitatem et acclamata Tolosa quod erat signum clamoris comiti discessimus." Raymond, *Liber*, 39-40.

<sup>714</sup> Peter Tudebode, 28. Latin: "Cives autem illius civitatis aperte quicquid nocendi ingenio agere potuerant contra illos faciebant. Cumque vidissent hoc, comes iratus est valde, et iussit arripere arma et sua sonare signa; et preliaverunt contra civitatem, et mirabiliter eam superaverunt." Petrus Tudebodus, 45. This sounds quite akin to the actions of the People's Crusade in Bulgaria, and, excluding Bohemond's sacking of the castle of "heretics" in Pelagonia and Godfrey's running battle in Constantinople.

<sup>715</sup> *Ibid.*

to exact vengeance, but were defeated.<sup>716</sup> The count himself took part in the skirmish, according to Peter Tudebode, and “in a rearguard action, the count killed thirty of the mercenaries and captured forty horses.”<sup>717</sup>

There was, then, a disaster in crusader-Byzantine relations at this early point. Three of the major contingents of the crusade had engaged in direct combat with imperial forces and had attacked imperial strongholds. Raymond of Saint-Gilles must have sensed the danger, because he had at some point sent envoys directly to the court of Alexius, who returned from the court just after Rodosto. As Raymond d’Aguilers writes:

They brought rosy reports of Byzantine promises largely because the Emperor bribed them; thus the following events need no further comment. Byzantine and crusader envoys urged Raymond to abandon his army and, unarmed with a few followers, to hurry to the court of the Basileus. They reported that Bohemond, the Duke of Lorraine, the Count of Flanders, and other princes besought Raymond to make a pact concerning the crusade with Alexius, who might take the Cross and become leader of God’s army. They added that Alexius was willing to transact all affairs beneficial to the trip with the Count in matters pertaining to him and to others. They further stated that the absence of such a great man’s advice on the eve of combat would be unfortunate. Therefore, they pressed Raymond to come to Constantinople with a small force so that upon completion of arrangements with Alexius there would be no delay of the march. Raymond followed this advice, left a garrison in camp, and preceded the army on this mission, going alone and unarmed to Constantinople.<sup>718</sup>

The other chronicles corroborate the idea that the crusade leaders had intended to hold a council of Crusading leaders in Constantinople before any of the armies set out. Bohemond certainly sent

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<sup>716</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 21-2. Latin: “Venimus ad aliam civitatem nomine Rodestol, ubi cum milites de roga imperatoris vindictam sui contra nos agere quererent, multi ex ipsis interfecti sunt, et aliquantula capta preda.” Raymond, *Liber*, 40.

<sup>717</sup> Peter Tudebode, 28. Latin: “cum quibus comes preliatus fuit et interfecti xxx ex illis, et xl equos retinuit.” Petrus Tudebodus, 45. In the other manuscripts of Tudebode, the number is « sexaginta » instead, Petrus Tudebodus, 45, note a.

<sup>718</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 22. Latin: “Eo verba legatorum imperatoris et nostrorum pervenerunt ut comes relicto exercitu, solus cum paucis et inermis ad imperatorem festinaret. Dicebant enim quia Boamundus et dux Lotaringie, et Flandrensis comes, et alii principes hoc precabantur ut properaret comes convenire imperatorem de itinere Iherosolimitano, ut assumpta cruce dux et imperator, in exercitu Dei fieret. Ad hec aiebant imperatorem dixisse, omnia cum comite se acturum et de se et de aliis que itineri usui forent. Preterea nuntiabant bellum imminere, et si auctoritas tanti viri abesser, fortassis incommodum fore. » Raymond, *Liber*, 40.

envoys to Godfrey, when he was approaching, and all of the armies waited for the final gathering of the crusading princes before they crossed the ocean.<sup>719</sup> We cannot really know whether the other leaders were waiting for Raymond himself, or the presence of Adhemar of Le Puy.

The account in Raymond d'Aguilers reinforces the leadership role given to Raymond of Saint-Gilles by Urban II. The count may not have been the leader of the crusade in the way that he had hoped, but this particular description of the prince's waiting for Raymond to arrive in Constantinople suggests that he had some kind of important role in the overall plan, if only as the leader of the largest individual contingent. The "pact concerning the crusade with Alexius, who might take the Cross and become leader of God's army," was particularly important.<sup>720</sup> If one of Urban's goals, cherished by the reformers, was to reunite the churches under papal leadership, then having the Byzantine Emperor become the leader of a Gregorian Crusade was the ultimate victory. This was not going to happen, for all of the potential benefit of a Western army under direct Byzantine control. As Peter Frankopan has explored at length, the problems facing the Empire would only have been exacerbated by the Emperor leaving, and the potential benefits to the Empire were greatest in careful consolidation in their wake.<sup>721</sup> This is true, but incomplete. Frankopan's assessment of the risk/benefit analysis would certainly have been one factor, but the other, which has nothing to do with the realities on the ground, also needs to be considered. That

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<sup>719</sup> *Albert of Aachen's History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, tr. Susan B. Edgington (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 1: 53. Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New history of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006), 118-120. For Albert of Aachen and his portrayal of Alexius I and the Byzantines, and the crusade at Constantinople, see Marc Carrier, "L'Image d'Alexis Comnène selon le Chroniqueur Albert d'Aix," *Byzantion. Revue internationale d'études byzantines* 78 (2008): 1-32.

<sup>720</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 22. Latin: « convenire imperatorem de itinere Iherosolimitano, ut assumpta cruce dux et imperator in exercitu Dei fieret, » Raymond, *Liber*, 40.

<sup>721</sup> Frankopan, *Call from the East*, 135-137; Jonathan Shepard, "Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade," in *The first crusade: origins and impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997), 114-122; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusaders States 1096-1204*, tr. J.C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 1-30, for the early events of Byzantine and Crusader cooperation for its discussion of the benefits of actions to the Byzantines and what role the emperor himself envisioned in early early days of the crusade, pre-Antioch.

is, simply, that the Byzantines loathed the Franks, especially in the 1080s and 1090s, and the actions of the crusaders up to the point of their departure to Nicaea merely reinforced that feeling. John Zonaras, whose incredibly brief description of the First Crusade began this section, was a member of a large anti-Comnenian faction within the Empire, whose hatred of Westerners matched their dislike of the Emperor. Leaving Constantinople to aid the crusaders, after the sacking of cities like Rodosto, and in the company of Bohemond, well-known as one of the recent invaders of the Empire, would have provided too much of an excuse for the overthrow of Alexios. The only hope for Alexios was to make a positive impression on the kinds of leaders within the crusade who might hold to their oaths, and use them as the proper bridge between his (and the papacy's) desires for the crusade, and the crusaders own goals for conquest en route to the Holy Land.

Alexius was well aware of this, and when Raymond did finally arrive in Constantinople, the chronicle of Raymond d'Aguilers makes this clear. As Raymond writes:

Upon the most honorable reception of Raymond by Alexius and his princes, the Basileus demanded from the Count homage and an oath which the other princes had sworn to him. Raymond responded that he had not taken the Cross to pay allegiance to another lord or to be in the service of any other than the One for whom he had abandoned his native land and his paternal goods. He would, however, entrust himself, his followers, and his effects to the Emperor if he would journey to Jerusalem with the army. But Alexius temporized by excusing himself from the march on the grounds that he was afraid that the Germans, Hungarians, Kumans, and other fierce people would plunder his empire if he undertook the march with the pilgrims.<sup>722</sup>

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<sup>722</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 23. Latin: "Honorificentissime itaque ab imperatore et principibus suis suscepto comite hominum et iuramenta, que ceteri principes ei fecerant. Respondit comes, se ideo non venisse, ut dominum alium faceret, aut alii militaret, nisi illi propter quem patriam et bona patrie sue dimiserat, et tamen fore si imperator cum exercitu iret Ierosolimam quod se et suos et sua omnia illi committeret. Sed imperator excusat iter dicens, premetuere se Alemannos, et Ungaros, et Comanos, aliasque feras gentes, que imperium suum depopularentur, si ipse transitum cum peregrinis faceret. » Raymond, *Liber*, 41. Imperial receptions had, in the tenth century, been a time for pomp and circumstance, though Alexius seems to have opted for smaller ceremonies. See Zoe Antonia Woodrow, "Imperial ideology in middle Byzantine court culture: the evidence of Constantine porphyroegnitus's de ceremoniis," Durham University, PhD diss., 2001, 180-196.

Alexius refused to join the crusade itself, because of his very legitimate fears. Even after the defeat of the Petchenegs, and despite the theoretical truce imposed on Constantine Bodin by Raymond and Adhemar, the northern boundaries of what survived of the Byzantine Empire contained only hostile forces. By 1095, the Cumans were becoming a threat, and while the Germans and Hungarians were, as of yet, still only on the borders, the Holy Roman Empire would always be a threat, and the Hungarians were usurping Byzantine prerogatives.<sup>723</sup> The Crusaders, then, could also prove to be a threat, usurping Byzantine rights in the East as they advanced.

This threat was met by a traditional Byzantine response, of coopting threatening foreigners into the structure of the empire, in this case through gifts, titles, and oaths.<sup>724</sup> Raymond's chronicle cannot be trusted as a completely accurate statement, as he was certainly not present at the meeting. The other leaders did take an oath, accounted for in almost all the other chronicles.<sup>725</sup> Most scholars have presumed that this oath took a 'feudal' form. Alexius, they argue, used his experience with Latins to recreate the homage ceremony of a Western knight

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<sup>723</sup> See Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, chapters 3 and 6.

<sup>724</sup> Bribing the Franks into submission goes back to the *Strategikon* of Maurice: "They are easily corrupted by money, greedy as they are." *Maurice's Strategikon: Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, tr. George T. Dennis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 119. The *Taktika* of Leo VI expanded upon this, though clearly based on the *Strategikon*, "Whether on foot or on horseback, they draw up for battle not in any fixed measure and formation or in moirai or divisions, as do the Romans, but according to clans, their kinship with one another, or some common bond or often leagued together by oath," *The Taktikon of Leo VI*, ed., tr. and commentary George T. Dennis (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2014), 467; "They are disobedient to their leaders, especially the Franks, placing freedom above all else. They willingly go on campaign for as much time as they shall determine or that has been determined by their rulers, and only for that period of time. If it happens that they are to remain <beyond that>, they bear the extension of time grudgingly and break up the formation of the expedition and withdraw to their homes," *ibid.*; repeating and expanding upon advice from the *Strategikon*, "They are easily corrupted by money, greedy as they are. This we have learned from experience, and we know from those who have frequently come here from Italy on some business or other that by intermingling with them, I think, even these have adopted their habits and become barbarized," *ibid.*

<sup>725</sup> Only Tancred escaped it due to his trek across the Bosphorus. See *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, tr. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 33-4.

to his lord. What then of Raymond of Saint-Gilles' refusal?<sup>726</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers says that his count refused the oath because of devotion to God and to the pilgrimage itself. His version of the oath contains a provision unique to the southern French camp that the loyalty of the crusaders to the Byzantines would only be given in exchange for full and active military participation by Alexius. Peter Tudebode has essentially the same version.<sup>727</sup>

The two southern French accounts focus on Raymond's devotion to the pilgrimage and God, and his refusal to swear allegiance to any earthly lord during that quest. Even in Tudebode, which has a closer promise, Raymond only says that he will place himself and his army "voluntarily...in your trust." The language of the oath, and the degree of control the emperor could exert over the crusade, became a point of negotiation among the crusading armies, the rest of whose leaders had already sworn an oath of some sort. Unfortunately for the leaders who were pushing Raymond to follow their example, reports reached him in Constantinople that his army, in his absence had been attacked by imperial forces. As Raymond writes, "the Count, after

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<sup>726</sup> John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, "The Convention of Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of Saint Gilles," *The American Historical Review* 58, no. 2 (Jan. 1953), 322-327 compares the oath in the *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond d'Aguilers to charters of Raymond's from Occitania, arguing that the oath was a southern French-style property convention. See also Runciman, *The First Crusade and the Foundations of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 162-3, who also argues for a southern French style of oath, and Tyerman, *God's War*, 121, following that same line of thought. J.H. Preyor, "The oaths of the leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: fealty, homage—pistis, douleia," *Parergon* 2 (1984): 111-141 is based primarily on Anna Comnena but also disagrees with any notion of real vassalage, but rather a thoroughly Byzantine notion of service and loyalty to the empire, the same sort of oath used by mercenaries—see p. 124 especially. Jonathan Shepard agrees with this, arguing that Alexis follows the model laid out by Constantine Porphyrogenitus for dealing with foreigners, laid out in the *De Administrando Imperio*, in "'Father' or 'scorpion'? Style and substance in Alexios's diplomacy," in *Alexios I Komnenos I. Papers*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, School of Greek and Latin, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1996): 68-132, Marc Carrier agreed with this, though argued for a modified version adapted to the strange circumstances presented by the crusaders, in "L'Image du Grec selon les Chroniqueurs des Croisades: Perceptions et Réactions face au Cérémonial Byzantin 1096 à 1204," Université de Sherbrooke, Master's Thesis, June 2000, p.76-88, and Carrier, *L'Autre chrétien à l'époque des Croisades: les Byzantins vus par les chroniqueurs du monde latin (1096-1261)* (Sarrebruck: Éditions universitaires européennes, 2012), 113-201.

<sup>727</sup> Peter Tudebode, 29. Latin: "Cui imperator dixit, quod eius homo esset, et fiduciam et faceret quemadmodum et Boamundus, et alii principes fecerant. Dixitque ei comes : « Absit. Certe in hac via nullum seniore faciam nisi illum quem habeo, cuiusque amore huc usque veni. Si vero crucem diligenter baiulare vis, et nobiscum una Ierosolimam venire, ego et mei homines omne quicquid Dei misericordia contineo potestate, in tua erit libera voluntate. » Petrus Tudebodus, 46.



learning of the rout and death of his men, believed that he had been misled and through the services of some of our leaders summoned the emperor on charges of betraying the crusaders,” charges that the Emperor quickly turned around and brought back before the assembled leaders as justifiable in the light of what Raymond’s men had done at Roussa and Rodosto.<sup>728</sup> These arguments, despite similar activities on Godfrey and Bohemond’s parts, seem to have swayed the rest of the leaders. Alexius had promised amends and put Bohemond, Raymond’s former relative and current imperial favorite, as a hostage.<sup>729</sup> The other princes, having already enjoyed the monetary rewards of Alexius’ favor and wanting to move on, judged Alexius innocent.

At this point, Adhemar finally rejoined the army. The sojourn in Thessalonica had been a relatively long one; upon his return relations were reaching a moment of crisis. Alexius attempted to placate the unruly foreigner through bribery in exchange for homage, but as d’Aguilers writes, “but Raymond brooded over revenge for unjust treatment of himself and his men and sought means to remove the shame of such ill fame.”<sup>730</sup> The *Liber* says that he only ceased his plotting under extreme pressure from Godfrey, Robert of Flanders and the rest, with their assertion that “it was the height of folly for Christians to fight Christians when the Turks were near at hand. Bohemond, in fact, pledged his support to Alexius in case Raymond took action against him or if the Count longer excused himself from homage and an oath.”<sup>731</sup>

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<sup>728</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 23-4. Latin: “Interea comes audita morte suorum et fuga se proditum esse credidit, et imperatorem per quosdam principes de nostro exercitu, facte prodicionis commonefacit.” Raymond, *Liber*, 41. Also in Peter Tudebode, 29.

<sup>729</sup> Peter Tudebode, 29. Latin: “Tibique satisfactionem fideliter concedo, et dominum Boemundum tibi in fiduciam do.” Petrus Tudebodus, 47.i

<sup>730</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 24. Latin: “pollicetur multa se daturum comiti si quesitum hominum sibi faceret.” Raymond, *Liber*, 42.

<sup>731</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 24. Latin: “detestabantur dicentes, stultissimum esse contra christianos pugnare, cum Turci imminerent. Boamundus vero se adiutorem imperatori pollicetur, si quicquam comes contra ipsum moliretur, vel si homnium et iuramenta diutius excusaret.” Raymond, *Liber*, 42. Peter Tudebode has almost an identical description, Peter Tudebode, 30. See Shepard, “Cross-purposes,” 110-112, and Jonathan Shepard, “When Greek met Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond, in 1097-1098,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 185-277.

Presumably with Adhemar's guidance, and after "consultation with his Provençals," Raymond of Saint-Gilles swore a modified oath that "he would not, either through himself or through others, take away from the Emperor life and possessions."<sup>732</sup> There is no mention of homage or fealty in any sense, something explicitly addressed in the *Liber*: "he replied that he would not pay homage because of the peril to his rights."<sup>733</sup>

John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, among others, have argued that the oath, as it survives in the texts, is directly linked to southern French conventions, which "agreed not only to respect the possessions of the emperor but to give no aid, counsel, or agreement to anyone who would not respect his possessions."<sup>734</sup> Given the struggle Raymond of Saint-Gilles had had through the early parts of his life creating an independent powerbase, it is understandable that he would refuse to acknowledge the suzerainty of any overlord. It is impossible to be certain about the form, as the two chronicles used to describe the oath were not from eyewitnesses, but both

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<sup>732</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 24. Latin: "Consilio itaque accepto a suis comes Alexio vitam et honorem iuravit quod nec per se, nec per alium ei auferret." Raymond, *Liber*, 42. Peter Tudebode, 30, "Consequently, after accepting the advice of his men, Raymond swore that he would not, either through himself or through others, take away the emperor's life and possessions." Latin: "Igitur comes, accepto consilio a suis, vitam et honorem Alexio iuravit quod nec per se nec per alium ei auferret."

<sup>733</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 24. Latin: "Respondit comes, se ideo non venisse, ut dominum alium faceret," Raymond, *Liber*, 41. Peter Tudebode, 30, "When he was questioned concerning homage, he replied that he would not pay homage because of peril to his rights." Latin: "Cumque de hominio appellaretur, respondit non se pro capitis periculo id facturum." Petrus Tudebodus, 47-48. Excellent work has been done of the actual rituals of fealty/homage in Languedoc and Provence in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, among them see especially the work of Helene Debax, of which the most relevant to this episode are "Le serrement des mains. Éléments pour une analyse du rituel des serments féodaux en Languedoc et en Provence (XIe-XIIe siècles)," *Le Moyen Age* 1 (2007) : 9-23, and «' Une féodalite qui sent l'encre': Typologie des actes féodaux dans le Languedoc des XIe-XIIe siècles, » in *Le vassal, le fief et l'écrit. Formes, enjeux et apports de la production documentaire dans le champ des institutions féodo-vassaliques (XIe-XVe siècles)*, ed. J.-F. Nieus (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2007) : 35-70. The problem for linking the crusade oath to these is that, especially in the latter article, Debax shows that the oaths are usually for specific places, like the "serments de fidélité pour un château," the most specifically southern French fealty oath. They are mostly in the form of promising not to harm the lord, though there are aspects of positive return; this would, seemingly, be the best fit; see Debax, "Une féodalite qui sent l'encre," 10. Perhaps a more fitting link would be the religious aspects of the ceremony, discussed in Debax, "Le serrement des mains," 6-8.

<sup>734</sup> Hill and Hill, "Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of Saint Gilles," 326. Pryor, "The oaths of the leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus," comments on the general problem of this view, and the "remarkably naïve" and "extremely uncritical" view of the majority of scholars who argue for a Latin-Frankish version of the oaths, p. 111. The description given by the texts, which are not eyewitness accounts, does suggest that attempting to reconstruct this as a particularly southern French ritual gesture is presumptive; it may simply be that Alexius agreed to allow Raymond to take a less strict oath than he exacted from the others.

the *GF* and Raymond describe a nearly identical oath. In previous centuries, the oath would have likely been part of an elaborate ritualized setting, in the Great Palace near the Hippodrome, with full court attendance, elaborate processions, and carefully choreographed ritual behavior.<sup>735</sup> These ceremonies were effective in creating a sense of awe in even the most educated Western visitor, as Liudprand of Cremona's description of his first embassy to Constantinople shows.

Describing his audience with the emperor, he wrote:

In front of the emperor's throne there stood a certain tree of gilt bronze, whose branches, similarly gilt bronze, were filled with birds of different sizes, which emitted the songs of the different birds corresponding to their species. The throne of the emperor was built with skill in such a way that at one instant it was low, then higher, and quickly it appeared most lofty; and lions of immense size (though it was unclear if they were of wood or brass, they certainly were coated with gold) seemed to guard him, and, striking the ground with their tails, they emitted a roar with mouths open and tongues flickering.<sup>736</sup>

This level of technology-driven court ceremony was from the height of the Macedonian dynasty, but the level of splendor would have remained unchanged. Alexius made it a relaxed setting, as close to informal as a Byzantine emperor could accomplish, trying to imitate Latin fealty rituals, but still within an opulent Byzantine palace.<sup>737</sup> Alexius Comnenus had moved the imperial court to the Blachernae Palace, away from the Great Palace that had been the imperial residence since the days of Constantine I.<sup>738</sup> The relocation completely changed the imperial ceremonial structure, as the compilation *De Ceremoniis* was custom-made for ceremonies in the rooms of

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<sup>735</sup> Frankopan, *Call of the East*, 128. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *The Books of Ceremonies*, tr. Ann Moffatt and Maxime Tall (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012), 1: 236-244, Book I, Chapter 47, "What it is necessary to observe at the appointment of a patrician who is a senator, and of a patrician who is a serving *strategos*," for an example of the elaborate ceremony that went into promotion. There are, sadly, no ceremonial guides for the Komnenian period—there are only three surviving Byzantine ceremonials, a sixth-century guide, the 10<sup>th</sup> century text used here, and the Pseudo-Kodimos, written in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. None of these offer a good guide for Komnenian practices. That being said, Alexios inherited a very functional system for dealing with foreigners, and would not have cast aside the ceremony and ritual any more than he would have invested in new technology to change the ritualized audiences.

<sup>736</sup> Liudprand of Cremona, "Retribution Book VI," in *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, tr. Paolo Squatriti (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 197-8.

<sup>737</sup> Frankopan, *Call of the East*, 128.

<sup>738</sup> Leonora Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950-1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 31.

the Great Palace.<sup>739</sup> He still used some of the ceremonial aspects, like the granting of garments to generals, but fundamentally changed the nature of imperial court culture, moving from court to family.<sup>740</sup> However informal the actual ritual, Raymond made his oath to Alexius in the Blachernae Palace, the great Marian shrine in Constantinople. Raymond took oaths made in the presence of saints very seriously, as seen in previous chapters; the example of his ancestor Raymond II, Count of the Rouergue, who was killed by Sainte Foy for breaking an oath.<sup>741</sup> Later in the Crusade, despite these acrimonious exchanges, Raymond would maintain to the letter his promise not to plunder imperial possessions against the opposition of the rest of the crusading leaders. An oath made in Mary's great shrine, after he had paid for a candle to be lit in perpetuity underneath her *maiestas* statue at Le Puy for the sake of his soul, was not one that could be broken.

### **The First Battle: The Siege of Nicaea, the Culmination of the Gregorian Crusade**

With the army finally reunited, the First Crusade crossed the Bosphorus and entered hostile territory for the first time. It was spring 1097, eight months after the armies had set out from their home territories. Raymond remained with at least part of his army in the vicinity of Constantinople until May 10, 1097, where he and Alexius seem to have resolved their

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<sup>739</sup> Ibid. Constantine Porphyrogennetos, xxv-xxvi,xxxii-xxxiv.

<sup>740</sup> Neville, 31-2. Michael Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Prokypsis," *Parergon* 5 (1987): 38-53, discusses the change in Constantinopolitan political ceremonial, specifically the abandonment of the hippodrome and Great Palace aspects of the ceremonial court culture.

<sup>741</sup> *The Book of Sainte Foy*, tr. with intro. and notes Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), Book 2.5, p. 127. It appears in the Selestat MSS, gifted to that priory in 1094 and thus part of the later eleventh-century "memory" of Sainte Foy; see *Livre des Miracles de Sainte Foy 1094-1994, Traduction des textes*, Les Amis de la Bibliothèque Humaniste de Sélestat (Obernai: Gyss Imprimeur, 1994), 59.

differences. Raymond came out of the exchange very well-funded, and left Constantinople in the good graces of the Emperor.<sup>742</sup> Anna Comnena writes with half a century of hindsight:

Alexius had a deep affection for St Gilles because of the count's superior intellect, his untarnished reputation and the purity of his life. He knew moreover how greatly St Gilles valued the truth, which he valued above all else, whatever the circumstances. In fact, he outshone all Latins in every quality, as the sun outshines the stars. It was for this reason that the emperor detained him for some time. Thus, when all the others had taken their leave of him and made the journey across the straits of the Propontis to Damalio, and when he was now relieved of their troublesome presence, he sent for Raymond on many occasions. He explained in more detail the adventures that the Latins must expect to meet with on their march; he also laid bare his own suspicions of the plans of the Franks. In the course of many conversations on this subject he unreservedly opened the doors of his soul, as it were, to the count....<sup>743</sup>

Based on Anna's description Raymond of Saint-Gilles was likely a frequent guest at the Blachernae Palace during the month he spent in the city. As Raymond brought his own family in tow, we can imagine relatively intimate gatherings, with small children in the palace (Alphonse-Jordan as a newborn, and Anna Comnena under ten), wives in tow, and simple rituals.

Anna Comnena notes that her parents ended their nights reading the Bible and studying Scripture; for Raymond of Saint-Gilles, this emphasis on personal piety would fit well within his own worldview, and the purpose of his visit.<sup>744</sup> Anna's mother, Eirene Doukas, was an intellectual, noted for "diligently reading the dogmatic pronouncements of the Holy Fathers, especially of the philosopher and martyr Maximus. Inquiries into the physical nature of things

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<sup>742</sup> Jonathan Shepard, "When Greek meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097-98," *BMGS* 12 (1988): 185-277 for the relationship between Alexius and Bohemond in the early part of the First Crusade.

<sup>743</sup> Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, Book X, 295.

<sup>744</sup> Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, 150. These Bibles, or rather the Gospel books that survive to this day, would have had a potent impact on their readers, as they are lavishly illustrated. See Jeffrey C. Anderson, "Anna Komnene, Learned woman, and the Book in Byzantine Art," in *Anna Komnene and Her Times*, ed. Thalia Gouma-Peterson (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000): 125-156, 114, discusses the iconography of book art in the Komnenian period, and the importance of the Virgin in that artwork. See especially the discussion, on 139-141, the discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter-New Testament, made around 1084 for a member of the imperial court, where the Virgin plays a prominent role in the iconography. See Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Gospel Frontispieces from the Comnenian Period," *Gesta* 21:1 (1982): 3-20, for the introduction of full-page images and the move from lectionaries to private Gospels in the Comnenian period; the rich iconography in these Gospels would have helped Raymond, despite the language barrier. For surviving examples of period Gospels, see Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, W522, W 529, and W 530 B-C, all of which are late eleventh century Constantinopolitan Gospel books.

did not interest her so much as the study of dogma, for she longed to reap the benefits of true wisdom.<sup>745</sup> Alexius, while not necessarily a grand patron of monasteries, certainly also read the Scriptures, and was responsible for a reform edict for the church in 1107 (reminiscent of reform efforts in the West) and writing his own memoir-notes to his heir, the *Mousai*.<sup>746</sup> Perhaps Alexius and Raymond connected on the level of old soldiers interested in the fate of their souls and their respective churches.

Blachernae itself would have been a fascinating location for a Westerner with a devotional history to the Virgin Mary, with its own set of ceremonies.<sup>747</sup> The Theotokos was richly represented in Byzantine hymnography, with hymns praising her on Wednesday and Friday each week.<sup>748</sup> The icon of the Virgin at Blachernae, the Blachernitissa, was known for

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<sup>745</sup> Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, 150. See Thalia Gouma-Peterson, “Gender and Power: Passages to the Maternal in Anna Komnene’s *Alexiad*,” in *Anna Komnene and Her Times*, ed. Thalia Gouma-Peterson (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000):107-124 and Diether R. Reinsch, “Women’s Literature in Byzantium?—The case of Anna Komnene,” in *Anna Komnene and Her Times*, ed. Thalia Gouma-Peterson (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000): 83-105. She was more of a patron of monasteries than her husband, and her religious devotion was well-known. See Matoula Kouroupou and Jean-François Vannier, “Commémoraisons des Comnènes dans le typikon liturgique du monastère du Christ Philanthrope (ms. Panaghia Kamariotissa 29), » *Revue des études byzantines*, 63 (2005) : 41-69, discussing one of the surviving liturgical manuscripts of one of her foundations, with marginal notes discussing the Komnenian family.

<sup>746</sup> Paul Magdalino, “The reform edict of 1107,” in *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996), 199-218; P. Gautier, “L’édit d’Alexis Ier Comnène sur la réforme de clerge,” *REB* 31 (1973) : 165-227 ; Victoria Casamiquela Gerhold, « Hétérodoxie théologique, orthodoxie ecclésiologique. Les procès d’hérésie à Byzance et la définition de l’ecclésiologie comnénienne », *Bulletin du centre d’études médiévales d’Auxerre | BUCEMA* [En ligne], Hors-série n°7 | 2013, mis en ligne le 26 mars 2013, consulté le 22 novembre 2013. URL : <http://cem.revues.org/12821> ; DOI : 10.4000/cem.12821 ; V. Grumel, “Les protes de la Sainte-Montagne de l’Athos sous Alexis Ier Comnène et le patriarche Nicolas III Grammaticos. Étude chronologique, » *Revue des études byzantines*, 5 (1947) : 206-217 ; P. Maas, « Die Musen des Kaisers Alexios I, » *BZ* 22 (1913) : 348-367.

<sup>747</sup> *The Book of Ceremonies*, 2: 541-544, for feast of Dormition of the most Holy Theotokos at Blachernai; 2: 551-556, for bathing rituals of rulers at Blachernai; 2: 761-762 for the Sunday of Orthodoxy, which starts with a great icon-carrying procession from Blachernai. The Blachernae was only one of numerous Marian sites in the city; as Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the creation of Christian Constantinople* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), links the Virgin Mary to Theodosius’ imprinting of Christianity on the intellectual and physical landscape of the city.

<sup>748</sup> Christian Hannick, “The Theotokos in Byzantine hymnography: typology and allegory,” in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 69. There are surviving examples of Comnenian-era musical manuscripts, lavishly illustrated, discussed by Annemarie Weyl Carr, “Illuminated Musical Manuscripts in Byzantium: A Note on on the Late Twelfth Century,” *Gesta* 28:1 (1989): 41-52,

performing a “usual miracle,” every Friday after sunset, where the icon of the Virgin unveiled itself.<sup>749</sup> Before leaving the city, Raymond would have been present for the feast of Mid-Pentecost, which would have placed him in contact with a cross-section of the most important people in the city.<sup>750</sup> With a May 10 departure, he would also have been present for some notable ceremonial events. On May 1 the celebration of the consecration of the Nea Church occurred, with a religious procession leaving from one of the many churches dedicated to the Holy Theotokos in the city, a liturgical performance, and a feast with the upper nobility. On May 8 there would have been a procession commemorating St. John the Theologian, with a feast of all of the senate.<sup>751</sup> The effect of this array of processions, liturgies, and banquets in the greatest Christian city, in honor of its Emperor, the Virgin, and the holiest of saints, would have been to guarantee Raymond’s compliance with his oath. To do otherwise would be too great a sacrilege. This liturgical performance on the Byzantines part paid off, as Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his descendants would faithfully maintain their alliance with the Byzantines even against their own self-interest.

The army, meanwhile, converged on Nicaea, held by Kiliç Arslan. Like many of the events of the Crusade, the siege of Nicaea—the first formal assault on the Turkish powers of the

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<sup>749</sup> Anna Komnene, 357 and p. 522, note 2. Annemarie Weyl Carr, “Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002), 77-81; V. Grumel, “Le ‘miracle habituel’ de Notre-Dame des Blechnes à Constantinople,” *Échos d’Orient* 30:162 (1931): 129-146; P.N. Carter, “An edition of William of Malmesbury’s Treatise on the Miracles of the Virgin Mary,” Oxford, D. Phil thesis, 1959, p. 264; Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State UP, 2006), chapter 5, p. 145-163 and Bissera V. Pentcheva, “Rhetorical Images of the Virgin: The Icon of the ‘Usual Miracle’ at the Blachernai,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 38 (Autumn 2000): 34-55.

<sup>750</sup> *The Book of Ceremonies*, 2:774: “A public procession is held for the middle of the feast of Easter and the emperors go along in state to the Church of St Mokios. When the sacred liturgy is finished, a banquet is set out for the emperor at a separate table in the halls there, and the patriarch dines with the emperor. It is necessary for us to get ready to dine with them guests from the order of the *magistroi*, proconsuls, patricians, metropolitans, holders of high office, and archons of the regiments, and members of the senate who wear the sandal, according to the size of the table, and to lead them in and lead them out in their particular ceremonial dress without chlamyses. At the time specified for the acclamation of the demes, it is necessary to have all those who have been summoned stand up for the cheering of the rulers.”

<sup>751</sup> *The Book of Ceremonies*, 2: 775-776.

Middle East—began on a liturgically significant day: May 14, the Ascension of the Lord.<sup>752</sup>

Raymond the cleric describes Nicaea, where he arrived on May 16, as

a city well protected by natural terrain and clever defenses. Its natural fortifications consisted of a great lake lapping at its walls and a ditch, brimful or runoff water from nearby streams, blocking entrance on three sides. Skillful men had enclosed Nicaea with such lofty walls that the city feared neither the attack of enemies nor the force of any machine. The ballistae of the nearby towers were so alternately faced that no one could move near them without peril, and if anyone wished to move forward, he could do no harm because he could easily be struck down from the top of a tower.<sup>753</sup>

The description gives an indication of the tremendous difficulty required for a conventional assault on the city. The siege has been well covered in the past, but a few of the details from the Provençal side are useful for the *mentalité* of Raymond d'Aguilers.<sup>754</sup> Raymond d'Aguiler's chronicle downplays the very real difficulty the crusaders faced in capturing the city—while the city was mostly surrounded, there was still a large garrison, and early attempts to breach the walls failed. Shortly after the siege settled in, part of the Seljuk army attempted to enter the city.

As d'Aguilers writes:

While the Count of Toulouse wished to encamp there, the Turks marched down from the mountains in two bodies and fell upon our army. Doubtless they had made their plans with the hope that while one contingent fought Godfrey and the Germans encamped to the east, the other group of Turks would enter Nicaea through the south gate and go out another gate and thereby easily rout our unsuspecting forces. But God, the customary

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<sup>752</sup> Peter Tudebode, 31. Latin: "In die Ascensionis Domini ceperunt civitatem circumque invadere," Petrus Tudebodus, 48.

<sup>753</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 25. Latin: "Est itaque Nicea urbs munitissima tam natura quam ingenio. Habet ab occidente lacum maximum muris influentem, a reliquis tribus partibus vallum de restagnatione quorundam rivulorum plenum. Preterea muris ita eminentibus cingitur ut nullorum hominum assultus, nullius machine impetus vereatur. Balistaria vero vicinarum turrium sic respicientia sunt adinvicem ut sine periculo nullus accedere possit. Si quis autem [propius] accedere voluerit, obesse cum nequeat, facile de altitudine turrium obruitur." Raymond, *Liber*, 42-3. For his arrival date, Peter Tudebode, 31, fn 3.

<sup>754</sup> The discussion of crusade numbers has a long history in medieval military history. See, for example, Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Siege of Antioch: A Study in Military Demography," *War in History* 6: 2 (127): 127-46; Jean Flori, "Un problème de méthodologie: la valeur des nombres chez les chroniqueurs du moyen âge, à propos des effectifs de la première croisade," *Le Moyen Age* 49 (1993) : 398-422. For the figure 50-60 thousand in the army, see John France, *Victory in the East*, 142. The size of the crusading army and the issues this created for logistics at Nicaea is dealt with explicitly by Gregory D. Bell, "Logistics of the First Crusade," Duke University, PhD Diss., 2007, 119-126, who points out the utter reliance of the First Crusade on Byzantine supply at this point. For a comprehensive coverage of the siege of Nicaea from a military history point of view, see John France, *Victory in the East: A military history of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), chapter 6, p. 143-170.



scourge of wicked counsel, ruined their schemes so that it seems that he planned the battle according to the following outcome. God caused the Count, who at the moment was about to make camp with his men, to attack that body of Turks which at the very same time was on the point of entering Nicaea. In the first charge Raymond routed and killed many of the Turks and then chased the remaining ones to a nearby mountain, while at the same time the Turks who had planned to rush the Germans were likewise put to flight and crushed.<sup>755</sup>

Raymond d'Aguilers begins here a steady movement toward a mystical interpretation of history. The giving of credit to God for military victory was certainly not an innovation in his chronicle, but the direct use of Count Raymond as God's instrument and God's chosen vessel would be a repeated theme later in his work. Peter Tudebode echoes the sentiment, saying that "Raymond, advancing under divine protection," found the Turks and, "so armed on all sides with the sign of the Cross," defeated them.<sup>756</sup> Both accounts bring notice to the aura of God around Raymond's army.

This victory was a Gregorian and a political success for the First Crusade. It was the first stop on a grand pilgrimage to Jerusalem, led by a papal legate who was, at least at that point, successfully shepherding disparate groups of knights and pilgrims through Christian lands. It worked to the benefit of both the crusaders and the Byzantines, fulfilling the hopes of the Byzantine delegation to Piacenza and the plans of Urban II.<sup>757</sup> At the same time, it showed quite

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<sup>755</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 25-6. Latin: « quia cum comes inibi cum suis hospitari vellet Turci de montanis descendentes in duabus turmis, exercitum nostrum aggrediebantur. Eo nimirum consilio ut dum altera pars ducem et Alemannos impugnaret, qui ab oriente erant, pars altera Turcorum per meridionalem civitatis portam ingrediens, ac per alteram portam exiens, nostros facile a castris propelleret nil simile cogitantes. Sed qui consilium impiorum subvertere solet Deus, sic apparatus illorum exinanivit, ut veluti disposito ingredienti iam fere civitatem Turcorum turme hospitari volentem comitem cum suis inmisit. Qui primo impetu eos in fugam vertit, atque pluribus interfectis reliquos insecutus est usque ad montis altitudinem. Pars altera Turcorum que Alemannos oppugnare voluit, exemplo simili fugatur et prosternitur. » Raymond, *Liber*, 43. See John France, *Victory in the East*, 160-1, for a negative opinion of Raymond d'Aguilers account of the battle.

<sup>756</sup> Peter Tudebode, 31. Latin: "Qui comes veniens ex alia parte profectus divinis virtutibus atque terrenis fulgebat armis cum seuo fortissimo exercitu. Hic itaque invenit contra nos venientes Turcos ; undique signo crucis armantur ; vehementer irruit super illos armtus et superati sunt et dederunt fugam, fuitque mortua maxima pars illorum. »

<sup>757</sup> Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, 142; Shepard, "When Greek Met Greek," 208, 215-217; and Shepard, "Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade," 114-122.

clearly that the goals of the orchestrators of the First Crusade were at odds with the goals and beliefs of the participants.

One example of this is found in Peter Tudebode, who focused on the aspects of martyrdom at Nicaea, writing:

The crusaders had besieged Nicaea for seven weeks, and many of ours who were faithfully martyred there gladly and joyfully surrendered their fortunate souls to God. Many of the extremely destitute people died of hunger and fortunately gave their lives for the name of Christ, who is blessed and praiseworthy for ever and for ever. Amen.<sup>758</sup>

Tudebode ends his description with a verse taken from the Response of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Nocturne, “Common of a Martyr,” and from the Psalter, Sunday at Lauds, the “Canticle of the Three Boys.”<sup>759</sup> As befitting a priest, his chronicle incorporates liturgical elements, as his gloss adds the concerns of a priest into a chronicle of a holy mission.

Alexius, according to Raymond d’Aguilers’ chronicle, had promised vast quantities of “gold, silver, horses, and effects of all kinds which were in Nicaea; and he further stated that he would found there a Latin monastery and hospice for needy Franks.”<sup>760</sup> According to Raymond, however, Alexius did not live up to his bargain. He writes that “once in possession of Nicaea, Alexius acted as such an ingrate to the army that as long as he might live people would ever revile him and call him traitor.”<sup>761</sup> While Raymond d’Aguilers complains about the actual treatment, other chronicles show that the monetary rewards of the victory at Nicaea were

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<sup>758</sup> Peter Tudebode, 33. Latin: “Fueruntque in obsessione illa per vii ebdomadas, et multi ex nostris illic fideliter receperunt martyrium; letantes atque gaudentes reddiderunt felices animas Deo. Et ex pauperrima gente multi mortui sunt fame, et feliciter mortui sunt pro Christi nomine qui est benedictus et laudabilis in secula seculorum. Amen.” Petrus Tudebodus, 50. The B manuscript, from Maillezais, reads « Fuerunt vero illa obsidione septem ebdomadas, et multi ex nostris perceperunt felice martyrium ; martirum pro Christi amore gaudentes atque letantes. Et ex pauperrima gente quamplurimi mortui sunt fame, in Christi nomine. Cum soli in nomino Christi. Cum Solimanno Christiani pugnant.” Petrus Tudebodus, 50, notes c-h, and Paris, BNF, MS lat. 4892, f. 215v.

<sup>759</sup> Peter Tudebode, 33, fn 7.

<sup>760</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 26. Latin: “promiserat Alexius principibus et genti Francorum quod totum aurum et argentum et equos et omnem suppellectilem que intus erat eis redderet, et monasterium latinum et hospitium pauperibus Francorum ibi faceret.” Raymond, *Liber*, 44.

<sup>761</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 26-7. Latin: “Alexius itaque accepta civitate tantam gratiarum actionem exercitui dedit, ut quandiu vixit populous semper ei maledicat, et proclamet eum proditorem.” Raymond, *Liber*, 44.

substantial.<sup>762</sup> Peter Tudebode does not share Raymond's complaint, writing that, "the emperor was so happy over his possession of the city that he ordered the distribution of many alms to the poor."<sup>763</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers' complaints, however, go beyond the material, as he follows his statement of Alexios-as-ingrate with an accusation of a Byzantine betrayal of the People's Crusade to the Turks.<sup>764</sup> It is clear that at least to Raymond d'Aguilers, the conduct of the Byzantines towards the crusaders had been duplicitous.

A Byzantine military force was detached from Constantinople to escort the crusaders through Asia Minor, and while the crusade chronicles do not discuss it in detail, Anna Comnena says it had around 2,000 lightly armed troops under the command of Taktikos, was one of Alexius' favorite generals.<sup>765</sup> Taktikos is usually remembered for his later actions in the Crusade, leaving the army during the siege of Antioch, but his departure with the crusaders was a sign of good faith by Alexius. Taktikos was involved in "almost every military expedition undertaken during the last two decades of the eleventh century," an outsider of Turkish origin who was one of the few examples of an individual outside of the aristocratic networks surrounding the Comnenian dynasty to become a senior official.<sup>766</sup> While Alexius and the main Byzantine army moved to consolidate the victory at Nicaea and recapture the western coast, his most trusted general and expert on combat in Asia Minor would lead the crusaders towards their destinations. The 2,000 soldiers with him was not a small force for the Byzantine army, whose

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<sup>762</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *A history of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, tr. Frances Rita Ryan, ed. Harold S. Fink (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1973), Book I, Chapter X, p. 83;

<sup>763</sup> Peter Tudebode, 33-4. Latin: "unde imperator magis magisque gavisus quod civitas redditur in sua potestate, iussit maximas elemosinas erogare nostris pauperibus." Petrus Tudebodus, 51.

<sup>764</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 27.

<sup>765</sup> Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, 300 (number of troops), 305 (accompanying the crusaders), 115, 172-4, 183-5, 193-201, 247-250, 256, 265 (various instances of Taktikos in high command with Alexius before the First Crusade).

<sup>766</sup> Peter Frankopan, "Kinship and the Distribution of Power in Komnenian Byzantium," *English Historical Review* 122:495 (2007) doi:10.1093/ehr/ce1378 p. 10; Charles M. Brand, "The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), 3-4 .

total field strength during the tenth through twelfth centuries has been estimated to be no more than fifteen to twenty thousand soldiers at its strongest; it was thus two full tagma, over a tenth of the Byzantine standing army.<sup>767</sup> They also brought with them a wealth of experience, tactical knowledge, and information for dealing with the Turkish, Armenian, Greek, and Syrian inhabitants in Anatolia and Cappadocia.<sup>768</sup> In a final example of how well Urban's plan was working, Alexius founded a monastery outside of Nicaea for the Latins.<sup>769</sup>

The papal crusade had met with immense success at Nicaea. Not only had the Byzantines and Crusaders worked together, and achieved victory over Turkish forces, but they had liberated one of the great Christian cities. The distribution of food and coin, and the addition of Byzantine

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<sup>767</sup> Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Les effectifs de l'armée byzantine aux Xe-XIIe s.," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 38 :152 (Octobre-décembre 1995) : 319-335, especially 322-323 and 326 for the size of tagma in the XI s. and 331 and 333-334 for total army size under the Comnenian dynasty. See also

<sup>768</sup> The tradition of military manuals and organized written accounts of military tactics has a lengthy history in Byzantium, dropping off at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. While tactics certainly changed in the eleventh century and beyond, the survival of those military manuals suggests some enduring use. The *Strategikon* attributed to the Em[peror Maurice was copied in the tenth and eleventh centuries, with one recension surviving in three manuscripts all copied in Constantinople in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century; see *Maurice's Strategikon. Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, tr. George T. Dennis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), xix. Also early eleventh century in Constantinople, three manuscripts survive of what is known as "Skirmishing", purportedly by the Emperor Nikephoros Phocas II; see *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, ed. and tr. George t. Dennis (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), 140-1, and *Le Traité sur la guérilla de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas*, ed and tr. Gilbert Dagron and Haralambie Mihaescu (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1986), 103-158, discussing the context of Byzantine military manuals and the place of "Skirmishing" in that tradition. The same manuscripts also contain what is called "Campaign Organization," linked to the general Nikephoros Ouranos; see *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* 242-3. The last written military manual was the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos, which survives only in later manuscripts but was probably written ca. 1000; see Eric McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 79-86. These manuals, especially those written in the tenth century, would have been incredibly useful not only for fighting the Turks but in suggestions for raiding, equipping the army, and travelling across the land.

<sup>769</sup> That monastery, Civitot, is lightly documented, known only from a letter of Peter the Venerable to Emperor John II Comnenus in the twelfth century, where he describes it as, "Inter quae Cluniaco monasterio omnibus Latinis regibus et gentibus notissimo, eique subdito magno et religioso loco qui Karitas dicitur, monasterium iuxta ipsam regiam ciuitatem quod Ciuitoth uocatur dedit, et in perpetuum abbatis Cluniacensis et prioris de Karitate obaedientiae subiecit." *The Letters of Peter the venerable*, ed. with intro. and notes Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1967), 1: 209, Letter 75. J. Gay, "L'abbaye de Cluny et Byzance au début du XIIe siècle," *Échoes d'Orient* 30, n. 161 (1931) : 84-90. Its link to Cluny may be slightly later, a product of the Crusade of 1101, but it would become the only Cluniac monastery in the Byzantine Empire. Giles Constable, "The Three Lives of Odo Arpinus: Viscount of Bourges, Crusader, Monk of Cluny," in *Religion, Text, and Society in Medieval Spain and Northern Europe. Essays in honor of J.N. Hillgarth*, ed. Thomas E. Burman, Mark D. Meyerson and Lea Shopkow, *Papers in Medieval Studies* 16 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2002), 183-199

forces according to the greater papal plan, impelled the crusading army to move on quickly, remaining at Nicaea for only a week. The armies departed over the course of three days, June 26-28.<sup>770</sup> Having freed one of the great cities of Byzantium, site of the Council of Nicaea that had formulated the bedrock creed of their faith, the First Crusade could move on with a sense of spiritual accomplishment.

### **Heavenly Hosts in Anatolia: The Battle of Dorylaeum and the Siege to Antioch**

From the earliest stages of the march in Asia Minor, the success of Nicaea was worn away by constant Turkish attacks. To deal with the difficulties of the march, Raymond of Saint-Gilles split from the army, along with Adhemar, Hugh of Vermandois, and Raymond of Flanders, traveling behind a vanguard made up largely of Normans.<sup>771</sup> Despite the poor quality of the roads and the lack of forage, the first few days of the march were uneventful, passing through a monotonous landscape of abandoned Byzantine villages. Three days out from Nicaea,

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<sup>770</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 34, fn 9.

<sup>771</sup> It is possible that this tactic was a product of Byzantine military experience; “Skirmishing” instructs that, when dealing with enemy army, “This army should be divided in two. Two thousand should be stationed further ahead in a suitable ambushade that has a high observation post with a good view, so he can see his men far off being pursued and pursuing. Behind the two thousand should be the three thousand, and the infantry units with them ought to be posted in a concealed place, which has some natural protection, as an ambush.” *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, p. 205. Much more likely, of course, are the issues of logistics and the problems of traveling through war-torn, relatively abandoned territory. Even in the 1070s, there were difficulties, when the Byzantines still controlled the territory. See John Haldon with Vince Gaffney, Georgios Theodoropoulos, and Phil Murgatroyd, “Marching across Anatolia: Medieval Logistics and Modeling the Mantzikert Campaign,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65/66 (2011-2012): 209-235 and Phil Murgatroyd, Bart Craenen, Georgios Theodoropoulos, Vincent Gaffney, and John Haldon, “Modelling medieval military logistics: an agent-based simulation of a Byzantine army on the march,” *Comput Math Organ Theory* (2012) 18:488–506, as well as Speros Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1971), chapter I, p. 1-68, for description of what Byzantine Asia Minor was like in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, especially the road networks, 30-33. See also Mark Whittow, “How the east was lost: the background to the Komnenian *Reconquista*,” in *Alexios I Komnenos I. Papers*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996), 55-67. Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 34. Latin: “In uno namque agmine fuit vir Boamundus, et Rotbertus Normannus, et prudens Tancredus, et alii plures. In alia vero parte fuit Raimundus comes Sancti Egidii, et dux Godefredus, et Podiensis episcopus, et Hugo Mannus, et comes Flandrensis, et alii plures.”

however, a messenger appeared from over the hills, bearing tidings of impending disaster.

Bohemond's contingent was surrounded by the full force of Kiliç Arslan's army and desperately needed assistance.<sup>772</sup> Peter Tudebode reflects some of the confusion in this period, writing that "At this time we did not believe the message because we thought that the Turks were too wise to commit themselves to open battle with us."<sup>773</sup> Raymond and his forces moved forward immediately, hoping to arrive before it was too late.

This was the battle of Dorylaeum, and Bohemond's army had been hammered by the full strength of the Seljuk army. As Raymond d'Aguilers describes it, however, the Provençal army's arrival led to immediate victory. "The sight of the onrushing knights chilled the hopes of Kiliç Arslan, the attacking leader, and he fled precipitately."<sup>774</sup> As Peter Tudebode recounts, the second army, moving into the valley, was immediately struck by the sheer numbers of the enemy army, "indeed, all the mountains, hills, valleys, and plains within and without swarmed with this damnable breed."<sup>775</sup> Peter may have been an eyewitness; certainly his addition to the *Gesta's* account here is a liturgical one, writing, "Secretly word was passed along, praising, counseling, and urging: 'Be united in the faith of Christ and fortified by the victory of the banner of the

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<sup>772</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 27. Latin: "Cumque in die tercia digressionis.." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 45. The Seljuq army was very powerful throughout this period, reinforced by successive waves of nomadic migrations into Anatolia that supported and supplemented their armies; see Stefan Heidemann, "Arab Nomads and the Seljuq Military," in *Shifts and Drifts in Nomad-Sedentary Relations*, ed. Stefan Leder and Bernhard Streck (Weisbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2005), 289-305.

<sup>773</sup> Peter Tudebode, 35. Latin: "Nam nos non ceredebamus iam illos esse tam prudentes quod amplius auderent sese erigere et preliari nobiscum." Petrus Tudebodus, 52-3. Marcus Bull, "The eyewitness accounts of the first crusade as political scripts," *Reading medieval studies* 36 (2010): 22-37, for an example of the issues of eyewitness accounts. See also Yuval Noah Harari, "Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: the *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 77-99, which argues that not every of the so-called eyewitness accounts is really eyewitness.

<sup>774</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 27. Latin: "Ut autem cognovit Solimannus et qui cum eo erant exercitum nostrum contra suum in pugnam concurrere, de victoria desperans, fugere compulsus est et qui captivos et tentoria plurima de castris Boimundi acceperat, per Dei virtutem sua reliquit." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 45.

<sup>775</sup> Peter Tudebode, 35. Latin: "quia omnes montes et colles etvalles et omnia plana loca intus et infra undique stabant cooperta de illa excommunicata generacione." Petrus Tudebodus, 53.

Sacred Cross because on this day, God willing, you will receive great wealth.”<sup>776</sup> This comes from the Ordinary at Compline, and the *Epistola Beati Petri Apostoli Prima*, and the banner of the Sacred Cross as an idea also comes from the Missal.<sup>777</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers’ brief account seems to be accurate. The charge of the various crusading armies down into the valleys from hills behind the Turkish army routed their forces.<sup>778</sup> Peter Tudebode’s account of this ends in a liturgical recitation, combining a declaration of faith with a commentary on how powerful the Turks would be if only they were Christian, the language being taken in part from the *Credo*.<sup>779</sup>

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<sup>776</sup> Peter Tudebode, 35. Latin: “Factus est itaque sermo secretus inter nos laudantes et consulaentes atque dicentes: ‘Estote omnino unanimes in fide Christi et sancte crucis vexillii victoria muniti, quia hodie si Deo placet omnes divites effecti critis.’ » Petrus Tudebodus, 53. Preaching before battle had a long tradition, and was prominent in at least one of the “proto-crusade” texts, the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, with Bishop Benedict o Modena addressing the Pisan troops before the assault on Mahdia with religious language and Biblical stories--David and Goliath, Judas Maccabaeus, and a typological link between the Pisans and the Israelites. See David S. Bachrach, “Conforming with the Rhetorical Tradition of Plausibility: Clerical Representation of Battlefield Orations against Muslims, 1080-1170,” *The International History Review* 26:1 (Mar. 2004), 3-4. Liturgy during wartime had a long history in Carolingian times as well. See Michael McCormick, “The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages: Crisis, Litanies, and the Carolingian Monarchy,” *Viator* 15 (1984): 1-23.

<sup>777</sup> Peter Tudebode, 35, fn 13. From about the mid-tenth century, the banners knight fought under would be given liturgical blessings; see H.E.J. Cowdrey, “The Genesis of the Crusades: The Springs of Western Ideas of Holy War,” in *The Holy War*, ed. T. P. Murphy (Columbus, 1976), 15-16; for Peter Tudebode in particular, the banner of the Sacred Cross was the subject of a hymn by Venantius Fortunatus, the “Vexilla Regis,” in honor of the Sacred Cross, available at <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/venantius.html>

<sup>778</sup> Peter Tudebode, 36, “Upon the approach of our knights, the Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Agulans, and all the barbarous breed at once turned tail and fled pell-mell through the mountain passes and open plains.” Latin: “Statimque venientibus militibus nostris Turci, et Arabes, et Sarracenci, et Gulani, et omnes barbareae nationes, dederunt velociter fugam per compendia montis et plana loca.” Petrus Tudebodus, 54. For a full description of the military aspects of Dorylaeum, see France, *Victory in the East*, 170-187.

<sup>779</sup> Peter Tudebode, 37 and fn 20. Latin: “Veritatem quoque dicam per omnia quam nemo audebit prohibere. Certe si in fide Christi et Christianitate semper firmi fuissent, et unum in Trinitate manentem natum de Virgine matre et passum et resurgentem, ac deinde consolationem Sancti Spiritus perfecte mittentem, in celo et in terra equaliter regnantem recta mente et fide credidissent, magis prudentiores aut fortiores aut bellorum ingeniosissimos aliquis invenire minime potuerit. » Petrus Tudebodus, 55. Peter Tudebode was very careful to attribute the victory to God directly. As he writes, after describing the flight of the Turks and the loot acquired in their camp, “However, if the Lord had not been present with us in battle and hurriedly dispatched a second force to Bohemond’s rescue, none of our men would have escaped harm because the fight lasted from third to the ninth hour. But the kind and compassionate Almighty God by hastening aid to us saved his knights from death or capture by the enemy.” Peter Tudebode, 36. Latin: “et nisi Dominus foret nobiscum in bello, et aliam cito mandasset aciem, nullus nostrorum penitus evaderet quia ex hora tertia usque in horam nonam perduravit hec pugna . Sed omnipotens Dominus pius et misericors qui non permisit suos milites perire nec in manibus inimicorum incidere, festine adiutorium nobis mandavit.” Petrus Tudebodus 54. Peter’s account gives all of the credit to divine intervention, but a nebulous kind, God directing mortal forces.

Dorylaeum was the first instance where Raymond d'Aguilers records saints marching with the crusaders, accompanying them in their battles. After the battle of Dorylaeum, Raymond writes that:

some recounted a remarkable miracle in which two handsome knights in flashing armor, riding before our soldiers and seemingly invulnerable to the thrusts of Turkish lances, menaced the enemy so that they could not fight. Although we learned this from apostate Turks now in our ranks, we can certify from evidence that for two days on the march we saw dead riders and dead horses.<sup>780</sup>

Until Dorylaeum, Raymond's chronicle was typologically charged, but it was fairly typical. He emphasized parallels to Exodus, particularly as illustration of the pilgrimage of God's chosen people to the Holy Land. Starting at Dorylaeum, however, saints become omnipresent in his work, not only as aids in key battles or signs of divine favor, as in many of the other chronicles, but as the impetus for action, the guides, guardians, and controllers of the army.

Not only did saints participate in the battle, but they healed the sick Count during the march through Asia Minor afterwards:

Distasteful as the following may be to scoffers, it should be made a matter of public record because it is an account of the miracle working of divine mercy. A Saxon count in our army, claiming to be a legate of Saint Gilles, said that he had been urged two times to command the Count: 'Relax, you will not die of this infirmity because I have secured a respite for you from God and I shall always be at hand.' Although the Count was most credulous, he was so weakened by the malady that when he was taken from his bed and

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<sup>780</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 28. Latin: "Fertur quoddam insigne miraculum, sed nos non vidimus quod duo equites armis coruscis et mirabili facie exercitum nostrum precedentes, sic hostibus imminebant ut nullo modo facultatem pugnandi eis concederent. At vero cum Turci referire eos lanceis vellent, insauciabiles eis apparebant. Hec autem que dicimus ab illis qui eorum consorcium spernentes, et nobis adheserunt, didicimus. Quod pro testimonio adducimus tale est. Per primam et alteram diem iuxta viam equos eorum mortuos cum dominis ipsis reperimus. » Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 45-6. This kind of eyewitness testimony being used to back up rumors of the divine is especially problematic. See Yuval Noah Harari, "Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: the *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 77-99, especially 83, where he writes that "Thus, when describing a miracle that occurred during the battle of Dorylaeum, Raymond admits that he did not see it himself, specifies as his source some apostate Turks who joined the crusader ranks, and then hastens to add that he has some first-hand supporting evidence for this, namely that for two days after the battle the crusaders saw dead riders and dead horses on the way. That this supporting evidence has little to do with the miracle in question only goes to show how important it was for Raymond to provide some first-hand evidence in support of the miracle's veracity." See especially Elizabeth Lapina, "Nec signis nec testis creditur...": The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade," *Viator* 38 (2007): 117-139, a particularly excellent approach to the use of eyewitness testimony in the First Crusade.



placed upon the ground, he scarcely had a breath of life. So the bishop of Orange read the office as if he were dead; but divine compassion, which had made him leader of his army, immediately raised him from death and returned him safe and sound.<sup>781</sup>

This raises a number of points. First, Raymond d'Aguilers is seeing personal miracles being performed by the saints, even away from their relics and shrines, and being performed for individuals—in this case, Raymond of Saint-Gilles. This is important, because what the Saxon count says, or at least what Raymond d'Aguilers claims that he said, is that Saint Gilles was actively watching over Raymond and would “always be at hand” to protect him and keep him from death.<sup>782</sup> There is a reciprocal relationship of gift-giving and making agreements with monasteries that has been discussed in previous chapters, but it is once again worth pointing out—Raymond, having given up all of his temporal rights over the abbey of Saint-Gilles, something that he had contested at length and with great vigor, has received something in return.<sup>783</sup> He relinquished control over his namesake possession, and the saint in return saves his

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<sup>781</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 28-9. Latin: « Quod si incredulis ingratum fore satis cognovimus, tamen quod divina clementia operatur reticere non debetur. Erat quidam comes in nostro exercitu de Saxonia qui ad comitem Raimundum venit, et legatum se sancti Egidii asserebat, et semel et secundo se ammonitum ut diceret comiti aiebat: Esto securus non morieris de hac infirmitate. Ego tibi inducias a Deo impetravi, ego semper tecum ero. Et licet satis hec comes crederet, tamen ita ea infirmitate affectus fuit, ut depositus de lecto in terram, vix etiam vitalem pulsum haberet. Unde episcopus Aurasice urbis, officium ei quasi pro defuncto impenderet. Sed divina clementia que eum ducem prefecerat exercitus sui, de morte eum ilico relevavit, et sospitati reddidit.” Raymond d'Aguilers, 46. The date of this illness is unknown; it is possible that it is sometime around September 1, the feast of Saint Gilles, but it is unknown; Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, p. 46, fn 2.

<sup>782</sup> Saxony itself may not have had direct links to Saint-Gilles, but neighboring Poland did, in the late eleventh century. In 1085, Duke Wladyslaw and his wife Judith sent emissaries to the monastery to ask for prayers from the monks and to place a golden statue of an infant at Saint Gilles' tomb; the next year, they had a child, leading to the implantation of Saint-Gilles in the region. See Pierre David, “La Pologne dans l'obituaire de Saint-Gilles en Languedoc au XIIe siècle,” *Revue des études slaves* 19 : 3-4 (1939) : 218-9.

<sup>783</sup> There is extensive documentation on the theory of “le don,” the reciprocal relationship of gift giving that has been discussed in previous chapters and will be discussed again in the next. For a small selection, see Marcel Mauss, « Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques, » *L'Année Sociologique*, seconde série (1923-1924), which is the foundational document of the discussion of le don and the idea of reciprocity in gift arrangements. See Eliana Magnani, « Les médiévistes et le don. Avant et après la théorie maussienne », *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre | BUCEMA* [En ligne], Hors-série n° 2 | 2008, mis en ligne le 13 janvier 2009, consulté le 07 juillet 2013. URL : <http://cem.revues.org/8842> ; DOI : 10.4000/cem.8842 for a historiographic discussion of Mauss's theory on medievalists, and Eliana Magnani, « Du don aux églises au don pour le salut de l'âme en Occident (ive-xie siècle) : le paradigme eucharistique », *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre | BUCEMA* [En ligne], Hors-série n° 2 | 2008, mis en ligne le 19 janvier 2009, consulté le 13 juillet 2013. URL: <http://cem.revues.org/9932> ; DOI: 10.4000/cem.9932 for an example of the application. For a

life and promises to watch over him for the rest of the journey. This notion, of the saints Raymond of Saint-Gilles had made gifts to coming back to bless him spiritually in a very immediate sense, would be important later in the First Crusade.

Secondly, there is the presence of William of Orange at his bedside, reading the office for him. Despite the importance of Adhemar to Raymond, it was William of Orange who was performing the kind of religious liturgical activity one expects from a personal chaplain.<sup>784</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers had clearly not risen to that level yet. William's role as a papal legate, connected so closely to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, once again suggests that the Moses-Aaron connection made between Adhemar and Raymond in some chronicles was less than a personal link, but an institutional one.

Finally, the language that Raymond uses here to describe what happened to his count is revelatory, "sed divina clementia que eum ducem prefecerat exercitus sui, de morte eum ilico relevavit, et sospitati reddidit," "but divine compassion, which had made him leader of his army, immediately raised him from death and returned him safe and sound."<sup>785</sup> It is God bringing Raymond back from the dead like Lazarus. He had some kind of greater purpose that required him alive. It is this pair of stories, of the army of saints riding at Dorylaeum and God resurrecting Raymond, through Saint Gilles' intervention, that show the beginnings of a fundamental alteration in the sacred history Raymond d'Aguilers was writing.

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critique of the use of Mauss, see Jonathan Parry, "The Gift, the Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift'," *Man* 21 (1986): 453-473.

<sup>784</sup> We have a handful of surviving charters from the bishopric of Orange, scattered in other archives, of which one is from William of Orange and another discusses the deal made between Orange and Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux for the aftermath of William's death. See L. Duhamel, "Fragments d'anciens cartulaires de l'évêché d'Orange," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse* (1896), no. IV, p. 387-8, and no. VI, p. 388-9. He is also mentioned in relation to the preaching in Genoa above, and for his meetings with Urban II in the previous chapter.

<sup>785</sup> Raymond, *Liber*, 46; Raymond, *Historia*, 29. The entire story of his illness is reminiscent of Isaiah 38:1-6; Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, p. 46, fn 2.

The march to Antioch from Dorylaeum was not without conflict, but Raymond d'Aguilers does not describe any of the journey between. His chronicle recommences with the discussion of the beginning of the siege of Antioch, writing "Thereafter as we approached Antioch, many princes proposed that we postpone the siege, especially since winter was close and the army, already weakened by summer heat, was now dispersed throughout strongholds."<sup>786</sup> We next hear of Raymond's activity at the city of Coxon, modern day Göksun in Turkey. Tudebode, following the *Gesta*, reports that information concerning the defense of Antioch reached Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who responded unilaterally, "after receiving reports that the defenders of Antioch had vacated the city, held a council with his Provençals and made plans to send his knights to guard Antioch with great care."<sup>787</sup> He chose three southern French lords to go with a contingent of his soldiers: Peter, viscount of Castillon in Gascony, Peter of Roaix northeast of Orange, and Peter Raymond of Hautpol north of Carcassone, representing the geographic breadth of Raymond's contingent. Nearing Antioch, these forces learned from local Armenians that the Turkish army was in fact there in force. Peter of Roaix, the vassal closest to Raymond's power base, "left the expeditionary force and, under the cover of darkness, passed near Antioch and entered the valley of Rugia, where he found and battled Turks and Saracens,

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<sup>786</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 30. Latin: "Igitur cum Antiochiam adpropinquavimus, non erat consilium multorum principum ut eam obsideremus, presertim cum hiems inmineret, et exercitus tunc diffusus per castella, et inminutus estivo tempore fuerat, inperatoris etiam vires oportere expectari dicebant, et exercitum de Francia qui venire nunciabatur, sicque hiemare usque in verno precipiebant." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 46-7.

<sup>787</sup> Peter Tudebode, 41-2. Latin: "Audiens itaque Raimundus come de Sancto Egidio quod Turci qui errant in custodia Antiochie discessissent, invenit in suo consilio cum suis hominibus quoniam mandasset illic aliquos ex suis militibus qui eam diligenter custodiret. Tandem elegit illos quos legare volebat, videlicet Petrum de Castellione vicecomitem, et Petrum de Roag, et Petrum Raimundum Dalphul, cum quingentis militibus. Venerunt namque in vallem prope Antiochiam ad quoddam castrum Publicanorum, illicque audierunt Turcos fore in civitatem eamque fortiter defendere preparabant. Petrus de Roag divisit se ab aliis, et proxima nocte transivit prope Antiochiam, intravitque feliciter in vallem de Rugia. Et invenit Turcos et Sarracenos et preliatus est cum eis, et occidit multos ex eis, et alios persecutus est valde. Videntes hoc Hermenii, licet scilicet habitatores illius terre, illum fortiter superasse paganos, / continuo reddiderunt se. Ipse vero statim apprehendit Rusam civitatem et plurima castra. » Petrus Tudebodus, 61-2. See France, *Victory in the East*, 191-192, and Bell, « Logistics of the First Crusade, » 127-9.

killing many and ardently chasing the remnants.”<sup>788</sup> This victory had the benefit of convincing the local Armenians and Syrians that the crusaders were a serious military force, and Peter Tudebode recounts that they “promptly put themselves under his protection, whereupon he seized the city of Rusa and many castles.”<sup>789</sup>

This victory conveniently allowed the crusading army to flank Antioch to the east. The rest of the army then began to move up into position around the city. Raymond’s chronicle identifies some of the difficulties the beginning of the siege, the dispersal of units, the lack of supplies, the heat, and the desire of the majority to wait for the Byzantines.<sup>790</sup> Given the chronicler’s clear dislike of the Byzantines, it is unlikely that this last point was a fabrication; indeed, waiting for imperial reinforcements, or Frankish reinforcements, would certainly have made the most sense militarily, though not in terms of the spiritual momentum generated by successive victories over the Turks, the capture of Nicaea and the presence of saints in the entourage.

In his *Liber*, Raymond of Saint-Gilles reflects this:

Raymond, along with other princes standing in opposition, made a counter proposal: ‘Through God’s inspiration we have arrived, through His loving kindness we won the highly fortified city, Nicaea, and through His compassion, have victory and safety from the Turks as well as peace and harmony in our army; therefore, our affairs should be entrusted to Him. We ought not to fear kings or leaders of kings, and neither dread places nor times since the Lord has rescued us from many perils.’ The counsel of the latter prevailed and we arrived and encamped nearby Antioch so that the defenders fired from the heights of their towers wounded both our men in their tents and our horses.<sup>791</sup>

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<sup>788</sup> Ibid.

<sup>789</sup> Ibid.

<sup>790</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 30. Raymond d’Aguilers does not come out in favor of this; his dislike of the Byzantines remains unabated throughout the chronicle.

<sup>791</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 30. Latin: “At alii de principibus in quibus erat comes dicebant, per Dei inspirationem nos venisse, per ipsius misericordiam nos Niceam munitissimam urbem obtinuisse, atque per eiusdem clementiam victoriam et securitatem de Turcis habuisse, pacem et concordiam in exercitu nostro fuisse, atque ideo ipsi de nobis committendam esse. Non oportere vereri reges, aut regum principes, nec formidate loca vel tempora cum Dominus de tam pluribus periculis nos eripisset.” Raymond, *Liber*, 47.

The speech is certainly an authorial creation, unless Raymond of Saint-Gilles gave speeches taken from interwoven aspects of scripture, in this case II Corinthians 1:10, “The Lord has rescued us from many perils.”<sup>792</sup> What it gives us, however, is the point of view of Raymond d’Aguilers and, we must guess, the other Provençal priests in the army. This was no longer the time of princes and lay lords—this was the time of the priests, prophets and saints. In effect, Raymond d’Aguilers is using this speech to declare that the ideals of the Peace of God would lead the crusade, that the priests, the poor, and the divine would lead them to victory. The line “We ought not to fear kings or leaders of kings, and neither dread places nor times since the Lord has rescued us from many perils” is indicative of the new leadership, and the promise is not just that the Crusade will defeat the Turks, but that the Crusade will have “peace and harmony in our army.”<sup>793</sup> Antioch would become the centerpiece of the First Crusade, the longest siege of the crusade, the most memorable and longest segment in many of the chronicles, and the center of Occitan memory of the First Crusade.<sup>794</sup> It was at Antioch that the Pope lost control of the First Crusade, and the Provençal prophets and poor took over, reshaping the crusade in their own eschatological image.

Antioch as a city was imbued with religious significance, both from its historical role as an early Christian center and its liturgical and sacred present as the site of a captive Patriarchate, the original church of Paul.<sup>795</sup> Peter Tudebode writes, “Our knights then came and neared the

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<sup>792</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 30, fn 2.

<sup>793</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 30.

<sup>794</sup> The siege of Antioch makes up the overwhelming majority of Raymond d’Aguilers chronicle, and thus was an important center of the immediate memory and recounting of the First Crusade. It was also preserved much later in the Occitan *Canso d’Antiocha*, which, in what survives, is a heavily modified translation of the *Chanson d’Antioch*, and serves as an important part of Oxford, Bodleian Hatton 77, a southern French-derived First Crusade poem. My thanks to Simon Parsons for his generous sharing of his knowledge of and work on Hatton 77.

<sup>795</sup> For medieval Antioch in the Islamic and Byzantine periods, see A. Asa Eger, “(Re)Mapping Medieval Antioch: Urban Transformations from the Early Islamic to the Middle Byzantine Periods,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 67 (2013): 95-134; Venance Grumel, “Le patriarcat et les patriarches d’Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantine (869-1084),” *Échos d’Orient* 33:174 (1934): 129-147; A. Trieger and S. Noble, “Christian Arabic Theology in

valley in which the magnificent city of Antioch is located. Antioch is the capital of all Syria.

Lord Jesus Christ handed it over to Saint Peter, foremost of the apostles, that he might return it to the veneration of the true faith, which lives and reigns in the triune God for eternity.

Amen.”<sup>796</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers’ account is not nearly as liturgical in nature, being a bland description of the physical landscape, the defenses of the city, in such a way that is reminiscent of Nicaea.<sup>797</sup> Antioch was in all likelihood the second-largest city any of the crusaders had seen after Constantinople, and the defenses were imposing enough to make Nicaea seem simple.<sup>798</sup> Arriving in October of 1097, the army was still very large, but the sheer scope of the defenses dwarfed the ability of the largest army ever assembled by Latin Christendom to properly besiege it.

During this early phase of the siege, an Italian contingent joined the crusading army, the first western reinforcements to do so. These were a small number of Genoese ships, outfitted by private individuals who set out after William of Orange’s preaching tour there. Raymond’s description is relatively brief, writing that, “At the same time Genoese ships docked on the coast at Port Simeon some ten miles away. During this time the enemy gradually slipped out of

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Byzantine Antioch: ‘Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭaki and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity,” *Le Muséon* 124: 3-4 (2011): 371-417; and Wachtang Djobadze with M. Hendy, N. Lowick, C. Mango, D.M. Metcalf, and H. Seyrig, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1986). For late antique Antioch, which is much better studied, see Wendy Mayer, “Patronage, Pastoral Care and the Role of the Bishop at Antioch,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 55:1 (2001): 58-70; Robert M. Grant, “The Bible of Theophilus of Antioch,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 66:2 (Jun. 1947): 173-196; S.A. Cummins, *Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch: Maccabean Martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), discussing the role of Antioch in the earliest Christian community. See also Tina Shepardson, *Controlling Contested Places: Late Antique and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2014), for the physical and religious interaction in late Antique Antioch. For the conversion of Antioch, Paul’s arrival in Antioch, and an early connection between Antioch and prophecy, see Acts 11: 19-27.

<sup>796</sup> Peter Tudebode, 42. Latin: “Venerunt itaque nostril milites et appropinquaverunt in vallem illa in qua regalis civitas Antiochia sita est, que est caput totius Syrie, quam Dominus Ihesus Christus tradidit beato Petro apostolorum principi quatinus eam / ad culturam sancta fidim revocaret, qui vivit et regnat, trinus et unus Deus, per cuncta seculorum secula. Amen. » Petrus Tudebodus, 62-3.

<sup>797</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 30-1.

<sup>798</sup> Beyond the descriptions of Antioch above, see also Thomas Asbridge, *The creation of the principality of Antioch 1098-1130* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), for a very basic account of early Crusader Antioch.

Antioch, killed squires and peasants who pastured their horses and cattle across the river, and returned with plunder into the city.”<sup>799</sup> These Genoese forces were not large, but the reinforcements were important. The role of the Genoese at Antioch and in the early crusading period was extremely significant, but apolitical. They acted in their own interests, fighting alongside Raymond of Saint-Gilles and then promptly making treaties with Bohemond when the city was captured. At Antioch and Jerusalem, however, they allied with the Provençals, and would serve Bertrand of Saint-Gilles in the early twelfth century as well.<sup>800</sup>

Much of Raymond d’Aguilers description of the siege is dedicated to describing small skirmishes, such as the hit and run encounters between the Provençal and the Turkish garrison at the bridge over the Orontes.<sup>801</sup> Others were more significant. The first major battle during the siege of Antioch took place in the third month of the siege, “when the Count of Normandy was absent, Godfrey ill, and prices sky-high, Bohemond and the Count of Flanders were selected to conduct a foraging expedition into Hispania while Raymond and Adhémar garrisoned the camp.”<sup>802</sup> With Duqaq of Damascus approaching with relief forces, and the crusading siege force reduced through illness, absence and foraging patrols, the Turkish garrison decided to make a major sortie into the camp, attacking the Provençal garrison in force. Despite some

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<sup>799</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 32. Latin: “Interea Genuensium naves littori quod per decem miliaria aberat a castris applicuerunt. Vocatur aurem locus ille portus Sancti Symeonis. Iamque paulatim hostes de civitate egredientes, armigeros vel rusticos qui equos vel boves pascebant, ultra fluvium interficiunt, atque predam infra civitatem deducunt.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, p. 49.

<sup>800</sup> Franco Cardini, “Profilo d’un crociato, Guglielmo Embriaco, » *Archivio storico italiano* 136 (1978) : 418-420 ; Bellomo, « I Genovesi in oltremare, » 148-156; and G. Pitarino, “Genova e l’Occitania nel secolo XII,” in *Atti del I Congresso storico Liguria-Provenza (Ventimiglia-Bordighera, 2-5 ottobre 1964)* (Bordighera-Aix-Marseille, 1966), 64-130, for Genoa’s continuing connection with Occitania in this period. See France, *Victory in the East*, 209-214.

<sup>801</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 32. France, *Victory in the East*, 206-9.

<sup>802</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 33. Latin: “Cumque iam in tercio mense obsidionis carius alimonia mercarentur, electus est Boamundus et Flandrensis comes ut exercitum propter victualia in hispaniam ducerent, comite et episcopo Podiensi preside relicto in castris. Nam Normannie comes eo tempore aberat, et dux maxime infirmabatur. »

initial success, with Raymond of Saint-Gilles leading the charge, confusion among the Franks led to a temporary rout by the infantry. As Raymond d'Aguilers writes:

In the clash the Turks relentlessly butchered the fugitives. The Frankish knights, who stopped to fight, found themselves grabbed by the fleeing rabble, who snatched their arms, the manes and tails of their horses, and pulled them from their mounts. Other knights followed along in the push out of a sense of mercy and regard for the safety of their people. The Turks hurriedly and pitilessly chased and massacred the living and robbed the dead. It was not disgraceful enough for our men to throw down their weapons, to run away, to forget all sense of shame; no, they even jumped into the river to be hit by stones or arrows or to be drowned. Only the strong and skillful swimmers crossed the river and came to friendly quarters.<sup>803</sup>

This battle, even if only a small scale encounter, had some important consequences for the direction of the *Liber* of Raymond d'Aguilers, more than for the actual defense of the camp. The casualties, according to Raymond, were low—perhaps one of the few instances in a crusade chronicle where the numbers are low enough to seem trustworthy. He reports fifteen knights and around twenty infantry killed during the fight, among them two named Provençals: Bernard of Béziers, who had been a vassal of Raymond d'Aguilers and witnessed a charter for him in 1094 to Saint-Victor of Marseilles,<sup>804</sup> and Heraclius of Polignac, scion of the family who had controlled Le Puy from their impressive hilltop fortress within eyeshot of the city, who was also “seneschal, the carrier and protector of his banner,” for Adhémar of Le Puy.<sup>805</sup> Raymond recounts that “Adhémar’s standard was taken,” a standard that seems to have been imbued with

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<sup>803</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 33. Latin: “Turci vero incessanter fugientes interficiunt. Si quis milites Francorum resistere et propugnare suis vellent, a multitudine peditum fugientium apprehensi per arma et per iubas et caudas equorum vel ab equis deiciebantur, vel pro misericordia et salute suorum in fugam ferebantur, hostes vero sine mora sine misericordia cedere, persequi, et spoliare mortuorum cadavera. Nostris autem non satis erat relinquere arma, arripere fugam, contempnere pudorem, sed in fluvium inmergebantur, obruituri lapidibus vel sagittis hostium, vel sub amne remansuri, si quem vero pericia et vis natandi ultra fluvium evexit, hic ad sociorum castra pervenit, tenuit autem nostra fuga a ponte illorum usque ad nostrum pontem.” Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 51.

<sup>804</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 33, and 34, fn 8. Latin: “Interiit ibi quidam nobilissimus iuvenis Bernardus Raimundus patria Biterensis.” Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 51. The charter is in the *Cartulaire de Saint-Victor de Marseilles*, no. 686, II: 25-27.

<sup>805</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 33, and 34, fn 9. Latin: “Interfectus est ibi vexillifer episcopi, et captum est vexillum eius.” Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber* 51. Peter Tudebode, 46 ; Latin : « Episcopus namque Podiensis Sancte MARIAE in illa amara die perdidit suum senescalum conducentem et regentem suum vexillum. » Petrus Tudebodus, 67.



the kind of miraculous properties of eleventh-century papal *vexillum*, though whether it was a papal standard remains unclear.<sup>806</sup>

Raymond's account suggests that this battle was some kind of punishment for the army. He writes, "We hope that our account of the shamelessness of our army will bring neither blame nor anger of God's servants against us, because really God on the one hand brought adulterous and pillaging crusaders to repentance and on the other cheered our army in Hispania."<sup>807</sup> Despite the small size of the skirmish, and the limited number of deaths, the Provençal contingent had allowed the garrison to make a relatively unimpeded ride between two of their gates outside of the city, and rout the defending forces placed there to stop them. The death of Heraclius of Polignac would have repercussions for Raymond d'Aguilers, as in later battles he would assume the role of standard-bearer, though under a different totem. One can wonder whether the death of Heraclius marks the point where Raymond d'Aguilers moved into the leadership of the Provençal army,

The embarrassment of the battle, what Raymond described above as "shamelessness," seems not to have carried to the rest of the army, as Raymond writes, "Gossip of the flourishing affairs and a sensational victory of Raymond's troops spread from our camp to Bohemond, and as a result raised morale there."<sup>808</sup> Bohemond's foraging expedition had been badly routed on the way back to the city, and the some sort of morale boost was badly needed. The idea of a victory, even a false one, motivated the foraging forces. Bohemond and Robert of Flanders' forces were supplemented by more Provençals, described by Raymond as, "a name applied to all

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<sup>806</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 33-4. Latin: "Interfectus est ibi vexillifer episcopi, et captum est vexillum eius." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber* 51

<sup>807</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 34. Latin: "Quoniam Deus qui hoc modo flagitiorum adulterii et rapine mentes ad penitentiam concuti voluit, exercitum nostrum in ispaniis eodem tempore letificavit." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 51.

<sup>808</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 34. Latin: "Rumor enim de castris nostris egrediens prospera Omnia atque comitem nobilissima potitum Victoria Boamundo et sociis eius nunciavit." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 51.

those from Burgundy, Auvergne, Gascony, and Gothia.”<sup>809</sup> Running into a small Turkish force in one of the villages they were raiding, Robert of Flanders charged after a Turkish garrison, slaughtering them. Returning to Bohemond’s forces, “he discovered twelve thousand Turks approaching his rear guard and he saw to his left a great number of footmen standing on a hill not far away,” Duqaq’s relief force.<sup>810</sup> Reuniting with Bohemond and the Provençals, the crusaders advanced in multiple lines, with Bohemond guarding the rear from Turkish attack.

Raymond d’Aguilers specifically mentions that the crusaders had learned from Dorylaeum, writing that, “The Turks have a customary method of fighting, even when outnumbered, of attempting to surround their enemies; so in this encounter they did likewise, but the good judgment of Bohemond forestalled their tricks.”<sup>811</sup> The army managed to close quickly, and with Bohemond engaging the secondary force that had been moving to the rear, slaughtered the Turkish reinforcements.<sup>812</sup> Raymond d’Aguiler imbued this particular battle with Biblical significance:

I daresay, if I were not modest, I would rate this battle before the Maccabean war, because Maccabeus with three thousand struck down forty-eight thousand of his foes while here four hundred knights routed sixty thousand pagans. But we neither disparage the courage of Maccabeus nor boast of the bravery of our knights; however, we proclaim God, once wonderful to Maccabeus, was even more so to our army.<sup>813</sup>

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<sup>809</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 34. Latin: “Namque omnes de Burgundia et [Alvernia] et Gasconiam et Gotti Provinciales appellantur. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 52. See Marcus Bull, “Overlapping and competing identities in the Frankish first Crusade,” in *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l’appel a la Croisade*, ed. A. Vauchez (Rome, 1997): 195-211.

<sup>810</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 34. Latin: “Cumque iam victor ad Boamundum reverteretur .xii. milia Turcorum post se venire conspexit, atque in colle qui proximus erat a sinistris innumerabilem peditum multitudinem surgere vidit.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 52.

<sup>811</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 34. Latin: “Boamundus vero eminus sequabatur cum reliquis et agmina posterior custodiebat etenim id moris pugnandi apud Turcos est, ut licet pauciores sint tamen semper nitantur hostes cingere suos. Quod etiam in hoc bello facere conati sunt, sed prudential Boamundi hostrium insidie prevente sunt.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 52.

<sup>812</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 35.

<sup>813</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 35. Latin: “Auderem inquam nisi arrogans iudicaretur bellum hoc Machabeorum bellis preferred. Quoniam si Machabeus in tribus milibus hostium .xl et viii. Milia prostravit, hic plus quam .lx. milia hostium ope .cccc. torum militum in fugam versa sunt. Sed nos neque Machabeorum contempnimus, nec virtutem militum nostrorum predicamus. Sed tunc in Machabeum mirabilem, in nostris mirabiliorem annuntiamus.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 53. Maccabees is used widely in crusade accounts, not just the First Crusade. See, for

The description, though drawn originally from the book Maccabees, shows liturgical influences from the breviary. The parallels in the *Dominica I Octobris* of the *Breviarium Romanum* are especially noteworthy, as first noticed by the Hills in their edition.<sup>814</sup> This followed the same steps as the references to Exodus, placing the crusader army in the shoes of the Chosen People, first marching to the Promise Land and now working to free the holy Christian places from pagan oppressors.

These reinforcements, as well as the raids by the garrison, prevented the foraging expedition from returning with any supplies. The ensuing crisis showed the unsustainability of the siege. Without any kind of baggage train or significant food stores brought with them, and foraging made scarce through active Turkish resistance, the crusaders began to starve. Raymond d'Aguilers, the *Gesta Francorum*, and Peter Tudebode all illustrate scarcity by references to prices.<sup>815</sup> Raymond's discussion here points both to the monetary nature of the crusading economy and the perils of the famine at Antioch. He writes, "the ensuing famine drove prices so high that two solidi scarcely had purchasing power equal to one day's bread rations for one man, and other things were equally high," and that "Straw was scarce and seven or eight solidi did not

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example, Eyal Poleg, "On the Books of Maccabees: An Unpublished Poem by Geoffrey, Prior of the *Templum Domini*," *Crusades* 9 (2010): 13-56; Nicholas Morton, "The defence of the Holy Land and the memory of the Maccabees," *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 275-293; Alden Jencks, "Maccabees on the Baltic: The biblical apologia of the Teutonic Order," University of Washington, PhD diss., 1989. The use of Maccabees around Antioch has been dealt with extensively and well by Elizabeth Lapina; see her dissertation "'Things Done in a Foreign Land': Representations of the First Crusade in the Twelfth Century," Johns Hopkins University, PhD diss., 2007, especially Chapter 2, p. 88-141, and "The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch," in *Dying or the faith, killing for the faith: Old-Testament faith-warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in historical perspective*, ed. Gabriela Signori (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012): 147-159. Maccabees was used in other texts in the eleventh century, as discussed by Jean Dunbabin, "The Maccabees as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, eds. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985): 31-41, with the Bible of St. Peter of Roda being a particularly prominent example of its illustrated form, now Paris, BNF lat. 6 (3), starting on f. 146.

<sup>814</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 35, fn 10.

<sup>815</sup> There are numerous Biblical examples of price and shopping lists; see 3 Kings 4:20-29, 2 Kings 16 deals with provisions brought to King David who was forced to flee.

buy an adequate amount of grain for one night's provender for one horse."<sup>816</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, however, discusses this crisis, using a penitential framework: "The poor along with the wealthy, who wished to save their goods, deserted the siege, and those who remained because of spiritual strength, endured the sight of their horses wasting away from starvation."<sup>817</sup> He follows this discussion of famine with a description of natural disasters and signs in the sky to confirm the spiritual import of the siege. In the midst of all of these, Adhemar decides that a penitential purge of the crusading army is the only option:

In the meantime there was an earth tremor on the Kalends of January and we also saw a very miraculous sign in the sky. On the night's first watch a red sky in the north made it appear as if the sun rose on a new day. Although God had so scourged his army in order that we might turn to the light which arose in the darkness, yet the minds of certain ones were so dense and headstrong that they were recalled from neither riotous living nor plundering. Then Adhemar urged the people to fast three days, to pray, to give alms, and to form a procession; he further ordered the priests to celebrate masses and the clerks to repeat psalms. Thus the blessed Lord, mindful of his loving kindness, delayed His children's punishment lest it increase the pride of the pagans.<sup>818</sup>

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<sup>816</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 35. Latin: "Igitur regresso exercitu victore et vacuo tanta fames in castris fuit ut vix duo solidi homini sufficerent in pane per diem. Nec cetera minus care accipiebantur. Ceperunt itaque discedere pauperes et multi divites paupertatem verentes. Si qui amore virtutis in castris remanebant, equos suos diuturna contabescere fame patiebantur. Quippe nec palee habundabant, et annona tam cara erat, ut septem vel octo solidi equo non sufficerent per noctem." Peter Tudebode confirms this, saying that "There they scoured the countryside, buying grain and other foodstuff which they carried to camp where great famine gripped the besiegers. They sold an ass for eight *hyperpoi*, which is worth one hundred and twenty solidi in denarii. Despite this markey many crusaders died because they did not have the money for such inflated prices." Peter Tudebode, 47; Latin: "...in qua fames erat immense, et vendebant unius asini octo purpuratis, qui adpreciati errant centum xx denariorum solidos. In qua quidem multi mortui sunt ex nostris militibus, non habentes precium unde tam carum emere potuissent. » Petrus Tudebodus, 68. The discussion of coinage and its use is a feature of both Raymond d'Aguilers and Peter Tudebode, a product of the number of mints in southern France. See France, *Victory in the East*, 86; James C. Anderson Jr., *Roman Architecture in Provence* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 15; Bell, "Logistics of the First Crusade," 143-151, for a discussion of the role of coinage in the famine post-Antioch; D.M. Metcalf, "Some Hoards and Stray Finds from the Latin East," *ANSMN* 20 (1975): 139-152, for some examples of coinage finds, including a necklace made of early crusade coins.

<sup>817</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 35.

<sup>818</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 36. Latin: "Interea terremotus factus est magnus in Kalendas ianuarii, et signum in cello satis mirabile vidimus. Namque in prima vigilia noctis ita celum rubicundum a septentrione fuit ut quasi suborta aurora diem deferre videretur. Et licet hoc modo exercitum suum Deus flagellaverit, ut lumini quod in tenebris oriebatur intenderemus, tamen ita quorundam mentes cece et precipites erant ut neque a luxuria, vel rapina revocarentur. Predicavit eo tempore episcopus triduanum ieiunium, et cum processione orationes et elemosinas ad populum, ad presbiteros autem mandavit ut vacarent missis et orationibus et clerici psalmis. Recordatus itaque pius Dominus misericordie sue filiorum vindictam distulit, ne adversariorum superbia cresceret. » Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 54.

Adhemar's role here, guiding the crusading army back into God's favor with the aid of heavenly signs, reaffirms his importance as a Moses-like figure in the crusade. The penitential procession would be repeated throughout the crusade, as situations deteriorated and the crusaders feared a loss of divine aid. This particular form of procession was only just becoming popular, as penance was in a period of development in the late eleventh century, but the actual act must have been very common among the Provençal contingent, a religious procession uniting clerics, the poor, the saints, and knights.<sup>819</sup> Not only did the procession serve a spiritual purpose, but it made a political statement, bringing together all of the warriors into a humbling march, with the clergy around them praying and chanting, reaffirmed the control of Adhemar, and through him the Papacy, over the crusade.<sup>820</sup>

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<sup>819</sup> The eleventh century saw an increase in works on penance, but the practices of penance in both private and public forums permeated medieval Europe. Among other works, the *Liber decretorum* of Bishop Burchard of Worms survives in over 80 copies and was used in southern Germany, Burgundy and Italy. See Kathleen G. Cushing, "Law, Penance, and the 'Gregorian' Reform: The Case of Padua, Biblioteca del seminario MS 529," in *Canon Law, Religion, and Politics: 'Liber Amicorum' Robert Somerville*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 28-40, here p. 28; Sarah Hamilton, "A new model for royal penance? Helgaud of Fleury's *Life of Robert the Pious*," *Early Medieval Europe* 6: 2 (1997): 189-200; Allen J. Frantzen, "Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005): 117-128, esp. 121-125; Thomas P. Oakley, "The Penitentials as Sources for Mediaeval History," *Speculum* 15:2 (Nov. 1940): 210-223; and for a good general introduction to 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c. penitential practice in Europe, see Rob Meens, "Introduction. Penitential questions: sin, satisfaction and reconciliation in the tenth and eleventh centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 14:1 (2006): 1-6 and *ibid.*, "Penitentials and the practice of penance in the tenth and eleventh centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 14:1 (2006): 7-21. See Mary Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*, chapter 4, "The Varieties of Public Penance," especially p. 92-114, which deals with "solemn penance," that being rites that require the penitent person to be expelled from the church on Ash Wednesday and readmitted Maundy Thursday, one of the sets of Ember Days beloved to Pope Urban II, and chapter xi, "The Liturgy of Penance and the Roman Tradition," especially p. 168-181, which deal with pre-twelfth century Roman Pontificals for public penance. She does note on p. 242 that "Only a handful of pontifical composed before 1300 survive from France south of the Loire; those that do typically possess rites of public penance," and while these are all twelfth century or later, it seems indicative of previous practice. These rites were eliminated either by the Avignon Papacy or the spread of Guillaume Durand's pontifical, both of which eliminated or modified public penance heavily, and other regions, like the Poitou and Limousin, seem to have had even less use for public penance before the changing nature in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

<sup>820</sup> The practice of religious processions during the First Crusade will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, but there is a significant historiography on the use of processions for spiritual/political purposes. The best introduction to the use of political processions is Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1986), chapters 1 and 2. See also Paul Leary, *Claiming the Streets: Processions and Urban Culture in South Wales c. 1830-1880* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), chapters 1-3; William Leahy, *Elizabeth Triumphant Processions* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), chapter 1; Michael McCormick, *Eternal victory: Triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium, and the early medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986); and Ida Östenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and*

So far, in the the siege, Raymond of Saint-Gilles's role had been relatively minor. Adhemar's role was more important. He served to purify the army, to lead them to repent. The celebration of masses and the repetition of psalms gives a sense of what Raymond d'Aguilers, Peter Tudebode, and the other chroniclers, all members of the clerical class, would have been doing for much of the crusade itself. Only Peter Tudebode's chronicle adequately reflects this, but Adhemar's instructions here show that the crusade itself was organized by the church hierarchy at this point. The papal legate had the power to institute liturgical and penitential observance on the army. Certainly, not everyone would have fasted, prayed, given alms and processed; but that Adhemar could make this suggestion and order the entire clerical entourage to support it shows that during the siege he was still fully in control.

### **How Raymond helped keep the siege in place, despite the efforts of Tatikios**

Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who was recovering from another bout of illness after the rout on the bridge, "convened his princes and the Bishop of Le Puy," an internal gathering of the Provençal army.<sup>821</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers has almost no information about the council, but does

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*Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009). Incorporating more a religious note, the stationary liturgies and processions in Rome and other major cities are well studied, as are the use of processions in late medieval religious/civic practice. See Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Place in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), chapter 4; Michel Huglo, "Les versus de Venance Fortunat pour la procession du Samedi-saint à Notre-Dame de Paris," *Revue de Musicologie* 86 :1 (2000) : 119-126 ; Roger E. Reynolds, « The Drama of Medieval Liturgical Processions, » *Revue de Musicologie* 86 :1 (2000) : 127-142 ; Jacob A. Latham, « The Making of a Papal Rome : Gregory I and the *letania septiformis*, » in *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, ed. N. Lenski and A. Cain (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009): 293-304 and *ibid.*, "From Literal to Spiritual Soldiers of Christ: Disputed Episcopal Elections and the Advent of Christian Processions in Late Antique Rome," *Church History* 81.2 (2012): 298-327; Marc Venard, "Itinéraires de processions dans la ville d'Avignon," *Ethnologie française*, nouvelle série, 7:1 (1977): 55-62; John Francis Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship: the origins, developments, and meaning of stational liturgy* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987); and Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011), chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>821</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 36. Latin: "Principes suos et Podiensem episcopum in unum vocat, atque abito consilio .d. marcas argenti illis largitur, ea nimirum conditione, ut si quis militum suorum equum deperderet, de illis

record the immediate after effect, that “at the conclusion of the council Raymond distributed five hundred marks to the group on the terms that, if anyone of the knights lost his horse, it would be replaced from the five hundred marks and other funds which had been granted to the brotherhood.”<sup>822</sup> The lack of horses was a major problem for an army whose strongest force was cavalry, and the lack of knightly protection was, apparently, preventing “the poor people of the army, who wished to cross to the other side of the river to forage,” from leaving the camp.<sup>823</sup> Raymond’s chronicle, at this point, gets problematic chronologically, as he inserts into his account, “Oh, yes! Another fact may be added; all the princes with the exception of the Count offered Antioch to Bohemond in the event it was captured. So with this pact Bohemond and other princes took an oath they would not abandon the siege of Antioch for seven years unless it fell sooner.”<sup>824</sup>

It is at this point of the siege that Taktikios left. If the pact is real, and there is significant debate about the actual role of Bohemond, and the promises made to him, then Taktikios’s leaving may have been under the threat of bodily harm recorded by Anna Comnena.<sup>825</sup>

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quingentis marcis illi restauraretur, ac de aliis que fraternitati concessa sunt. Hec autem condicio confraternitatis multum illo tempore profuit.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 55.

<sup>822</sup> Ibid. In addition to using his wealth to essentially place any knight without funding in his employment, this bears some hallmarks of the military confraternities that would become popular, especially in Spain. See Marcus Bull, “The Confraternity of La Sauve-Majeure: A Foreshadowing of the Military Order?,” in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Variorum: Aldershot, 1994): 313-19, for an Aquitanian example, and A.J. Forey, “The Military Orders and the Spanish Reconquest in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Traditio* 40 (1984): 197-234, for a discussion of Spanish military confraternities.

<sup>823</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 36. Latin: « Quoniam pauperes de nostro exercitu, qui pro colligendis herbis ultra fluvium transire volebant cum equi famelici et debiles essent atque admodum pauci ut in toto exercitu comitis et episcopi vix .c. reperirentur. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 55.

<sup>824</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 36. Latin: « Accessit autem et aliud quod omnes principes preter comitem, Boamundo civitatem dum caperetur pegigerunt. Hac itaque pactione Boamundus et reliqui principes iuraverunt, se ab obpugnatione Antiochie non discessuros, per vii. annos nisi civitas caperetur. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 55.

<sup>825</sup> Anna Komnena, p. 307-8. See John France, “The Departure of Taktikios from the Crusader Army,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44:110 (Nov. 1971): 137-147, who argues that Taktikios withdrew because of the problems of the siege of Antioch had created a dangerous situation for the Byzantine forces—not the version described by Anna Comnena, but a generally hostile situation among the army and leadership squabbles, as described on p. 145. Jonathan Shepard, “When Greek met Greek,” follows Anna Comnena’s story, has Bohemond manipulating Taktikios into fleeing and leaving supplies and Cilician cities in his hands, specifically as a foil to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, as discussed on 268-271.

Raymond d'Aguilers writes that Taktikios turned over the cities of Tursol, Mamistra and Adana to Bohemond before leaving, but he writes it in the midst of invectives against the Byzantine: "Actually Taktikios, that disfigured one, anxious for an excuse to run away, not only fabricated the above lie, but adding to his sins with perjury and betrayal of friends by hastening away in flight," and also that, "Therefore, under the pretense of joining the army of Alexius, Taktikios broke camp, abandoned his followers, and left with God's curse; by this dastardly act, he brought eternal shame to himself and his men."<sup>826</sup> Peter Tudebode's chronicle is similarly negative in tone, but seems to record Taktikios' motivations more accurately than Raymond does: "Think of this; let me return to Romania, and without a doubt I shall come back to you. In fact, I shall see to it that many ships shall come by sea laden with grain, wine, oil, meat, flour, cheese, and all other necessities. I shall provide a market for horses and shall rapidly send merchandise through the lands of the emperor."<sup>827</sup> While Taktikios did not return to the army, an intermittent flow of ships bearing necessary supplies to the crusaders would arrive during the siege.<sup>828</sup>

The departure of Taktikios from the army marks the end of the early siege of Antioch, and the end of direct Byzantine-crusader interaction. Raymond d'Aguilers's anti-Byzantine

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<sup>826</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 37. Latin: "Hec autem omnia Tacticus ille truncus composuerat, qui ut discedere posset talia commentabatur. Hic non solum commentis, verum etiam maximis impendiis prodicione sociorum et periurio cumulates per fugam lapsus est. Concessit enim Boamundo duas vel tres civitates Tursol, Mamistram, Addenam. Taliter igitur mercatus sibi et suis perpetuum pudorem, simulato itinere quasi ad exercitum imperatoris dimissis tentoriis et familiaribus suis cum Dei maledictione profectus est." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 55-6.

<sup>827</sup> Peter Tudebode, 49; Latin: "Ecce modo sinite me in Romanie reverti patria; absque ulla dubitatione revertar ad vos. Ego vero faciam huc multa naves venire per mare honestas frumento, vino, oleo, carne, farina et caseis, sive omnibus bonis alimentis que sunt nobis in necessitate. Adhuc autem et equos faciam conducere ad vendendum, et mercatum per terram imperatoris huc advenire cito faciam. » Petrus Tudebodus, 70.

<sup>828</sup> Peter Tudebode recounts that the lack of support in the region made it so that "the little people along with the miserably poor fled either to Cyprus, Romania, or the mountains." Peter Tudebode, 50; Latin: Gens minuta et pauperrima fugiebat, alii Chypro, alii in Romaniam, alii in montaneis." Petrus Tudebodus, 70. This is the only Provençal account of the aid provided by the Byzantines, but for the crusaders to be able to go into Romania or Cyprus to get supplies would have required Byzantine aid. Peter Bartholomew's sojourn on Cyprus is a perfect example of this. See France, *Victory in the East*, 209-210; Lillie, 32-3; Bell, 167-170. Access to Cyprus was assured by Byzantine naval domination, even in a period of general decline in their naval strength, due to the destruction of the emirate of Smyrna in the 1090s and the weakness of the Fatimids. See John H. Pryor and Elizabeth M. Jeffreys, *The Age of the Dromon: The Byzantine Navy ca 500-1204* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 86-8, 101-2, 107-110, with Cyprus specifically discussed on p. 109.



attitude pervades his chronicle, and the discussion of Taktikio's departure is no exception. He writes, "I turn now to one whom I had almost forgotten because he had been consigned to oblivion. This man, Taktikios, accompanied our army in place of Alexius; he had a disfigured nose and lacked any redeeming qualities. Daily, Taktikios quietly admonished the princes to retire to nearby fortresses and drive out the besieged with numerous sallies and ambushes."<sup>829</sup>

One can discern from this passage and others like it the difference between Latin and Byzantine military strategies, and the difference between a clerical and military view of the siege.

Raymond d'Aguilers' dislike of this tactical suggestion seems to have been shared by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, though the description of the scattering of forces into nearby towns and fortresses reflects the practice of many of the other princes as soon as they arrived in Antioch, and, indeed, Raymond's vassal Peter of Roaix.

The departure of the Byzantine forces came temporally close to another major battle, with another reinforcing army coming to the aid of Antioch, this time under the command of Ridwan of Aleppo. This was on the 8-9<sup>th</sup> of February in 1098, usually known to crusade historians as the "Lake Battle".<sup>830</sup> By the time Raymond d'Aguilers wrote this section, deserters from the First Crusade must have already headed home, spreading rumors of the army's failures: "Now I beseech those who have attempted to disparage our army in the past to hear this; indeed may they hear so that when they understand God's example of mercy on our behalf, they may hasten to give satisfaction with penitential wailing."<sup>831</sup> What he goes on to recount is a victory, one

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<sup>829</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 36. Latin: "Erat preterea in nostro exercitu quidam de familia imperatoris quem pro se Alexius nobis tradiderat nomine. Tatic naribus truncus et omni virtute, huius ego pene oblitus fueram, quia oblivioni tradendus in perpetuum fuerat. Hic autem cotidie auribus principum instillabat ut discederent ad castra finitima, atque inde frequenti assultatione et insidiis Anthiochitas propulsarent." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 54.

<sup>830</sup> France, *Victory in the East*, 245-253.

<sup>831</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 39. Latin: "Audiant igitur audient obsecro qui aliquando exercitum ledere conati sunt, ut cum magnificare Deum suam misericordiam in nobis cognoverint per penitentiae lamenta ipsi satisfacere contendunt." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 56.

where once again the crusaders fought at numerical disadvantage but nonetheless destroyed the army from Aleppo. Most historians have attributed the victory to Bohemond's tactical genius. Raymond d'Aguiler credits God, who "increased the size of the six units of the knights so that each one seemed to grow from scarcely seven hundred men to more than two thousand."<sup>832</sup> At the same time, the high morale of the knights is mentioned, writing that "Certainly, it taxes me to know what to say of the bravado of the army whose knights actually sang warlike songs so joyously that they seemed to look upon the approaching battle as if it were sport."<sup>833</sup> In the actual battle, the crusaders managed to press the Turkish army back into their own ranks, and, despite "heavy losses until the first line of the Turks was driven against the rear echelons," whereupon the knights fell upon them and chased the army from the field.<sup>834</sup> Raymond returns to Scripture in this description, writing that during the charge, "the Franks prayed to God and rushed forward. Without delay the ever present Lord 'strong and mighty in battle' shielded His children and cast down the pagans."<sup>835</sup> He cites Psalm 23:8 in this passage.

This victory of the knights over the Aleppans was matched by a victory of the infantry against the Antiochenes, who again, as during the foraging expedition, coordinated an attack on the crusader camp with the revival of a relief force. One of the many bloodthirsty moments in Raymond d'Aguilers' chronicle occurs here, with Raymond writing that, "With the battle and booty won, we carried the heads of the slain to camp and stuck them on posts as grim reminders

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<sup>832</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 39. Latin: "Dispositis itaque militibus in vi. turmis tamen eos Deus multiplicavit, ut qui vix .dc. ante ordinationem apparebant, habita particione plus quam duo milia inesse unicuique ordini affirmarentur. » Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 56-7.

<sup>833</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 39. Latin: "De audatia vero illorum [quid] loquar? Cum etiam cantus militares tam festive milites agerent ut quasi pro ludo bellum fieri quo palus et fluvius que per miliarium vicina sunt. » Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 57.

<sup>834</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 40. Latin: "At nostril tantum paciebantur dum priores de Turcis posterioribus infarcirentur." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 57.

<sup>835</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 40. Latin: "Utque satis prior acies Turcorum subsequentibus inclusa est invocato Deo procurrunt Franci. Nec mora adest Dominus fortis et potens in prelio, protexit filios, prostravit inimicos." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 57.

of the plight of their Turkish allies and of future woes for the besieged.”<sup>836</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers takes this back to his origins, back to his cathedral and back to the Virgin Mary: “Now as we reflect upon it, we have concluded that this was God’s command because the Turks had formerly disgraced us by fixing the point of the captured banner of the Blessed Mary in the ground. Thus God disposed that the sight of lifeless heads of friends supported by pointed sticks would ban further taunts from the defenders of Antioch.”<sup>837</sup> God, in empowering the crusaders to slay their enemies, is doing it for the honor of a Marian banner; for the canon of Le Puy, the insult to the Virgin is what sets up these three victories. Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ final charter in Europe comes back in a new light—the Provençals fight for the Virgin’s honor, avenging wrongs done to her, and in return she would appear to them in their time of greatest need.

This period of the three battles was a busy time in the siege of Antioch. Raymond d’Aguilers recounts two other important events at this same time: the construction of two forts to control entrance and exit to Antioch, and negotiations with Fatimid ambassadors. This second event would continue to have an afterlife, as envoys were sent back to Egypt with them to continue negotiating some form of treaty against their mutual enemy, the Seljuks. Raymond writes that “upon viewing the miracles which God performed through His servants, praised Jesus, son of the Virgin Mary, who through these wretched beggars trampled under foot the most powerful tyrants.”<sup>838</sup> Being present at the tripartite victory over the Aleppans and Antiochenes,

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<sup>836</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 40. Latin: “Igitur potita Victoria, et spoliis, capita cesorum ad castra deportata sunt. Et ut hostibus timorem et testimonium de profligate eorum succursu ostenderemus, delata capita in palis suspense sunt.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 58

<sup>837</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 40. Latin: “Quod dispositione Dei actum esse, postea credidimus. Namque capto vexillo Beate Marie quasi ad obprobrium nostrum cuspidem in terram figebant. Itaque actum est ut visis suorum ereptis capitibus ab improperio nostro revocarentur.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 58.

<sup>838</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 40-1. Latin: «Erant eo tempore in nostris castris legati a rege Babiloniorum, qui videntes mira que Deus per servos suos operabatur, Ihesum Marie virginis filium glorificabant, qui pauperes suos potentissimos tyrannos conculcabat. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 58. For Byzantine relations with the Fatimids, see Angeliki E. Laiou with an appendix by Cécile Morrisson, “Byzantine Trade with Christians and Muslims and the

both Seljuk groups in opposition to the Fatimid caliphate, gave some motivation for the Egyptian envoys; they “promised friendship and favorable treatment, and reported benevolent acts of their king to Egyptian Christians and out pilgrims.”<sup>839</sup> Certainly, crusaders found shelter at a number of loosely-affiliated Fatimid ports during this period, as will be discussed later, and the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, a Coptic history of their church, records a positive attitude by the Copts towards the Fatimids in this period, over and above the crusaders.<sup>840</sup>

Despite these victories, the siege continued at length. Taktikios’ strategy, derided by Raymond d’Aguilers, seems to have become the order of the day. Raymond writes, “In the fifth month of the investment at the time our ships carrying provisions docked in the port, the besieged began to block the way to the sea and to kill supply crews.”<sup>841</sup> This cut off the last remaining source of food for the army at Antioch, food provided largely by the Byzantine fleet. The ability of the garrison to escape the city, coordinate with relief forces, and disrupt the vital foraging expedition was intolerable, and “to counter these dangers we finally decided to fortify the camp near the bridge,” what would come to be known as La Mahometerie.<sup>842</sup> Raymond of

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Crusades,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angelikie E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 157-196.

<sup>839</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 41. Latin: “Hii autem legati gratiam et benivolentiam apud regem suum nobis promittebant. Preterea plura beneficia regis, in christianos Egyptios et peregrinos nostros referebant.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 58.

<sup>840</sup> Yassa Abd al-Masih, O. H. E. Burmester, and Aziz S. Atiya, eds., *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church : known as the History of the Holy Church / by Sawirus ibn al-Mukaffa`, Bishop of al-Asmunin, The Lives of Christodoulus to Michael IV (d. 1102), Volume II, Part III* (Cairo: Société d’archéologie copte, 1959), p. 399: “We, the Community of the Christians, the Jacobites, the Copts did not join in the pilgrimage to it (Jerusalem), nor were we able to approach it (Jerusalem), on account of what is known of their (the Franks’) hatred of us, as also, their false belief concerning us and their charge against us of impiety. They (the Crusaders) gained possession, afterwards, of all the fortresses of Syria, except Tyre and Ascalon, and these two fortresses remain in the hands of the walls, the attendants of the lord, the illustrious al-Afdal. They (the Crusaders) besieged them (the fortresses) a number of times, and the lord, the illustrious al-Afdal, went forth against them, and he contended in war, and he strove, and he expended money, (but) the judgments of God were not set aside. May He Whose Name is exalted protect us and defend us through His mercy!”

<sup>841</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 41. Latin: “Cumque iam in quinto mense obsidionis nostre naves undique cum alimoniis ad portum nostrum aplicarent. Turci civitatis vias maris obsidere atque portitores victualium interficere ceperunt, nostril vero principes primo tantum patiebantur.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 59.

<sup>842</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 41. Latin: “Consultumque tandem est ut ad pontem illorum castrum firmaremus.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 59.

Saint-Gilles and Bohemond together, in order to defend the siege camp while most of the army was busy at the port, began constructing the new fort in the face of increasingly stiff resistance by the garrison. On one of their trips from the port back to the siegworks, the combined Provençal-Norman force was set upon and routed in what must have been a terrible defeat. Raymond records the episode as a lament, in a section that is one that feels the most authentic and closest in time to the events in composition:

Lord God, why these tribulations? Our forces within the camp and those without who had the services of the two greatest leaders in your army—Raymond and Bohemond—were overcome and vanquished. Shall we flee to the camp or shall the guardian of the camp flee to us? ‘Arise, Oh Lord, Help us in honor of your name.’ If the report of the defeat of the princes had been heard in the camp, or if by chance we had learned of the rout of the army contingents, then collectively we would have fled. Now at the right moment the Lord aided us and incited those whom he had formerly cowed to be foremost in battle.<sup>843</sup>

The battle, then, was an unmitigated disaster, to the point where Bohemond and Raymond felt compelled to cover it up. Perhaps this is an example of Pons of Balazun taking part in the writing process, or an indication of Raymond d’Aguilers’ ascension in the ranks of the Count’s entourage. Once again, the description of the battle contains Scripture, with Psalm 34:2 used, from the Ordinary of the liturgy.<sup>844</sup> Psalm 34 has David-as-Christ praying against his persecutors and prophesying punishment for them; the use of the Psalm, which asks the Lord to take up weapons to help the singer, and to bring out the sword and cast off the persecutors, is a good example of Raymond’s use of Scripture to deal with disaster.

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<sup>843</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 42. Latin: ”Quid igitur Domine Deus? In castris victi sunt, et hii duo maximi principes, in exercitu tuo extra castra victi sunt. An ad castra fugiemus, an hii de castris ad nos ? Exurge et adiuva nos, propter nomen tuum. Quod si in castris rescitum est, quod principes victi sunt, vel si nos castrensiu fugam nosse contigerit, communis omnium fuga fiet. Surrexit itaque adiutor in oportunitatibus Dominus, atque illos quos prius terruerat, priores in pugnam animavit. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 59-60.

<sup>844</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 42, fn 8.

## The Capture of Antioch and the Changing Crusade

The momentum had temporarily shifted, and the emir of Antioch, known as Yaghi Siyan in Raymond's text, sent forth his garrison to capitalize on it. By this point, the crusaders were learning how to deal with Turkish tactics, but at the continued cost of casualties in the face of arrow fire. As the temporal leadership of the army remained unable to conquer Antioch, Raymond d'Aguilers continued to record liturgical and spiritual motivations and reasons for victory. He writes here that, "The flowing tears and plaintive prayers made one think that God's compassion must be in the offing."<sup>845</sup> When the forces got close enough to attack the garrison, "a very noble Provençal knight, Isoard of Ganges," led the assault with one hundred and fifty soldiers.<sup>846</sup> Ganges, just north of Montpellier and west of Alès, the seat of another of those important lesser nobles on crusade, Raymond Pilet, was a small city in the core of Raymond of Saint-Gilles' territory, but the attention paid to second-tier nobles rather than the greater princes is important in Raymond d'Aguilers conception of the crusade. He writes that this band "knelt, invoked the aid of God, and stirred his comrade to action by shouting, 'Charge! Soldiers of Christ!'"<sup>847</sup> Again, there is a liturgical, performative aspect to the entire affair—kneeling, prayer, invocation of the divine. This time, the battle ended in decisive victory, with the crusading army trapping the Turkish garrison on the bridge against the closed gates, slaughtering them in the close-quarters engagement. Raymond d'Aguilers writes that, "I myself heard from many

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<sup>845</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 42. Latin: « Tantis vero luctus et clamor in castris ad Deum erat, ut affluentia lacrimarum Dei pietatem descendendam putares. » Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 60.

<sup>846</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 43. Latin: « Cumque cominus res gerenda foret, quidam Hisnardus miles de Gagia provincialis nobilissimus, cum .cl. peditibus invocato Deo genibus flexis socios ortatus est dicens... » Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 60.

<sup>847</sup> *Ibid.*

participants that they knocked twenty or more Turks into the river with bridge railings.”<sup>848</sup> This bloody victory is bookended by more performed liturgy, with Raymond writing, “following a religious service, the happy victors marched back to camp with great spoils and many horses. Oh! How we wish you fellow Christians who follow us in your vows could have seen this noteworthy event!”<sup>849</sup>

Following this victory, construction of the fortification began in earnest. When the crusaders began digging the foundations of the new bridge fort, they discovered Turkish bodies from the fight in great number, in a ditch that served as part of a cemetery. The poor who, presumably, were the building detail, “excited by the sight of Turkish spoils,” desecrated the tombs to the tune of some fifteen hundred bodies from the battle, which Raymond says is just a portion of the death toll of the battle, “I remain silent on both those buried in the city and those dragged under the waters of the river. But the corpses were hurled into the Orontes lest the intolerable stench interfere with construction of the fort.”<sup>850</sup> The Genoese sailors, newly arrived in the company of the chastened and defeated Bohemond and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, rather than being repelled by the rotting corpses, were heartened to see that a victory had been won: “as if strengthened by the sight of the great number of dead, they began to praise God, who is accustomed to chastening and cheering His children. So, by God’s decree it happened that the Turks, who killed the food porters along the coast and river banks and left them to the beasts and

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<sup>848</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 43. Latin: “Quod nisi Gracianus pontis portam aperuisset illa die de Antiochia pacem habuissemus audivi a multis qui ibi fuerunt quod .xx. Turcos et amplius de ponte sumptis spondalibus in flumine obruissent. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 61.

<sup>849</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 43. Latin: “Celebrata itaque victoria cum ingenti exultatione et multis spoliis, et equis multis, nostri ad castra redeunt. Contigit ibi quoddam memorabile quod utinam qui nos suis prosecuntur votis videre ptuissent. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 61.

<sup>850</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 44. Latin: «Exuviis igitur eorum provocati pauperes omnia eorum monumenta fregerunt. Effosis itaque Turcis, quails Victoria fuerit nulli dubium fuit. Namque numerate sunt circiter mille quingenti. Taceo modo et in civitate sepultos et a flumine tractos. Cum autem fetore intolerabili laborantibus in castello obstitissent, cadaver in flumine proiecta sunt.» Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 61.

birds, in turn made food in that place for the same beasts and birds.”<sup>851</sup> This description from Raymond d’Aguilers’ is reminiscent of Jeremiah 16:4, describing the horrible fate of those who have forsaken God—in Jeremiah 15, this is the Jews, who, in Jeremiah 16:5, the Lord says that he has “taken away my peace from this people... my mercy and commiseration.”<sup>852</sup> Raymond’s use of Jeremiah is an excellent view into the Provençal view of their Muslim enemies, who fall into the Other category of Jews and pagans: the damned, the avowed enemies of God, who must be destroyed.<sup>853</sup>

It is here, with the construction of La Mahomerie, that Raymond of Saint-Gilles regained his role as hero and leader, overcoming his previous defeat and illness through his willingness to expose himself to danger. The position was perilous, open to attack from all sides, and as the *Liber* recounts, there was significant debate “over the choice of a prince as guardian of the new fort, since a community affair is often slighted because all believe it will be attended to by others.”<sup>854</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles decided to seize the fortress and staff it with his own forces,” contrary to the wishes of his entourage,” in order to repair his reputation, “partly in order to excuse himself from the accusation of sloth and avarice and partly to point the way of force

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<sup>851</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 44. Latin: «Hic autem videntes tantam multitudinem quasi de quadam multitudine convalescents, Deum magnificare ceperunt. Qui filios suos corrigere, et letificare consuevit. Sic itaque Dei dispositione actum est, ut qui victualium conductores in littore et ripis fluminis peremptos feris et volucris dederant, in locis eisdem feris et volucris victualia fierent. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 61-2.

<sup>852</sup> Jeremiah 16:4, “They shall die by the death of grievous illnesses; they shall not be lamented, and they shall not be buried. They shall be as dung upon the face of the earth, and they shall be consumed with the sword and with famine, and their carcasses shall be meat for the fowls of the air and for the beasts of the earth.” Jeremiah 16:5, “For thus saith the Lord: ‘Enter not into the house of feasting, neither go thou to mourn nor to comfort them, because I have taken away my peace from this people,’ saith the Lord, ‘my mercy and commiserations.’” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 44, fn 13.

<sup>853</sup> Many of the scattered survivors of the so-called “People’s Crusade” must have joined the Provençal army, where the poor and unarmed pilgrims seem to have congregated. Given their activities in the Rhineland, combined with Raymond’s rhetoric, suggests that their views were not isolated.

<sup>854</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 44. Latin: “Consultum est, eo tempore quis de principibus ad custodiam castrum migrare potuisset.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 62.



and wisdom to the slothful.”<sup>855</sup> He had spent much of the summer and winter ill, to the point of severe debilitation. It should be remembered at all times that Raymond of Saint-Gilles was, by this point, in his mid-fifties and was an old man for the time. His illnesses had occurred after bouts of extreme exertion in battle, whether at Nicaea or at the battle of the bridge at Antioch, but this, over the long tedium of the siege, was clearly not remembered by the masses. Raymond d’Aguilers recounts that, “Although he had performed great services, he was considered an unimportant person because the people believed he was capable of more efforts. He bore such enmity from the doubt cast upon his Christian strength that he was almost alienated from the Provençals.”<sup>856</sup> The castle, then, became his way of returning to relevance in the crusading army. As Raymond d’Aguilers writes, “Consequently the envy suffered by the Count calmed to the extent that he was called father and defender of our army, and following these events Raymond’s reputation rose because single handed he had met the onslaughts of the enemy.”<sup>857</sup>

The success of La Mahomerie was then matched on the other side of the river, with Tancred fortifying the old monastery of Saint George, bankrolled in part by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, to the tune of one hundred marks of silver.<sup>858</sup> This action, while important from a military standpoint, did not go to the heart of Raymond’s point in this section, the further winnowing of the crusading army down to only the pure and the brave, the true Chosen People.

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<sup>855</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 44-5. Latin: “Dumque alii de principibus quasi pro mercede vigilum suffragia ab aliis quererent, comes preter suorum voluntatem castris custodiam arripuit. Simul ut desidiam et avariciam excusaret, et vigoris atque prudentie semitam torpentibus demonstraret.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 62.

<sup>856</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 45. Latin: “Igitur nactus hanc difficultatem scilicet virtutis materiam, tantam omnium invidiam passus est, ut pene a suis privatis associaretur. Interea dum comes hec negligit, sperans hostes de civitate maxima ex parte obpressos ilico fugituros, quodam diluculo ab hostibus circumdatus est.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 62.

<sup>857</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 45. Latin: “Igitur invidia quam comes pertulerat adeo lenita est ut ab omnibus pater et conservator exercitus appellaretur. Ab eo itaque tempore crevit comitis nomen eo quod solus hostium assultus ipse sustineret. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 63.

<sup>858</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 46. Latin: “Post hoc tempus munivit Tancredus monasterium quoddam ultra flumen et dedit ei comes ob hoc .c. marcas argenti.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 63. This was a fourth of the total cost of the fortification process, once again reinforcing the idea of the sheer wealth of the count; fn 16.

Many timid crusaders along with the Armenian merchants took flight as rumors spread, but on the other hand able knights from various fortresses returned and also brought, adjusted, and repaired their arms. When the waning cowardice disappeared sufficiently, and boldness—sufficient at all times to brave all perils with and for brother—returned, one of the besieged Turks confided in our princes that he would deliver Antioch to us.<sup>859</sup>

This betrayal is a pivotal moment in the First Crusade, leading not only to the capture of Antioch but to the irrevocable violation of the oaths made between the crusaders and the Byzantines.

Despite Raymond's nondescript statement that the Turk "confided in our princes," the betrayal was organized and orchestrated by Bohemond. The author of the *Gesta* writes that the Turk, named Firuz, "struck up a great friendship with Bohemond," and made promises to him in exchange for allowing the crusaders into the three towers Firuz was in charge of guarding.<sup>860</sup> Bohemond returned to the other leaders and proposed, essentially, a competition for Antioch: whoever could figure out a way to take the city would get to keep it.<sup>861</sup> The other princes initially rejected the proposal, not out of loyalty to their oaths but because they did not want to give up their share of the reward for their suffering. The impending arrival of a relieving army under Kerbogah of Mosul changed their mind. They struck a bargain with Bohemond, that if he could capture the city he could have it, unless the Byzantines came to the crusaders' aid.<sup>862</sup> With Firuz's help, Bohemond led troops over the walls, opened a gate, and seized the city.

Raymond d'Aguilers' account revels in the bloodshed of the capture of the city. He writes, "Entering by this means the crusaders killed all whom they met, and at daybreak they cried out in such terrifying screams that the whole city was thrown into confusion and women

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<sup>859</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 46. Latin: "Cumque hec fama crebesceret, multi de nostris pavidī fugere ceperunt, et Armenii mercatores. Interea boni milites qui per castella diffusi erant venire atque arma emere et aptare et reficere. Dumque satis contabescens timiditas ab exercitu nostro defluxisset, et animositas semper prompta cum fratribus et pro fratribus pericula subire venisset, quidam de Turcis qui erat in civitate principibus mandavit nostris, quod civitatem nobis rederet. » Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 64.

<sup>860</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), 44.

<sup>861</sup> *Ibid.* France, *Victory in the East*, 257.

<sup>862</sup> *Ibid.*

and children wept.”<sup>863</sup> As the rest of the army entered, the Antiochian garrison collapsed and fled, Raymond d’Aguilers’ writing, “The Lord threw them into such chaos that not a single one stood and fought. After many months of arduous siege this happy scene now unfolded for us, a scene in which the long-time defenders of Antioch could neither escape from the city nor avoid death in daring flight.”<sup>864</sup> He goes into detail with another vivid scene that one can assume was either something he viewed himself or something recounted to him by Pons of Balazun:

An agreeable and charming occurrence for us took place there when some Turks, attempting to escape unobserved through the crags separating the hill from the north, met a group of crusaders. Forced to retreat, the thwarted Turks spurred their steeds so hurriedly that all plunged together from the rocky cliffs. The fatal plunge of the Turks was indeed a pleasant spectacle for us, but we were saddened by the loss of more than three hundred horses dashed to death there.<sup>865</sup>

The Provençal contingent, or at least certainly the cleric Raymond, enjoyed the slaughter of the garrison that had oppressed them and had come up against their own forces repeatedly. In a coy manner, Raymond writes, “We shall not comment upon the amount of booty, but you may believe whatever comes to mind and compute more. We cannot estimate the number of slain Turks and Saracens, and it would be sadistic to relate the novel and various means of death.”<sup>866</sup>

The remaining garrison remained in the citadel of the city after watching the massacre, and the

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<sup>863</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 47. Latin: “Ingressi itaque nostril, non ceperunt aliquem de his quos invenerunt. Cumque diei aurora comparuisset, conclamaverunt. Hanc ad vocem cum omnis civitas turbaretur, mulieres et parvuli flere ceperunt. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 65.

<sup>864</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 48. Latin: «Restitit nullus, quippe turbaverat eos Dominus. Iocundum spectaculum, tandem post multa tempora nobis facti, ut qui tandiu Antiochiam contra nos defenderant, de Antiochia modo fugere non valerent. Quod si quidam eorum arripere fugam ausi sunt, tamen mortem evader non.» Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 65.

<sup>865</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 48. Latin: “Accidit ibi quoddam satis nobis iocundum atque delectabile. Dum enim per prurupta que collem medium a septentrionali dividunt, Turci quidam subterfugere niterentur, nostris quibusdam obviaverunt. Cumque Turci regredi compellerentur, tanto impetu se affecerunt repulsi fugientes, ut omnes pariter precipitarentur. Gaudium quidam nobis fuit, de precipitatis hostibus. Sed de equis plus quam .ccc. inibi decollates doluimus.” Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 65.

<sup>866</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 48. Latin: “Quantum vero spoliolum est captum infra Antiochiam, non est nostrum dicere. Nisi quod credite quantum vultis et estimate supra. Quanti autem de Turcis et de Sarracenis tunc perierunt, dicere nescimus. » Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*, 65.

emir, Yaghi Siyan, ended up being captured by Armenian partisans while fleeing and was beheaded.

The capture of Antioch was a major victory, but it also signaled the end of the crusade-as-planned. With the capture of Antioch, the crusaders' loyalty to their oaths, made to Alexios Comnenus and the Byzantine Empire, became a point of dispute. The hopes for the Christian reconquest of the Holy Land, by Byzantines and Crusaders alike, were heightened—if Antioch could be taken, why not Jerusalem? The crusade at this point was beginning to look very different from where it started. The papal vision for the crusade was intact—the crusaders and Byzantines were still technically allies, the crusaders had not yet violated their oaths to Alexios, the honor of the Virgin Mary was still intact, and the papal legate, Adhemar of Le Puy, was still the leading figure and uniting focus of the crusade leadership. But other visions were starting to assert themselves, with Bohemond's active betrayal of his oath, the increasing presence of the saints in the army, and the beginning of Raymond d'Aguilers' Peace of God-inspired rhetoric on the leadership of the crusade. These alternative visions were still in their infancy, and there was no guarantee of their prevailing. Kerbogah's arrival at the walls of Antioch, however, would change everything.

## **Chapter 5: The Saints of the Apocalypse and the Lance of the Passion: The Prophets' Crusade, the Peace of God, and the Coming of the Kingdom of God?**

“Following the capture of Antioch, the Lord, unfolding His might and goodness, selected a Provençal peasant to console us and to deliver the following message to Raymond and Adhémar.”<sup>867</sup> With this line, Raymond introduces the reader to what is, for him, the dominant event on the First Crusade: the discovery of the Holy Lance at Antioch. To some editors, Raymond’s chronicle should be titled the book of the Lance, and in the manuscripts this part of the text receives its own title, “Here begins the finding of the Holy Lance.”<sup>868</sup> What it represented, to Raymond and the Provençal contingent as a whole, was a physical totem of God’s protection and approval to his people. The problem was, of course, that in the hindsight, the movement generated by the Lance and by the “Provençal peasant,” Peter Bartholomew, would prove problematic even before the crusade ended. Nevertheless, the performance of the First Crusade between Antioch and Ascalon was directed by the cult of the Holy Lance, and by the successors to Peter Bartholomew’s title as Occitanian visionary after his failure of an ordeal by fire. The First Crusade after Antioch was, for the Provençal army, centered on the experience of following the Holy Lance and the visions of saints, the Virgin Mary, and Christ himself, that

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<sup>867</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 51. Latin: “Igitur cum capta esset civitas Antiochie, usus sua potentia et benignitate dominus, pauperem quondam rusticum elegit, provincialem genere, per quem omnes nos confortavit, et comiti et Podiensi episcopo, hec verba mandavit.” Raymond, *Liber*, 68.

<sup>868</sup> Paris, BNF lat. 5511A, f. 24r has it in the lower right margin.

went along with it, leading most of them to an eschatological journey towards the Kingdom of Heaven and some of them toward a personal Apocalypse.<sup>869</sup>

Our primary account of this period continues to be the chronicle of Raymond d'Aguilers, and it is worth parting from the narrative of events to point out how fundamental the discovery of the Lance was to the chronicler. As will be seen, Raymond d'Aguilers implanted himself firmly in the cult of the Lance and took part in many of its crucial moments: from its discovery, to its use in battle, to recording the trial of its finder later on, and continuing his championship of its veracity to the end of his chronicle. Raymond's chronicle is such an important champion of the Lance that in its primary manuscript, Paris, BNF lat. 14378, there is a note in Fulcher of Chartres's chronicle to consult Raymond's chronicle for the story of the Lance.<sup>870</sup> This is not a notation from the Le Puy canons who copied the chronicle and sent it on to Paris, though it does appear in their copy and in subsequent copies of the Saint-Victor Codex.<sup>871</sup> It is from the original manuscript, made in the first quarter of the twelfth century in the Kingdom of Jerusalem

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<sup>869</sup> While the Provençals certainly followed the most imminently eschatological movement in the First Crusade, Jay Rubenstein has shown clearly that they were not alone in their apocalyptic ideas about the crusade, but that their brand of apocalypticism was very different from the king/emperor-centered visions that other leaders seem to have promoted; see his Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011); *ibid.*, "Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Gilles: How Carolingian Kingship Trumped Millenarianism at the End of the First Crusade," in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, eds Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 59-75; *ibid.*, "Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade," in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, eds Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 2012): 69-95; Robert Chazan, "'Let Not a Remnant or a Residue Escape': Millenarian Enthusiasm in the First Crusade," *Speculum* 84 (2009): 289-313; Jean Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la Première Croisade* (Paris: Fayard, 1999). In addition, there was a strong eschatological current in the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Alexios Komnenos. See Evelyne Patlagean, "La Double Terre Sainte de Byzance: Autour du XIIe siècle," *Annales* 49 :2 (1994) : 459-69; Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. w/ intro. Dorothy deF. Abrahamse (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1985); Ann Wharton Epstein, "Frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Anti-Semitism in the Wake of the First Crusade," *Gesta* 21:1 (1982): 21-9; Anna Linden Weller, « Transmittable Apocalypses: Byzantine Political Authority and the Co-Option of Western eschatological Narrative in the 1<sup>st</sup> Crusade, » Paper presented at the Mid-American Medieval Association Conference XXXV, February 2011.

<sup>870</sup> Paris, BNF lat. 14378, f. 25v: "Ubi lancea fuit iuenta .VIII. Veridice et melius loquitur liber Raimundi quam Fulcherii."

<sup>871</sup> The Le Puy copy is Paris, BNF lat. 5131. The same note appears on f. 26r. See Jay Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context," *Viator* 35 (2004): 133-8.

and sent back to Europe, binding the texts of Fulcher of Chartres, Walter the Chancellor and Raymond d'Aguilers together as the official history of the First Crusade and the Crusader States.<sup>872</sup> The importance of Raymond's account of the Holy Lance, and its accepted validity in Jerusalem in the twelfth century, is matched by reports in other First Crusade eyewitness chroniclers — all of whom would end up part of Raymond of Saint-Gilles' army: Raymond d'Aguilers, Peter Tudebode, and the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>873</sup>

Not only was Raymond's account the accepted story of the Holy Lance in early twelfth century Jerusalem and Europe, but I would argue that the chronicle came into existence as a result of the discovery of the Lance. The title in the surviving manuscript, "Here begins the Finding of the Holy Lance," could easily be the title of the first draft of Raymond's chronicle, and the shift in the current text in terms of tone and contents could not be more stark. The lack of detail in the earliest parts of the chronicle, in comparison with the rich detail surrounding the finding of the Lance, shows that it was, at the very least, the part where Raymond brought the most careful narrative craftsmanship to his text. It is important to return to the preface of the surviving text, the letter written by Raymond d'Aguilers, canon of Notre Dame du Puy, and Pons of Balazun, his mysterious knightly co-author, to the bishop of Viviers, Leger, in order to show

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<sup>872</sup> Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use," 140-3.

<sup>873</sup> These three chronicles all accept the veracity of the Holy Lance during the crusade itself. Added to this are the letter of the crusading princes to Pope Urban II from Antioch, discussed later; one of the letters of Anselm of Ribemont; and the letter of the pilgrim Bruno to Lucca. The earliest datable account of a reaction to the crusade, a 1099 hymn from Saint-Martial in Limoges titled *Ierusalem, laetare*, also mentions it. Even as late as May 1100, the new Pope Paschal II congratulated the crusaders for the discovery of the Lance. See Steven Runciman, "The Holy Lance found at Antioch," *Analecta bollandiana, revue critique de hagiographie* 68 (1950): 198-201; 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 James Clarke Holt (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1984): 36-8.

the early date of the chronicle: it is the earliest surviving account of the First Crusade.<sup>874</sup> The specific context of the letter is very clear:

We write this book in order to inform you and all the people beyond the Alps of the mighty works which God in his customary generosity incessantly brought to pass through us. This task, chiefly undertaken because misfits of war and cowardly deserters have since tried to spread lies rather than truth, shall enable future readers to avoid the friendship and counsel of such renegades because their works will be an open book.<sup>875</sup>

This provides a fairly specific narrowing of time frame. The introduction describes the book as written by “Pons of Balazun and Raymond, canon of Le Puy,” and thus must have been written before Pons’ death at the siege of ‘Arqah.<sup>876</sup> It was also written to deal with false rumors presented by “Misfits of war and cowardly deserters.”<sup>877</sup> This, again, puts it within a very specific time frame, namely, after the beginning of the siege of Antioch. Other than those who deserted before undertaking the crusade, described in Fulcher of Chartres as including those who witnessed the schism in Rome, there were no great bands of crusading deserters that Raymond and Pons would have been aware of until those who fled from Antioch.<sup>878</sup> This puts the writing of the preface, at the very least, sometime between the period between the final passage before Raymond begins the finding of the Holy Lance and the death of Pons of Balazun:

Now at vigils, the time of trust in God’s compassion, many gave up hope and hurriedly lowered themselves with ropes from the wall tops; and in the city soldiers, returning from

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<sup>874</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 15, fn 3; for Leger, see Abbé Auguste Roche, *Armorial généalogique & biographique des évêques de Viviers* (Lyon : M.L. Brun, Libraire, 1891), 1 :130-9. Leger had partaken, in 1096, in a transaction between a lord of the Vivarais and the abbot of the Vellave monastery of Saint-Chaffre-le-Monastier, close to Le Puy, and then began a long career of making his own donations to the monastery, providing a potential link between the bishop and Raymond d’Aguilers ;

<sup>875</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 15. Latin: “Necessarium duximus vobis et Transalpinis omnibus manifestare magnolia que Deus nobiscum solito pietatis sue more fecit, et assidue facere non desinit, maxime ideo quia inbelles et pavidis recedentes a nobis, falsitatem pro veritate astruere nituntur. Sed qui apostasiam eorum viderit, verba et consortia eorum fugiat. Exercitus enim Dei etsi pro peccatis flagellum Domini, pro eiusdem misericordia victor super omnem paganimitatem extitit. » Raymond, *Liber*, 35.

<sup>876</sup> Ibid.

<sup>877</sup> Ibid. See Conor Kostick, “Courage and Cowardice on the First Crusade, 1096-1099,” *War in History* 20:1 (2013): 32-49.

<sup>878</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, tr. Frances Rita Ryan, ed. Harold Fink (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1969), I.VII.2-3, p. 75 for those who left after Rome; among others, Fulcher of Chartres, I.XVI.6-7, p. 97, and I.XX.2, p. 102 for Antioch deserters.



the encounter, circulated widely a rumor that mass decapitation of the defenders was in store. To add weight to the terror, they too fled even as some urged the undecided to stand steadfast. Nevertheless, as we have said, God's pity was present even when Christians were troubled and sunk in despair, and in turn he who chastened His lascivious children likewise comforted them in adversity.<sup>879</sup>

This, then, was the motivation for the preface—the desertion of the crusade by the Antiochene deserters, the so-called “rope dancers,” who traveled back to Stephen of Blois and the Emperor Alexius.<sup>880</sup> The discovery of the Holy Lance, then, is one of the “mighty works” that God granted the crusaders, and the forthcoming battle against Kerbogha that the crusaders won against all odds, the great example of how “God's army, although it bore the whip of the Lord for its transgressions, nevertheless triumphed over all paganism because of His loving kindness.”<sup>881</sup>

### **Peter Bartholomew and the Visions of Saint Andrew**

The discovery, then, begins with “Following the capture of Antioch, the Lord, unfolding His might and goodness, selected a Provençal peasant to console us and to deliver the following message to Raymond and Adhémar.”<sup>882</sup> This Provençal peasant was a minor priest named Peter Bartholomew, likely linked to the cathedral of Saint Trophimus in Arles, mentioned in the first

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<sup>879</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 50. Latin: “In nocte autem cum nostri Dei misericordiam sperare debuissent, multi desperare ceperunt, atque precipites per funes ab altitudine murorum deiciebantur. Alii autem a bello discedentes in civitatem, commune omnium decapitationem venisse cunctis nunciabant et quo magis timeri poterat, dum alii alios adortantur ut viriliter resistent, ipsi in fugam vertuntur. Itaque ut diximus dum nostri conturbarentur, et cum in desperationem ruerent, divina clementia eis affuit, et que lascivientes filios correxerat, nimium tristes tali modo consolata est.” Raymond, *Liber*, 68.

<sup>880</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 50, fn 10; Fulcher of Chartres, I.XX.2, p. 102; Joshua C. Birk, “The Betrayal of Antioch: Narratives of Conversion and Conquest during the First Crusade,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41:3 (2011): 467; John France, *Victory in the East: A military history of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), 269-70.

<sup>881</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 15.

<sup>882</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 51.

chapter. The timeline of events from this point is somewhat sketchy. After the beginning of the counter-siege of Antioch, Peter Bartholomew sent a message to Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, claiming that he had a heavenly visitor:

Andrew, the Apostle of God and our Lord, Jesus Christ, warned me some time ago on four different occasions and ordered me to report to you and, upon the fall of Antioch, return to you the Lance which pierced the side of our Saviour. Even today when I left with some others for the fight outside the walls of the city, I was trapped by two horsemen and almost crushed in the retreat. Dejected and listless I sank down upon a rock, whereupon Saint Andrew and a comrade appeared to me, a wretched sinner still staggering from affliction and fears, and warned me of added burdens if I did not hasten to deliver the Lance to you.<sup>883</sup>

As discussed in chapter 1, Peter Bartholomew's message would have immediately gained the interest of Raymond of Saint-Gilles; less so Adhémar of Le Puy, as will be seen.<sup>884</sup> Given the region that Peter Bartholomew was from, the Apostle Andrew would have been equally important to him and to his own psyche. In any case, Raymond and his fellow leaders took the poor preacher seriously.

The first encounter, as Peter describes it, happened during an earthquake during the crusader siege of Antioch, when he was alone in his tent and terrified by the aftershocks.<sup>885</sup> Suddenly, "two men clad in brilliant garments appeared to me. The older one had red hair sprinkled with white, a broad and bushy white beard, black eyes and an agreeable countenance, and was of medium height; his younger companion was taller, and 'Fair in form beyond the sons

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<sup>883</sup> Ibid. Latin: "Andreas Dei et Domini nostri Ihesu Christi apostolus, me quater olim monuit et iussit ut ad vos venire, et lanceam que Salvatoris latus aperuit, capta civitate vobis redderem. Hodie autem cum ad pugna, profectus essem extra civitatem cum reliquis, atque comprehensus a duobus equitibus pene suffocatus in regress fuissem, quasi exanimis illic super lapidem quondam tristis resedissem. Cumque pre dolore et timore sicut tristis titubarem, venit ante me beatus Andreas cum socio quodam multum michi interminatus, nisi cito vobis lanceam redderem. » Raymond, *Liber*, 68.

<sup>884</sup> Runciman, "The Holy Lance," 197-8, says that it is impossible to tell "to what extent Peter Bartholomew was honest," but goes on to characterize him as "a disreputable character and a liar." This discussion, of the degree of honesty of Peter Bartholomew, adds nothing to the discussion.

<sup>885</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 51-2.

of men’.”<sup>886</sup> The older of the two introduced himself as “Andrew, the apostle,” and asked him to arrange a meeting with Adhémar, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and Peter Raymond of Hautpoul, who was mentioned in chapter 2 as one of the signatories of Raymond’s donation of the church of Saint-Baudile of Nîmes to the monastery of La Chaise-Dieu.<sup>887</sup> The Apostle, in Peter’s vision, begins with a critique/suggestion for Adhémar, something that may have contributed to the Bishop’s doubts on the veracity of the Provençal priest: “Why doesn’t Adhémar preach the word, exhort, and bless the people with the Cross which he carries daily? Certainly, it would be a great blessing to them.”<sup>888</sup>

Saint Andrew then commanded the priest to follow him into the city of Antioch, where “I shall reveal to you the Lance of our Father, which you must give to the Count because God set it aside for him at birth.”<sup>889</sup> This is an incredible claim, in that it transforms Raymond of Saint-Gilles into a figure of destiny. For a man who began life as an uncrowned prince of the south, this message from Saint Andrew, to whom he had made such gifts, would have been very appealing, and likely fit within his own view of the world. The saint led Peter into Antioch, and then into the “church of the Blessed Apostle Peter by way of the north gate, in front of which the Saracens had constructed a mosque,” where a pair of lamps provided illumination for the

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<sup>886</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 52. The description is from Psalms 45:2, and is discussed by Augustine in his *Expositio Psalmi* on Psalm 103; these were incredibly common texts that we know Raymond d’Aguilers had access to through Paris, BNF lat. 1980-1, the Le Puy cathedral copies of Augustine’s commentaries, and likely Peter Bartholomew did as well.

<sup>887</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 52.

<sup>888</sup> Ibid.; France, *Victory in the East*, 278.

<sup>889</sup> Ibid. The “discovery” of the Holy Lance has sparked considerable historiographical discussion, which makes up most of the use of Raymond’s chronicle in secondary sources. For specific discussions, see, among others: Runciman, “The Holy Lance”; Morris, “Policy and Visions”; Wolfgang Giese, “Die lancea Domini von Antiochia (1098/99),” in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 5 vols. (Hanover, 1988): 5: 485-504; Luigi Russo, “Il Liber di Raimondo d’Aguilers e la Sacra Lancia d’Antiochia,” *Studi medievali* XLVII, fasc. II (2006) : 785-837 ; and Thomas Asbridge, “The Holy Lance of Antioch: Power, Devotion and Memory on the First Crusade,” *Reading medieval studies* 33 (2007): 3-36.

inside.<sup>890</sup> The apostle brought Peter to a very specific spot, “by the column which was adjacent to the south steps leading up to the altar steps,” where he reached down through the ground and drew out the Lance, and then said “Look upon the Lance which pierced Christ’s side from which the world’s deliverance arose.”<sup>891</sup> In the account of Peter Tudebode, the Apostle Andrew describes it as, “This is the Lance of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which I and my brother, the Apostle Peter, buried here,” explaining how it arrive in Antioch.<sup>892</sup> Peter recounted that he grasped the Lance and told Andrew that he would take it from the church and “put it into the hand of the Count,” at which the apostle told him to wait until after Antioch was captured and then bring twelve men, representative of the number of the apostles, and to recover the Lance from its hiding place.<sup>893</sup>

Peter obviously did not follow this apostolic order. Rather than try to meet with the Count of Saint-Gilles, who would have, admittedly, been an intimidating figure for a minor priest from the Bas-Rhône, Peter fled towards Edessa along with one of the foraging crews. Andrew next appeared to him on the first day of Lent, “at the cock’s crow,” with the same silent companion. He woke Peter and chastised him for not having done his duty.

Do you not know God’s reason in leading you here, the greatness of His love for you, and His especial care in the choice of you? He ordered you here to vindicate scorn of Him as well as His chosen ones. His love for you is so great that the saints now resting in peace, aware of the favor of divine will, desired to return in the flesh and fight by your side. God has selected you from all mankind as grains of wheat are gathered from oats, because you stand out above all who have come before or shall come after you in merit and grace as the price of gold exceeds that of silver.<sup>894</sup>

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<sup>890</sup> Ibid. Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 76, also has the church of Saint Peter as the focus, though without any of the great details. This was a Byzantine church in the center of the city, the al-Qusiyan church of St. Peter, discussed in detail by Ibn Butlan. See A. Asa Eger, “(Re)Mapping Medieval Antioch: Urban Transformations from the Early Islamic to the Middle Byzantine Periods,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 67 (2013): 104.

<sup>891</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 52; Latin: “Ecce lancea que latus eius aperuit, unde tocius mundi salus emanavit. » Raymond, *Liber*, 70.

<sup>892</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 76.

<sup>893</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 53.

<sup>894</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 53. Latin: “Nescisne cur Deus huc vos adduxit? Et quantum vos diligit, et quomodo vos precipue elegit? Pro contemptu sui et suorum vindicta vos huc venire fecit. Diligit vos adeo ut sancti iam in requie

Whereas the first vision had placed Raymond of Saint-Gilles in the favored role, sure to appeal to him, the second vision makes Peter Bartholomew the most important figure in crusading history, if not salvation history: “you stand out above all who have come before or shall come after you in merit and grace.”<sup>895</sup> It also promised that not only was Peter Bartholomew going to aid Raymond of Saint-Gilles in getting his hands on the Holy Lance, but his mission would cause the accumulated masses of the saints to physically return and fight on their side.

Peter Bartholomew went back to the siege of Antioch after the second vision, but once again did not discuss his visions with Raymond and Adhémar, since he feared that they would think he was making up stories to get food. While he was resting in his tent near the port of Saint-Simeon, on the eve of Palm Sunday, the Apostle returned, this time while Peter Bartholomew was in the presence of the person he describes as “my Lord William Peter.”<sup>896</sup> The Apostle once again chastised Peter for his failings, who replied that if he tries to go to Antioch to report to the Count he will be killed by Turkish raiders. Andrew answered, “Don’t be afraid; the Turks will not hurt you. But tell the Count not to be dipped in the River Jordan upon his arrival, but first row across in a boat; and once on the other side be sprinkled while clad in a shirt and linen breeches and thereafter keep his dried garments along with the Holy Lance.”<sup>897</sup> In the meeting with Raymond and Adhémar, in an attempt to bolster the believability of this story,

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positi divine dispositionis gratiam prenoscentes in carne esse et concertare nobiscum vellent. Elegit vos Deus ex omnibus gentibus sicut triticee spice de avenaria colliguntur, etenim meritis et gratia preceditis omnes qui ante et post vos venient, sicut aurum precio precedit argentum. » Raymond, *Liber*, 70.

<sup>895</sup> Ibid.

<sup>896</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 54. Jonathan Riley-Smith, “The motives of the earliest crusaders and the settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095-1100”, *The English Historical Review* 389 (Oct. 1983): 732, has identified Peter Bartholomew’s master as William Peter of Cunhlat, a minor Auvergnat lord from the Livradois, a region rich in Casadeen priories. While that William Peter of Cunhlat would become important later in the Crusade among Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ lieutenants, it would be very strange for Peter Bartholomew, from Arles, to be following a minor lord from the hamlet of Cunhlat in the Livradois.

<sup>897</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 54.

Peter offered the testimony of William Peter, who he claimed to have heard Peter Bartholomew's half of the conversation. Count Raymond at least took this part of the story seriously. At the end of the crusade, he did exactly what Andrew had commanded in the vision, much to his chronicler, Raymond d'Aguilers', confusion.<sup>898</sup>

The fourth vision that Peter Bartholomew recounts happened after he once again fled the siege to the port of Mamistra in order to go on a supply run to Cyprus, as far away from the siege of Antioch as one could get without deserting the crusade. Andrew appeared to him and forbade him to run, but, fearing for his safety if he tried to break the blockades between Mamistra and Antioch, Peter got on the boat anyway. Three supernatural storms, however, blocked the boat from leaving harbor, and when Peter was forced back to land he fell ill up until the crusader conquest of Antioch.<sup>899</sup> The final vision took place the morning that Peter finally reported the vision, as he "was trapped by two horsemen and almost crushed in the retreat."<sup>900</sup> Given the varied accounts, the glory given to Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Peter Bartholomew and the gentle reprimand of Adhémar, in addition to the glorification of a simple priest over all other men, it is no wonder that the response of the bishop was that he "considered the story fraudulent." Adhémar was, in short, too loyal to his cathedral's interests to embrace the reputed Holy Lance. It is not less surprising that Raymond of Saint-Gilles believed that he had been

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<sup>898</sup> This seems to be a very good argument against Raymond as mastermind of Peter Bartholomew's visions, which used to be a common view among nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars. See N. Iorga, *Les Narrateurs de la Première Croisade* (Paris: J. Gamber, 1928), 1-16, who describes Raymond as « le narrateur le plus naïf et le plus pittoresque de la première croisade, est lui-même un Provençal, pour lequel tout pays d'Infidèles est une Espagne, » ; and Oliver Thatcher, « Critical Work on the Latin Sources of the First Crusade, » in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900* (Washington : Government Printing Office, 1901), I : 499-509, who ends his discussion by writing "The priest, Raymond of Aguilers, was at the head of a band of swindlers who made gain by playing on the credulity, superstitions, and religious simplicity of the crusaders. It was he who, with the aid of a few accomplices, planned and executed the fraud of discovering the holy lance in Antioch. Having been charged with this, he wrote his account of the crusade as his defense, but while trying to clear himself he has unwittingly betrayed his guilt."

<sup>899</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 54.

<sup>900</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 51; France, *Victory in the East*, 275.

given a special place in sacred history and “placed Peter Bartholomew in the custody of his chaplain, Raymond.”<sup>901</sup> Starting from this moment, Raymond d’Aguilers takes his place in the story, the first time he appears as a character in the chronicle.

### **Competing Visions and the Invention of the Holy Lance: The Creating of a Provençal Cult in the First Crusade**

The next night, after Peter Bartholomew revealed his vision to the Count, another vision took place. Another Provençal priest, Stephen of Valence, went into the church of the Blessed Mary, another major site in Antioch, to confess, receive absolution, and chant hymns with other ecclesiastical figures preparing to die in the ensuing fight against Kerbogha.<sup>902</sup> Stephen received his own vision there, keeping vigils while the other priests slept, repeating Psalm 14:1: “Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle? Or who shall rest in thy holy hill?”<sup>903</sup> At this point, “a man, handsome beyond human form, appeared and asked Stephen, ‘Who has entered Antioch?’” This person would seem intended to recall to the unnamed handsome figure who had earlier appeared alongside the Apostle Andrew.<sup>904</sup> Stephen answered that it was Christians who had entered, and the man then asked what these Christians believed. Stephen’s answer was a very basic response, showing what it meant to be a Christian for a simple priest from the Valentinois: “They believe Christ was born of the Virgin Mary and endured agony on the Cross, died, was buried, and rose

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<sup>901</sup> Ibid.

<sup>902</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 55.

<sup>903</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 55, fn 8, is an example of the trend in assuming Raymond d’Aguilers is the mastermind behind the whole account: “The whole vision of Stephen is a remarkable exercise in bringing the Scriptures to life. Raymond is very ingenious in this account.” The Psalm here can be interpreted as being both a despairing call for mercy, and a question of whether the Muslims or the Christians deserved to have Jerusalem.

<sup>904</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 55.

from the grave on the third day and ascended to heaven.”<sup>905</sup> The mysterious man then chastised the Christians for fearing death and finally revealed himself to be Christ, as a dazzling form of the cross appeared above him. Christ asked Stephen who the leader of the crusade is, to which Stephen replies “Lord, we have no unified command, but we trust Adhémar more than others.”<sup>906</sup>

Stephen of Valence was from the same region as Adhémar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy, and the vision he would give would reflect a very different sensibility from that of Peter Bartholomew.<sup>907</sup> Christ would give separate orders for Stephen to recount to Adhémar, though they in some ways mirror the initial request given by Peter Bartholomew for the bishop:

Tell the Bishop that these people by their evil deeds have alienated me, and because of this, he should command, ‘Turn from sin and I shall return to you’. Later when they go to fight they shall say, ‘Our enemies are gathered together and boast of their might; crush their might, Oh Lord! And rout them so that they shall know you, our God, alone battles with us.’ And add these instructions, ‘My compassion shall be with you if you follow my commands for five days.’<sup>908</sup>

This sort of vision was much more traditional than the sorts of things reported by Peter Bartholomew, coming, as John France has pointed out, from a fairly normative Reform vision of the world.<sup>909</sup> Equally important to the vision and its impact is the follow-up from Christ’s message, which is the unexpected appearance of the Virgin Mary:

While he spoke thus a woman, Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ, whose countenance was haloed brilliantly, came near, looked toward the Lord and inquired, ‘What are you telling this man?’ And Christ answered Mary, ‘I asked who were the people within Antioch.’

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<sup>905</sup> Ibid.

<sup>906</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 56.

<sup>907</sup> See John France, “Two Types of Vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew,” *Crusades* 5 (2006): 1-20.

<sup>908</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 56. Latin: “Hec dices episcopo. Populus iste male agendo me elongavit a se, et ideo dicat eis: convertimini ad me et ego revertar ad vos. Et cum pugnam inierint, hec decant: congregatae sunt inimici nostril et gloriantur in virtute sua contere fortitudinem illorum domine et disperge illos ut cognoscant quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi tu Deus noster. Et hec quoque dices ad illos : si feceritis que ego precipio vobis, usque ad quinque dies, vestri miserebor. » Raymond, *Liber*, 73.

<sup>909</sup> France, “Two Types,” 7-8.



The Lady declared, ‘Oh My Master! They are Christians who are so often in my prayers.’<sup>910</sup>

The idea of Mary praying for the Crusaders, as being the figure close to Christ advising him to watch over the crusaders, was an important aspect of the Marian cult in the Provençal contingent during the crusade and as a way of appealing to Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, known for his particular Marian devotion.

Peter Tudebode’s chronicle allows us to flesh out the vision of Stephen of Valence. As Stephen reclined in the “church of Saint Mary, Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ,” Jesus, Mary and the Apostle Peter all appeared to him.<sup>911</sup> Christ admonished Stephen and the crusaders, saying that he had granted them all of their victories thus far, but the crusaders during their time within Antioch “have committed numerous evil acts in that they lie with pagan women, and as a result a great stench arises to Heaven.”<sup>912</sup> Here Peter Tudebode placed Mary in the same intercessory role, as a special protector of the Crusaders, writing, “Then the beautiful Virgin Mary and the Blessed Apostle Peter fell at Christ’s feet, imploring Him that He aid the surviving Christians in their anguish.”<sup>913</sup> Christ consequently had mercy on Stephen, and ordered him:

Stephen, tell my people to turn back to me and I shall return to them; and after five days I shall order the greatest possible aid for the Christians. Each day *Congregati sunt* shall be sung throughout the whole army. Further, Christians shall do penance. They shall in bare feet make processions through the churches and give alms to the poor. The priests shall chant mass and perform communion with the body and blood of Christ. Then they shall begin the battle, and I shall give them the help of Saint George, Saint Theodore, Saint Demetrius, and all the pilgrims who have died on the way to Jerusalem.<sup>914</sup>

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<sup>910</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 56. Latin: “Hec autem eo dicente mulier Maria mater Ihesu Christi quedam supra modum inflammati vultus accessit. Et intuita Dominum, dixit ei: Domne et quid huic viro dicitis> et Dominus ad illum: Quero ab eo de hac gente que civitatem ingress est que sit. Et ait domina: O Domine mi, hi sunt pro quibus ego tantum te rogo.” Raymond, *Liber*, 73-4 ; France, *Victory in the East*, 278.

<sup>911</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, tr. with an intro. by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1974), 74.

<sup>912</sup> Peter, 74-75.

<sup>913</sup> Peter, 75.

<sup>914</sup> Ibid. Latin: “Stephane, ergo dic populo me out convertatur ad me, et ego revertar ad illum, et usque ad quinque dies mandabo ei maximum adiutorium, et cotidie decanter ‘Congregati sunt’ per totum exercitum, et accipiant poenitentias, et nudis pedibus faciant processias per ecclesias, et pauperibus dent elemosinas, et faciant presbyteris

After advocating this vision of the *vita apostolica* for the armies, Christ departed. Stephen recounted this vision to Adhémar, who in turn forced him to swear to its veracity on the Gospel and Cross. There is no mention of undergoing an ordeal. Barefoot processions, care for the poor, the leadership of the priests: in exchange for these concessions on the part of the warrior class, the Lord promises the aid of the saints and the sanctified dead in battle. These are all parts of the Peace of God, though Peter Tudebode's version of the Peace would have been significantly different from Raymond's. The Auvergnat Peace, familiar to Raymond, focused on the processing of saints and the charismatic appeal of the clergy, monks and poor, whereas Peter Tudebode's Peace, that of the Poitevin, involved barefoot processions, liturgical fasting, and the leadership of the clergy united with the aristocracy.<sup>915</sup> There is also the singing of the *Congregati sunt*, and the chanting of mass—the importance of music in a liturgical context and

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missas cantare, et sint communicate corpore et sanguine Christi. Et sic incipient bellem et ego dabo eis adiutorium beatum Georgium, et Thoeodorum, et Demetrium, et omnes peregrinos qui in ista via fuerunt mortui Ierosolimitana. » Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 99-100. Saint George and Saint Theodore would appear consistently in Syriac artwork during the crusader period throughout the County of Tripoli; see M. Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles: Medieval Christian Art in Syria and Lebanon* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 87-8; 94; 97-8; 100; 101-4; 111-2 among others. In Beirut, the Church of St. George, just to the east of the city, was the legendary site of the saints slaying of the dragon from the eleventh century on; Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 122.

<sup>915</sup> There is a widespread bibliography on the Peace of God in the Limousin and Poitevin. See, among others, Michael Frassetto, "The writings of Ademar of Chabannes, the Peace of 994, and the 'Terrors of the Year 1000'," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 241-255; *ibid.*, "Violence, Knightly Piety and the Peace of God Movement in Aquitaine," in *The final argument: the imprint of violence on society in medieval and early modern Europe*, eds Donald Kagay and L.J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998): 13-26; Richard Landes, "The Dynamics of Heresy and Reform: Popular Participation in the 'Peace of God' Movement in Limoges, 994-1033)," in *Essays on the Peace of God: The Church and the People in Eleventh Century France*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes, special issue of *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques*, 14.3 (1987): 467-511; *ibid.*, "La vie apostolique en Aquitaine au tournant du millennium: Paix de Dieu, culte de reliques et communautés 'hérétiques'," *Annales*, 46:3 (1991): 573-83 ; *ibid.*, "Between Aristocracy and Heresy: Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God (994-1032)" in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, eds Richard Landes and Thomas Head (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992): 184-219; Mickey Abel, "Recontextualizing the Context: The disoute Capital from Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers and Storytelling in the Poitou around the Time of the Peace of God Movement," *Gesta* 47:1 (2008): 51-66; Daniel F. Callahan, "The Peace of God and the Cult of the Saints in Aquitaine in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," )," in *Essays on the Peace of God: The Church and the People in Eleventh Century France*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes, special issue of *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques*, 14.3 (1987): 445-466; Thomas Head, "Peace and Power in France around the Year 1000," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 23 (2006): 1-17; and *ibid.*, "The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970-1005)," *Speculum* 74:3 (Jul. 1999): 656-686.

as part of Christ's salvific package for the crusaders is made apparent, and appropriate to Tudebode's gloss on the anonymous *Gesta*, which emphasizes the duties of a priest.

Stephen of Valence, unlike Peter Bartholomew, found the most public possible forum to declare his visions. When he attempted to gain corroborating witnesses to his vision by waking the other priests sleeping in the church of Mary, Christ and Mary disappeared.<sup>916</sup> That next morning, then, he climbed the hill opposite "the Turkish fort," which might either have been outside of the city or referring to the citadel of Antioch, where all the major leaders of the crusade except for Godfrey, who was guarding another section of the city, were gathered. There, Stephen reports this vision "in a called assembly, swore upon the Cross to verify it, and finally signified his willingness to cross through fire or throw himself from the heights of a tower if necessary to convince the unbelievers."<sup>917</sup>

Stephen's public declaration of his reformist vision had immediate results. To counteract rumors that the nobility was going to flee the city rather than die under Kerbogha's assaults, the nobility "swore that they would neither flee nor abandon Antioch except by common council, and thus many were reassured." Additionally, Bohemond and Adhémar ordered the gates of the city closed to prevent mass desertion.<sup>918</sup> The vision reinforced the authority of Adhémar as the leader of the crusade, even in troubled times; Raymond of Saint-Gilles' absence from the order to close the gates, and from the discussion of that meeting, is telling: this was the beginning of a schism of sorts among the Provençals, between those who supported Adhémar and a reformist program of leadership and those who supported Peter Bartholomew's more radical eschatological approach.

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<sup>916</sup> Peter, 75.

<sup>917</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 55-56.

<sup>918</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 56-7.

This latter, group, meanwhile, was preparing to enact this own more apocalyptic vision, using Stephen's own proposed five-day period of preparation as a chronological frame.<sup>919</sup> On the fifth day, Peter Bartholomew and twelve men collected the tools they needed and entered the cathedral of the Blessed Peter, clearing it of all other Christians (one may assume non-Latin Christians), and began to dig in the appointed spot. Among the twelve workers were a number of now familiar figures, including Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Bishop William of Orange, Pons of Balazun, Farald of Thouars, and Raymond d'Aguilers himself. After a lengthy period of digging without finding the Lance, Raymond of Saint-Gilles returned to guard duty at the citadel, and fresh workers arrived. Then, "the youthful Peter Bartholomew" jumped into the pit, "begged us to pray to God to return His Lance to the crusaders so as to bring strength and victory to His people," and with God's help discovered the Lance.<sup>920</sup> In a moment of using his eyewitness status to validate the incredible find, Raymond d'Aguilers writes that: "Finally, prompted by His gracious compassion, the Lord showed us His Lance and I, Raymond, author of this book, kissed the point of the Lance as it barely protruded from the ground. I cannot relate the happiness and rejoicing which filled Antioch, but I can state that the Lance was uncovered on the eighteenth day before the Kalends of July."<sup>921</sup> Peter Tudebode's text describes in more detail the happiness and rejoicing that the crusaders felt after the Lance was revealed:

Raymond [of Saint-Gilles] joyfully came to the church, and there Peter showed him the place before the door of the choir to the right side. There from morning to evening twelve men dug a deep hole and Peter found the Lance of Jesus Christ, just as Saint Andrew had disclosed, on the fourteenth day of incoming June. They accepted it with great joy, and singing *Te Deum laudamus* they bore it happily to the altar. Thus great

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<sup>919</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 57.

<sup>920</sup> Ibid. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 64-5, who writes that the Holy Lance was seen as being on par with the fragment of True Cross discovered just after the conquest of Jerusalem.

<sup>921</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 57. For eyewitness accounts of the crusade, see Marcus Bull, "The Eyewitness Accounts of the First Crusade as Political Scripts," *Reading medieval studies* 36 (2010): 22-37; Elizabeth Lapina, "*Nec signis nec testibus ceditur*: the Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 38 (2007): 117-139; Yuval Harrari, "Eyewitnessing in accounts of the First Crusade: The Gesta Francorum and other contemporary narratives," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 77-99.

euphoria seized the city. Upon report of this discovery, the Frankish army came to Saint Peter's Church to see the Lance. Likewise Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians came singing in high pitch, *Kyrie eleison* and saying: '*Kalo Francia fundari Christo exsi.*'<sup>922</sup>

For Peter Tudebode, much like Raymond d'Aguilers, this was a pivotal event, one so important that it caused not only the entire Crusader army but the Antiochene Christians as well to break into song, praising the miraculous discovery of the Lance.<sup>923</sup> The singing unifies the Christians, with the *Te Deum* harkening back to the early church and echoing the Apostle's Creed, and in use among both the Latin and Eastern Orthodox Church; similarly, the singing of *Kyrie eleison* by the local Christians is part of the liturgical songs of west and east alike.<sup>924</sup> This description of unified celebration in song appears only in the Provençal chronicles. The potent combination of visions of the saints, the intercession of the Virgin, and the celebration through liturgical song are features of the Provençal crusaders reaction to the Holy Lance, and it is through this reaction that their visionary priests would come to lead the crusade.

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<sup>922</sup> Peter Tudebode, 83. Latin: "Deinde venit Petrus ad comitem Sancti Egidii, et dixit ei ut pergeret ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri, ubi lancea erat. Ille audiens hec, cum magna leticia pervenit ad ecclesiam, et ille Petrus ostendit ei locum ante ianuas chori in dextera parte. Et ibi foderunt duodecim homines de mane usque ad vesperam. Facta autem nimis profunda fovea, ipse Petrus invenit lanceam Ihesu Christi, sicut beatus Andreas ei indicavit, xiiii die intrante Iunio. Et acceperunt illam cum magno gaudio, 'Te Deum laudamus' psallentes detulerunt laudantes ad altare. Unde fuit maxima leticia in tota urbe. Haec audiens exercitus Francorum, cum magno gaudio ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri venerunt lanceam videre. Et similiter Greci, et Hermenii, et Suriani, cantates alta voce 'kyrri eleison', et dicentes: 'Kalo Francia fundari Christo exsi.'" Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 107-8.

<sup>923</sup> Eastern Christian sources mention the Holy Lance, though barring Anna Komnena, they are all significantly later. The earliest witness to the crusade from an Eastern Christian perspective, the Armenian monk Hovannès, makes no mention of it. See P. Peeters, "Un témoignage autographe sur le siège d'Antioche par les croisés en 1098", in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti de Meyer, Universitatis catholicae in oppido Iovaniensi iam annos XXV professories*, vol. 1 (1946) : 373-390 ; Gérard Dédéyan, "Les colophons de manuscrits arméniens comme sources pour l'histoire des Croisades", in *The Crusades and Their Sources : Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, eds. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot : Ashgate, 1998): 93-5. Anna Komnena calls it the Holy Nail, reserving the Lance for Constantinople to making it an important relic that they could honestly have mistaken for the Lance, and writing that "After that the revered and Holy Nail was entrusted by them to St. Gilles to carry with him in battle, for he was purer than the rest." Anna Komnena, *The alexiad*, 314.

<sup>924</sup> For the *Kyrie*, there is an extensive Aquitanian tradition that Peter Tudebode especially might have been drawing on. See, for all its imperfections, David A. Bjork, *The Aquitanian Kyrie Repertory of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, ed. Richard L. Crocker (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); *ibid.*, "The Kyrie Trope," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33:1 (Spring 1980): 1-41; and *ibid.*, "Early settings of the Kyrie eleison and the problem of genre definition," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 3 (Jan. 1980): 40-8.

The next night, the Apostle appeared again to Peter Bartholomew and said, “Behold God gave the Lance to the Count. He in fact had reserved it for him alone throughout the ages, and also made him leader of the army on the condition of his devotion to God.”<sup>925</sup> Peter Bartholomew asked Andrew to have mercy on the Christians, whose conditions were desperate. The Apostle answered, “Indeed the Lord will have pity on His people,” before revealing to Peter Bartholomew that his mysterious companion was Christ himself. Christ then allowed Peter to see his bloody foot and said:

Look upon the Father who was pierced for us on the Cross and has borne from that time forth this wound. In addition, the Lord orders you to celebrate the date of the discovery of His Lance on the octave of the following week, because the uncovering of the Lance at vespers prevents the celebration on that day; and thereafter on its every anniversary you shall celebrate the discovery of the Lance. Further, tell the Christians to restrain themselves as today’s reading of the Epistle of my brother, Peter, teaches. (This epistle taught, ‘Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God’). Also the clerks shall chant daily the following hymn, ‘*Lustra sex qui jam peracta tempus implens corporis.*’ When they have chanted, ‘*Agnus in cruce levatus immolandus stipites,*’ they shall genuflect and conclude the hymn.<sup>926</sup>

This is the first of many innovations that Peter Bartholomew’s visions would have the crusaders enact. In this case, the Apostle Andrew is declaring a new feast day, a liturgical celebration for the Invention of the Holy Lance, with a specific date, and specific rites to be carried out by the crusaders. There are no examples of this feast day outside of the eleventh-century martyrology of Avignon, described in chapter one, that predates the First Crusade and which places the discovery on a different day.<sup>927</sup> Clearly, this is one edict that did not survive the First Crusade.

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<sup>925</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 57-8. Latin: “Ecce Deus donavit comiti quod nulli umquam donare voluit, et constituit illum vexilliferum istius exercitus. Siquidem perseveraverit in amore eius. » Raymond, *Liber*, 75.

<sup>926</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 58. Latin: “Ecce ille pater qui pro nobis vulneratus in cruce fuit, et hec inde plaga. Hec etiam Dominus precipit ut celebrem habeatis diem illum in quo lanceam suam vobis reddidit, et quia in vespere reperta est, et non potuit dies illa celebris haberi sequenti ebdomada in octabis sollempnitatem celebrabitis, et singulis annis deinceps in die inventionis ipsius lancee. Hed quoque dices ad eos ut contineant se sicut epistola docet fratris mei Petri, que hodie legetur. Et epistola fuit hec : Humiliamini sub potenti manu Dei. Et cotidie clerici ante lanceam cantent hunc ymnum : *Luxtra sex qui iam peracta tempus implens corporis.* Et cum dixerint *agnus in cruce levatus inmolandus stipite flexis genibus ymnum finiant.* » Raymond, *Liber*, 76.

<sup>927</sup> Avignon, BM 98, f. 156v-158r.

After reporting this particular set of visions, however, the Bishop of Orange and Raymond d'Aguilers both questioned Peter Bartholomew about his level of education—Peter Bartholomew was forced to answer that “he knew some ritual, [but] he was so bewildered at the time that he neither recalled the liturgy nor had any recollection of what he had learned from it except the *Pater Noster*, *Credo in Deum*, *Magnificat*, and *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*.”<sup>928</sup> He was at the very least a priest, though not operating at a particularly high level in terms of education. A limited education, however, had not checked his ambition.

Peter Tudebode, reporting the aftermath of the Lance’s discovery, wrote that “the Christians carried out instructions just as the Lord Jesus Christ had commanded them through the priest, Stephen, with three days of fasting and by confessing their sins, by processions from one church to another, by absolution, and by faithfully receiving communion of the body and blood of Christ. They also gave alms to the poor and celebrated masses.”<sup>929</sup> Raymond, while not reporting these preparations before the battle with Kerbogha, describes the exit of the Crusade army from Antioch to face the Turks in similar terms: “In typical clerical procession we advanced, and, may I add, it was a procession. Priests and many monks wearing white stoles walked before the ranks of our knights, chanting and praying for God’s help and the protection of the saints,” and when they were outside, “barefooted priests clad in priestly vestments stood upon the walls invoking God to protect His people, and by a Frankish victory bear witness to the covenant which He made holy with His blood.”<sup>930</sup> The crusader army, or at least the portion described by the Provençal chroniclers, clearly decided to make the exchange the Lord had offered to Stephen of Valence—victory in exchange for processions and concessions.

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<sup>928</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 58.

<sup>929</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 85.

<sup>930</sup> Raymond, 62-63. Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 86, contains a very similar account of the clergy, “clad in sacerdotal garments,” marching out of Antioch ahead of the army praying.

### The Battle with Kerbogha and the Problems of Antioch

Despite the spiritual events occurring in Antioch during Kerbogah's siege of the city, conditions were bleak. Multiple chronicles list the enormous prices required to buy simple foods as a way to point out the degree of famine within the city, following a pattern established in 4 Kings 6:25: "And there was a great famine in Samaria, and so long did the siege continue till the head of an ass was sold for fourscore pieces of silver and the fourth part of a cab of pigeon's dung for five pieces of silver." There were also further desertions and outright defections. Some of these defectors informed the besieging army how bad affairs were inside the city, resulting in tentative assaults including one breach of the defenses.<sup>931</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Adhémar of Le Puy were both ill, Stephen of Blois had fled, and as a result of the depth of the problems Raymond d'Aguilers' records that "all of the army promised to follow the commands of Bohemond for a period of fifteen days after the fight so that he could arrange for the protection of Antioch and make battle plans."<sup>932</sup> The problem with a purely military response was that the situation was untenable for soldiers—they were starving, outnumbered, and surrounded by a better equipped army. The discovery of the Holy Lance, then, provided a brief moment of hope, and Peter Bartholomew was ready to provide instructions for how the crusade, with the Lance and the help of the Apostle Andrew, could win. He recounted that Andrew had appeared again to him and had given him a long series of orders:

All have displeased the Lord greatly and so have been afflicted; and you have prayed to the Lord and the Lord has hearkened to you. Now let everyone turn from sin to God and offer five alms because of the five wounds of the Lord; and if he is unable to do so let him repeat five times, *Pater Noster*. Following the completion of these commands, open

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<sup>931</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 59.

<sup>932</sup> *Ibid.*



the battle in the name of the Lord and let it be opened by day or night according to the princes' battle plans, because the Lord's hand will be with you.<sup>933</sup>

Andrew added a number of threats and admonitions to this, including comparisons of anyone who would not fight to Judas, but with a promise: "All of your deceased comrades of the journey shall fight with you with the strength and leadership of God against nine tenths of the enemy, while you fight one tenth." This is the first of a number of eschatological references coming out of Peter Bartholomew and Raymond d'Aguilers, placing the crusade in the culmination of sacred history—the defeat of Kerbogha, then, would be part of the apocalyptic victory Christ had foretold.

Taking communion a final time, the crusade army exited the city, with Adhémar of Le Puy leading the Provençals while the sick Raymond of Saint-Gilles guarded the citadel. Kerbogha allowed the crusaders to exit Antioch and put themselves into battle order. They moved out "in typical clerical procession," and Raymond emphasizes the liturgical-processional aspects, reiterating "et revera nobis processio erat," before describing the role of the clergy in the battle.<sup>934</sup> Both Raymond and Peter Tudebode give these aspects of the battle as much attention as they do the military aspects, revealing how a pair of secular clerics viewed the connection between physical and spiritual combat.

We do not have a clear enough sense of Peter Tudebode's place in the crusade to detail his involvement in the battle against Kerbogha, but Raymond claims eyewitness status to support the veracity of his account. Discussing the opening stage of the battle, he writes, "in the course of

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<sup>933</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 60. Latin: "Offendistis omnes graviter, et ideo humiliate estis et clamastis ad Dominum et exaudivit vos Dominus, et nunc unusquisque pro suis offensis se Deo convertat, et .v. elemosinas faciat, propter .v. plagas Domini. Quod si hec nequiverit quinquies dicat Pater noster. His peractis in ea sententia qua convenient principes de bello incipite in nomine Domini per diem sive per noctem quia manus Domini erit vobiscum. Si quis autem de victoria dubitat, aperiantur ei porte et vadat ad Turcos, et et videbit quomodo Deus illorum salvum faciet illum. » Raymond, *Liber*, 77-8.

<sup>934</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 62-3.

this the enemy rushed upon those of us who were in Adhémar's ranks. Superior in numbers they neither wounded anyone nor shot arrows against us, no doubt, because of the protection of the Holy Lance. I was both a witness to these events and bearer of the Holy Lance."<sup>935</sup> This is a clear indication of the remarkable advance of the canon, who, while likely important enough within the cathedral of Le Puy, was now bearing the newly discovered sacred relic of the Count of Saint-Gilles into battle in the company of the bishop. He writes, "Furthermore, if the rumor is spread that Heraclius, standard bearer of the Bishop, was wounded in this melee, let it be known that he gave his standard to another and was far from our ranks."<sup>936</sup> Given that Heraclius was the viscount of Polignac, and thus a traditional enemy of Adhémar of Le Puy, his placement outside of the protective custody of the Holy Lance and giving over the standard is a symbol of the triumph of the bishop over his opponents, and of the Holy Lance as a symbol of orthodoxy.

The Holy Lance, according to Raymond, provided all of the support Peter Bartholomew had promised, protecting the Provençal forces close to it from all of the Turkish attacks. Stephen of Valence's vision is also recorded as being fulfilled—the crusaders made their penitential, barefoot march before the battle, and in return, beyond the eight lines of soldiers that the crusaders were able to muster outside the city, "five more appeared in our lines, thereby giving us thirteen ranks," an apostolic number made up of the Heavenly Host.<sup>937</sup> A miraculous shower rained down upon them as they advanced, whose "drops brought to those touched by it such grace and strength that they disdained the enemy and charged forth as though nurtured in regal style."<sup>938</sup> Raymond very explicitly points out that the miracle here was not just the sense of grace and the miraculous rain, but that the starving knights and horses could perform at all: "In

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<sup>935</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 63. For the battle itself, see France, *Victory in the East*, 282-96.

<sup>936</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>937</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>938</sup> *Ibid.*

proof I ask did anyone's horse break down before the fight's end, although it had eaten nothing but bark and leaves of trees for eight days?"<sup>939</sup> Part of the miracle, then, is that despite the very physical tribulations, including near starvation, the crusaders were given the strength to accomplish this heroic deed. Just to be safe, "God added soldiers to our army," so that, as Raymond writes, "we outnumbered the Turks in battle although previously we appeared outmanned."<sup>940</sup> Peter Tudebode's gloss contains a slightly fuller description of this observation, adding that "a vast army riding white horses and flying white banners rode from the mountains," led by "Saint George, the blessed Demetrius, and the Blessed Theodore."<sup>941</sup> This is slightly different from the anonymous *Gesta*, which contains the same description of "a countless host of men on white horses, whose banners were all white," but lists different saints sent by Christ, in his case St. George, St. Mercurius and St. Demetrius.<sup>942</sup>

The military details of the battle receive very little description in Raymond d'Aguilers' chronicle, despite Adhémar of Le Puy's prominent role. By this point in the crusade, he had already moved beyond his allegiance to his home cathedral and had become a partisan of the Holy Lance. As such, the practicalities of the actual battle were not important to the sacred history Raymond was writing. He observes simply that the victory was miraculous. The Turks were defeated, and they lost the majority of their supplies including food, tents, and specie.<sup>943</sup> From the citadel in the center of Antioch, guarded by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, the original Turkish garrison could see the rout overtaking the Seljuk forces and took the opportunity to

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<sup>939</sup> Ibid.

<sup>940</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 63-4.

<sup>941</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 87.

<sup>942</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum (The Deeds of the Franks and the other pilgrims to Jerusalem)*, ed. and tr. Rosalind Hill (London: Nelson, 1962): 69. The parallel between the imagery in the *Gesta* and in Tudebode and the book of 2 Maccabees is discussed in Elizabeth Lapina, "Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch (1098)," in *Dying for the faith, killing for the faith: Old-Testament faith-warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in historical perspective*, ed. Gabriela Signori (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 153-4.

<sup>943</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 64.

surrender to Raymond in exchange for a “guarantee of their lives.” It was a type of arrangement the Count of Saint-Gilles would be known for throughout the rest of the crusade. This agreement, combined with what seems to be more military effectiveness than he is given credit for by the Latin sources, made later Muslim chroniclers remember and respect the name of Saint-Gilles.<sup>944</sup> For Raymond d’Aguilers, the more important aspect of the victory, beyond the collapse of Kerbogha’s army and the surrender of the citadel, was that the victory happened on the vigils of Saint Peter and Paul, “and appropriately so because through these saintly intercessors the Lord Jesus Christ brought this triumph to the pilgrim church of the Franks.”<sup>945</sup>

The victory at Antioch was certainly a major boost in morale and allowed the survival of the crusade, but one of the problems is that when the imminent threat of death passed, the factional politics within the crusader army took over. Bohemond seized the citadel and attempted to occupy the rest of the fortifications of Antioch, a move that went largely unopposed by the leaders other than Raymond. Claiming that he did not want to break his oath to Alexius Komnenos, Raymond refused to give up the fortifications that he held in the city, namely the bridge gate complex across from his fortress of La Mahomerie, and the palace of the former governor of the city.<sup>946</sup> This pattern would recur later at Jerusalem, but it is worth mentioning that gate complexes, especially those originally from the Roman period and heavily fortified, were often occupied by Occitanian lords. The Narbonne Gate in Toulouse was the traditional

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<sup>944</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh. Part 1: The Years 491-541/1097-1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*, tr. D.S. Richards, *Crusade Texts in Translation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 59,-60,174, 78, 104-6 ; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, extracted and tr. H.A.R. Gibb (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications Inc., 2002), 55,60,65, 58, all later than the Crusade proper.

<sup>945</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 64.

<sup>946</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 65; Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 96; Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2012), 171.

fortress of the counts of Toulouse, and, as was discussed in chapter 1, the Augustan Gate-Complex of Nîmes was an aristocratic fortress.<sup>947</sup>

The greater consequence of the recovery period after the miraculous survival of the crusade at Antioch was the death rate from the after-effects of starvation and the battles. The most important of these casualties, not only for the Provençals but for the entire crusade, was their spiritual, and papal, leader:

In the meantime Adhémar, Lord Bishop of Le Puy, beloved by God and mankind, flawless in the estimation of all, departed in peace to the Lord on the Kalends of August. So great was the sorrow of all Christians at the time of his passing that we, who had been eyewitnesses to it, could not describe the reactions when we turned to recording the greatness of events. The scattering of the leaders following Adhémar's death—Bohemond's return to Romaniam and Godfrey's journey to Edessa—gave proof to his past usefulness to the *militia Christi* and to its leaders.<sup>948</sup>

Sources outside of Raymond d'Aguilers deal with the real repercussions of Adhémar's death in much more detail. Peter Tudebode wrote that “there was anguish as well as tribulation and untold sorrow in the Christian army because he was a sustainer of the poor and the adviser of the rich. Adhémar also regulated the clergy, preached, and admonished the knights and other well-to-do people.”<sup>949</sup> The loss of the papal legate had the consequence of isolating the Provençal army from the seat of their papal power. With no official papal representative, the princes wrote an impassioned letter to Pope Urban to send directions or, better yet, come himself to lead them

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<sup>947</sup> Patrice Georges Rufino, *Les Comtes de Toulouse aux croisades aux cathares. Leur histoire complète des Mérovingiens aux Capétiens jusqu'à Jérusalem* (Drémil-Lafage : Éditions Daniel Briand, 2000), 22 ; Jean Catalo, « Pôle de pouvoir et entrée de ville : le château Narbonnais de Toulouse, » Medieval Europe Paris, th International Congress of Medieval and Modern Archaeology, 2007, accessed 5/13/2015, <http://medieval-europe-paris-2007.univ-paris1.fr/J.%20Catalo.pdf>

<sup>948</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 66. Latin: “Interea domnus episcopus Ademarus Podiensis dilectus Deo et hominibus vir per Omnia omnibus carus, die Kalendarum augusti in pace migravit ad Dominum. Tantisque luctus omnium christianorum in morte eius fuit, ut nos qui vidimus cum pro magnitudine rerum scriber curavimus, comprehendere aliquatenus nequivimus. Quantum utilis Dei exercitui et principibus fuerat, post mortem eius manifestum fuit, cum inter se divisi principes Boiamundus in Romaniam est regressus, et dux lotaringie versus Roais profectus est.” Raymond, *Liber*, 84.

<sup>949</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 93.

victoriously to Jerusalem. The letter also serves as a validation of the importance of the Holy Lance, since all the leaders here accept its authenticity:

But meanwhile the most merciful compassion of Almighty God came to our aid and cared for our needs. Saint Andrew the apostle three times revealed to a certain servant of God the lance of the Lord, by which our Savior's side was pierced by the hands of Longinus, and showed him the place where the lance was; and we found it in the church of Saint Peter, the prince of the apostles. By the discovery of this and many divine revelations, we were so comforted and strengthened that, whereas we had previously been timid and afflicted we now urged one another to battle boldly and eagerly.<sup>950</sup>

As Godfrey left the city to visit his brother's holdings in Edessa, and Bohemond solidified his control over the Antiochene hinterland, Adhémar of Le Puy was buried in the church of Saint Peter in Antioch.<sup>951</sup>

But with the death of Adhémar, so too died the Papal Crusade. In its place, led by men like Peter Bartholomew and Stephen of Valence, was the Prophet's Crusade born. Raymond d'Aguilers was a fervent convert to the new authorities pushing the crusaders towards Jerusalem. A number of "Provençal" clerics of varying ranks promised the support of God and the Heavenly Host. Raymond of Saint-Gilles was in an intermediary position; he had been given great prestige and authority by Peter Bartholomew and would stick close to these prophets on the road to Jerusalem. But he was also the figure most closely linked to the papal legates, both of whom traveled in his contingent, and to the Reform Papacy. He was a prominent signatory on the letter

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<sup>950</sup> Colin Morris, "The Case of the Holy Lance," 36; the edited Latin version is in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-100. Eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagnerschen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901), 161-5. Latin: "Sed interim, clementissima Dei omnipotentis misericordia nobis subueniente et pro nobis uigilante, lanceam Dominicam, qua Saluatoris nostri latus Longini manibus perforatum fuit. S. Andrea apostolo cuidam famulo Dei ter reuelante, locum etiam ubi lancea iacebat demonstrante, in ecclesia beati Petri apostolorum principis inuenimus. Cuius inuentione aliisque multis diuinis reuelationibus ita confortati et corroborati fuimus, ut qui antea adilicti et timidi fueramus, tunc ad proeliandum audacissimi promptissimique alii alios hortabamur. » It's interesting that the princes don't follow the actual number of visions here. In making it "three times" they make the story match accepted formulae under which, for obvious reasons, visions tend to happen in threes. Given the confused timeline Peter Bartholomew gives for his visions anyway, their own confusion is understandable.

<sup>951</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 66.

to Pope Urban after Adhémar's death, and had, as we have seen, likely been sent on the crusade at the Pope's direct invitation. Peter Bartholomew's next vision, however, placed Adhémar and the other princes in a distinctly negative light, while elevating Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the Holy Lance. Two nights after Adhémar was buried, Peter Bartholomew had a vision "in Raymond's chapel," an instant confirmation of his new status as the prophet of the Lance, where he saw Jesus, the Apostle Andrew, and the ghost of Bishop Adhémar. Adhémar himself began the lengthy vision by saying he had been sent to hell for doubting the Lance, and after brutal torments had been redeemed by the crusaders who had prayed for him.<sup>952</sup> The Holy Lance's salvific properties are recounted by the dead bishop, who gives it credit for the redemption of his soul: "Of all things brought from my native land none brought as much benefit as a candle which my friends gave as an offering for me and the three denarii which I presented to the Lance. These benevolences revived me when, burning even unto death, and I went forth from hell."<sup>953</sup> The idea that the papal legate himself could be sent to Hell for doubting the Lance sent an implicit critique to all crusaders who might doubt the lance.

The Auvergne contingent, however, did not need to feel that this was a reproach against them. Adhémar's body was to stay in Antioch, where it would rest with "some of the blood of the Lord with whom I am now associated." This blood is presumably from the Lance itself, further reminding the crusaders hearing the vision of the Lance's role in the Passion and the sanctity it not only contains but is capable of spreading.<sup>954</sup> If any doubted the veracity of the entire, lengthy vision, they had but to see the fate of the papal legate to convince them that they were in peril: "But if he doubts my statements, let him open my tomb and he shall see my burned

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<sup>952</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 66.

<sup>953</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>954</sup> *Ibid.*

head and face.”<sup>955</sup> Peter Bartholomew’s vision offers them a clear path, with Adhémar telling his followers that he entrusts them, “to my Lord, the Count; let Raymond deal kindly with them so that God will be compassionate and carry out his promises.”<sup>956</sup> Adhémar then promises that all of the dead crusaders, Adhémar included, will fight alongside their living brethren before finishing by asking the Count and his circle to choose a new bishop for Le Puy and to give one of his cloaks to the church of Saint Andrew.<sup>957</sup> This church, in Antioch, seems to have been consecrated in honor of the Apostle after the battle, and with Peter Bartholomew as a leading proponent of the rededication.<sup>958</sup>

While Peter Bartholomew may have channeled Adhémar of Le Puy to maintain the unity of the Provençal army, he brought the Apostle Andrew back into the vision to suggest a direction for the crusade writ large: “Heed God’s words, which I speak. Raymond, remember the gift the Lord handed over to you, and that which you do, do in His name, so that the Lord may guide your words and acts and grant your prayers.”<sup>959</sup> The Apostle credited God’s favor for the victory at Nicaea and his disfavor for the problems at Antioch, before reminding Raymond of Saint-Gilles what an incredible gift the Lord has given him: “He shall grant that which you seek, and even more than you have dared to seek, because He delivered to you the Lance, which pierced His body from which ran the blood of our redemption. Remember the Lord did not give you this city to desecrate as you did the other, and you can certainly see that the Lord did not give it to you because of your merits.”<sup>960</sup> This message about holding the city is the crucial one. Raymond

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<sup>955</sup> Ibid.

<sup>956</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 66-7.

<sup>957</sup> Ibid.

<sup>958</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 72.

<sup>959</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 67.

<sup>960</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 67-8. Latin: “Ille enim vobis lanceam contulit, que corpus suum plagavit, unde sanguis nostre redemptionis effluxit. Et non donavit vobis potestis quia pro meritis vestris non donavit eam vobis Dominus. Mandat tibi o comes dominus ut sapias qui se dominum huius civitatis voluerit facere super alios, et quere ab eo quale dominium volebat portare propter dominum. » Raymond, *Liber*, 86.



and the crusaders are meant to stop with petty politics and the capture of Antioch. If it has to be held, it should have a righteous governor and a Latin patriarch. Then the army could continue to Jerusalem.

This is the message that matters: that above all else the crusaders, led by Raymond and Bohemond (a combination unlikely to inspire great pleasure in the Count of Saint-Gilles), must continue on. Antioch was a stop, a long one, but only a way station: “However, if you do not follow the above command, although Jerusalem is only ten days distance, you will not reach it in ten years.”<sup>961</sup> Instead of bickering over the command of the city, Raymond and Bohemond were to go together to the church of the Blessed Andrew for his advice, followed by all of the armies, and to, “By all means let peace and love of God abide with you, Raymond and Bohemond, because if you are in accord nothing can destroy you.”<sup>962</sup> One can only imagine the bitter frustration of the saint and his prophet in this regard. The rest of the Apostle’s instructions for how to achieve the missing unity is both the most radical of Peter’s visions thus far and the one closest to the Gospel:

It behooves you first to make known the justice which you must render. Let as many men as there are from each of their bishops declare publicly their wealth and assist their poor according to their ability and to the need. Further, act according to general agreement, and if they do not wish to observe this and other just rules, restrain them. If anyone desires to possess any city given to him by God for the Christians, may he conduct himself according to the above commands. But if he shall not do so, let the Count and the children of God scourge him.<sup>963</sup>

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<sup>961</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 68.

<sup>962</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 69.

<sup>963</sup> Ibid. Latin: “Primam iusticiam quam debetis facere, decet demonstrare. Sicut sunt homines de singulis episcopis suis profiteantur divitias suas, et adiuvent paupers de cognatione sua prout poterint, et necesse fuerit. Alias autem sicut concordaveritis, facite. Quod si hanc et alias iusticias tenere noluerint, vos eos constringite. Et si aliquis aliam civitatem retinere voluerit de his quas vobis Deus dabit, secundum suprascripta facite ut se contineat. Si autem facere moluerint, comes cum filiis Dei eos flagellet. » Raymond, *Liber*, 87-8. This passage was written much later than the post-Antiochene period; Raymond d’Aguilers includes a description of Peter Bartholomew’s dying instructions to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, chronologically much later and after the death of his co-author Pons. This suggests some interesting problems in dealing with internal evidence and narrative flow for dating the chronicle, though I believe my arguments at the beginning of this chapter still stand.

The first part of this is not a call for apostolic poverty on the part of the nobles, but it does demand an egalitarian redistribution of wealth from the aristocracy to the common ranks of the clergy and lower soldiers. This is a radical proposition. Peter Bartholomew was attempting to set up a new order for the Levant, a rule of egalitarian law based on visionary commands and the common consensus, and the enforcement mechanism for this order, most important of all, was “the Count and the children of God,” who would scourge those that disobeyed.<sup>964</sup> The Count, then, becomes more than just a leader of the crusade, more even than the bearer of a relic. He is to be the leader of “the children of God,” the chosen one— heady stuff, and for the Count a mixture of praise and faith that was impossible to resist.

In the short term, these instructions came to naught. Bohemond seized Antioch under his own power and authority, the wealth of the princes was not distributed among the poor, and the other cities were not held in common under the rulings of a visionary covenant. But Peter Bartholomew had positioned himself as the voice of the people and of Saint Andrew, in a period when the Holy Lance was more important than ever.

### **The Prophet’s Crusade: The March through Hispania and the Visionary Leadership of Peter Bartholomew**

The Count of Saint-Gilles followed the visions no better than the other leaders. Shortly after Peter Bartholomew’s instructions, Raymond and some of his men left Antioch, departing with Godfrey of Bouillon into “Hispania,” a term for Anatolia and Syria used only by Raymond

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<sup>964</sup> William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 48-52, points out that the idea of the *vita apostolica* and the *ecclesia primitiva* existed in multiple sources, many of which use egalitarian distribution or ideas about a harmonious lifestyle of the crusaders as a theme.

d'Aguilers.<sup>965</sup> This raid was largely in order to rescue the fortress of 'Azaz northeast of Antioch—a fortress held not by crusaders but by other Seljuks who decided they would rather continue being part of the greater Antioch than accept conquest from Aleppo.<sup>966</sup> The Aleppans abandoned the siege, and Godfrey received the fealty of the Turkish garrison of 'Azaz. Raymond and the Provençals went back to Antioch with nothing. Shortly thereafter he led “the poor people, now demoralized by hunger and weariness,” out into the hinterlands, “into Hispania,” to forage and raid in order to make up for the lack of supplies in Antioch.<sup>967</sup> He was the only crusading leader to take this kind of precaution, and the poor would by and large follow him to Jerusalem. A separate group of his followers, under Raymond Pilet, lord of Alès near Uzès in the Rhône valley, moved towards Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man, taking possession of the castle Tell-Mannas and another fortress nearby before attempting to attack Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man, where they were driven off.<sup>968</sup> It is possible that Peter Tudebode was with this group, as he records that the knight Arnold Tudebode died in the battle—presumably his brother. His decision to join Raymond Pilet was interesting, especially since the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* would also end up traveling with Raymond Pilet after Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man.<sup>969</sup>

While the crusaders were planning on leaving Antioch, a Provençal priest named Peter Desiderius, the chaplain of Count Isoard I of Die, went to Raymond d'Aguilers and recounted a vision of a mysterious visitor. Raymond had at this point, apparently, established himself as the intermediary between visionaries and the leadership of the armies:

‘Go to the church of the blessed Leontius, where you will find the relics of four saints; pick them up and carry them to Jerusalem.’ The person went on to show Peter the relics and the reliquary, and told him the names of the saints. Yet Peter was skeptical of the

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<sup>965</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 69-70.

<sup>966</sup> Ibid. France, *Victory in the East*, 307-9.

<sup>967</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 70.

<sup>968</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 92-3. France, *Victory in the East*, 309-10.

<sup>969</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 93.

vision after waking, and prayed and beseeched God to assure him a second time was His revelation. So in a few days the same saint reappeared to Peter, and threatened him because of neglect of God's orders. He specified that if the relics were not moved by the fifth day of the week, great harm would come to him and his lord Isoard, Count of Die, a man faithful to God according to his light, and by his judgment and goodness useful to us.<sup>970</sup>

Raymond d'Aguilers passed the vision on to William of Orange, Raymond of Saint-Gilles and others, and when they arrived at the church of Saint Leontius in following the vision, they recovered the relics which belonged to Saint Cyprian, Saint Omechios, Saint Leontius, and Saint John Chrysostom — all of them important eastern saints.<sup>971</sup> There were also nameless relics that Raymond d'Aguilers himself claimed to learn the identity of through his own vision, where, after the collection of the relics, "a handsome youth of about fifteen stood before this priest at vigils and asked, 'Why didn't you carry my relics today with the others?'"<sup>972</sup> The youth would be revealed to be Saint George, and his relics would be carried by the Provençals alongside "a vial of blood of the Virgin Mary and the martyr Thecla," found nearby by Peter Desiderius, and processed onwards from Antioch.<sup>973</sup>

While they were out foraging, and presumably as part of that group, Peter Bartholomew had another vision out at Chastel Rouge, a crusader castle alternatively known as Rugia to the south of Antioch, this time with witnesses: an unknown chaplain named Simon, the Bishop of

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<sup>970</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 111. Latin: "Vade in ecclesiam Beati Leontii, et invenies ibi de reliquiis .iiii. sanctorum et tolles eas tecum atque portabis in Iherusalem. Et ostendit ei in ipsa vision reliquias, et reliquiarum loculos, et docuit nomina sanctorum. Cum vero evigiliasset sacerdos, et non satis visioni sue crederet, cepit agere precibus et obsecrationibus ad Deum ut si hec revelatio ad ipso erat secundo saltem sibi innotesceret. Astitit ei idem sanctus in visione post aliquot dies atque multum comminatus est quod mandatum a Domino neglexisset, et nisi usque ad .v. feriam sustulisset illas reliquias esset sibi in grave dampnum, et domino Ysoardo comiti. Erat enim Ysoardus comes Diensis, vir in quantum noverate Deo fidelis, et omnibus nobis sapientia et probitate utilis. » Raymond, *Liber*, 131-2.

<sup>971</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 111-2.

<sup>972</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 112.

<sup>973</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 113. For St. George in Syria, see Heather Badamo, "Image and Community: Representations of Military Saints in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean", PhD diss, The University of Michigan, 2011, 139-41; 200-4.

Apt, and Raymond d’Aguilers, who at this point titled himself “chaplain of the Count.”<sup>974</sup> Simon and the Bishop claimed to have seen or heard part of the visionary experience; Raymond d’Aguilers could only write that, “Then the Bishop of Apt shook me, Raymond d’Aguilers, as I lay sleeping close by. Upon awakening I noticed the extra light, and as if holy grace had entered my soul I inquired from my friends present whether they had felt as if they were in a group moved by great emotion, and all replied, ‘No, indeed’.”<sup>975</sup> Peter confirmed that he had had a visitor, and brought his witnesses with him to report to the Count. The first part of the vision was a reproach by Andrew to Peter Bartholomew and the Count for not locating relics associated with Antioch, namely a pair of finger-bones that were somewhere in his church.<sup>976</sup> The second part, however, was a direct reproach to Raymond of Saint-Gilles. Raymond was accused by the Apostle Andrew of unspecified but grave sins, a charge confirmed by a sign:

This is the reason the Lord gave you this sign: specifically, on the Feast of Saint Fidis [St. Foy] five days ago you gave as an offering a candle large enough to burn three days and as many nights. Yet immediately melting, it sank to the ground. This night on the contrary you offered a small candle, one scarce large enough to burn until the cock’s crow, and it sheds its light with only a third of the candle melted although it is now day.<sup>977</sup>

Displeasure given on the Feast Day of Saint Foy, for whom Raymond had assumed the role of protector (as seen in chapter 2) and who had killed a previous Count of the Rouergue (who was also named Raymond) sent a clear message. The Apostle through Peter suggested penance, and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, though protesting against the purported evil of his sins, confessed and did penance.

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<sup>974</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 70.

<sup>975</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>976</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 71.

<sup>977</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 71. Latin: “Unde tibi Dominus hoc signum demonstravit. Namque ante quantum diem cum in festivitate beate Fidis candela adeo magnam obtulisses ut per tres dies, et totidem noctes durare potuisset, non quidem illa splendorem dedit, sed statim liquefacta, in terram corruit. In hac autem nocte cum parvam candela obtulisses adeo ut vix usque ad galli cantum durare posset, et dies est et durat adhuc nec tercia pars ex ea combusta est.” Raymond, *Liber*, 90.

The continuing advice of the Apostle Andrew via Peter Bartholomew was very simple: “The Lord orders you not to dilly-dally, because he will aid you only after the capture of Jerusalem; and let no crusader ride closer than two leagues when you approach Jerusalem. If you follow instructions God will deliver the city to you.”<sup>978</sup> Raymond at the very least ceased to delay his departure, though whether because of divine prodding or the successful usurpation of Antioch by Bohemond making his position untenable we do not know. Around September 25, 1098, two years after leaving Le Puy, Raymond, “accompanied by the poor pilgrims and a few knights,” marched out of Antioch and sacked the city of Albara, the first Turkish town in his path.<sup>979</sup> As Antioch had involved a massacre, so did Albara: “Here he slaughtered thousands, returned thousands more to be sold into slavery at Antioch, and freed those cowardly ones who surrendered before the fall of Albara.”<sup>980</sup> While the destruction and enslavement no doubt were remarkable, it is the freeing of those who had surrendered before that would become Raymond’s trademark: those who surrendered to him would depart with their lives, and this was a bond he never broke, unlike his fellow leaders.

Albara was to become permanent Latin settlement in the Levant, with the creation of the first Latin bishopric in the future crusader states. Throwing out any notion of reform, “the Count very commendably and properly selected a priest as bishop in this manner,” picking someone from his territory to take over the new see of Albara.<sup>981</sup> This was Peter of Narbonne, and after he was chosen by Raymond he was elected by the masses, increasing his legitimacy. Raymond of Saint-Gilles was once again trying to use the church to build a foundation for his own secular power base, and the choice of someone from Narbonne, where he had a historically strong

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<sup>978</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 72.

<sup>979</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 73.

<sup>980</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>981</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 73.

relationship with the archbishopric, was important.<sup>982</sup> In order to cement Peter's control of the city, "Raymond gave Peter of Narbonne one-half of Albara and its environs," a deal similar to ones he had made in Narbonne itself and other cities in Occitania to place loyal bishops over problematic aristocrats.<sup>983</sup> Albara would temporarily become the new Provençal rallying point, with the army camping around the city until the Kalends of November, when the princes had agreed to continue south. Raymond returned to Antioch with Peter, who is described as "his new bishop," with the train of slaves and the quantity of loot he had captured.<sup>984</sup> With the death of the papal legates, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Peter of Narbonne and the prophets were the most effective and insistent force arguing for the resumption of the march.<sup>985</sup>

The remaining princes met in the cathedral of Saint Peter in Antioch to "plan the resumption of the march to Jerusalem."<sup>986</sup> The two central conflicts were over the possession of Antioch and the resumption of the march. The former dispute threatened to turn violent, with Raymond of Saint-Gilles the sole partisan of returning Antioch to Byzantine control. While we cannot know what deals Raymond made with Alexius Komnenos, given previous Byzantine practice, he may very well have hoped to add the title of Duke of Antioch to his name if the city were restored to Byzantium.<sup>987</sup> For the Marquis of Provence and self-created Duke of Narbonne, a title like the Duke of Antioch, even held from the Byzantine Emperor, would confer both the

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<sup>982</sup> Thomas Asbridge, "The Jabal as-Summaq and the principality of Antioch," in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. J. Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997): 142-152.

<sup>983</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 73.

<sup>984</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>985</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 94, said that Raymond was attempting to replace Adhémar with a new figure of church authority: "Following these ceremonies, the new bishop held councils as a replacement for Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy."

<sup>986</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 74.

<sup>987</sup> Jonathan Shepard, "When Greek met Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097-98," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 185-277 for the counter-view that it would have been Bohemond's. This does seem like the kind of motivation, in addition to the religious arguments, that would keep Raymond interested in maintaining his alliance to Alexius even when it ran contrary to his interests.

spiritual prestige and independent authority necessary to turn himself into a virtual king, if a client one.

Raymond of Saint-Gilles may have been concerned with the sanctity of his truce with Alexius Komnenos, made under the watchful gaze of the Virgin herself, but his followers, namely the poor pilgrims who were the strongest believers in the visionary leadership of Peter Bartholomew, had a very different interest that they expressed at this council:

It is obvious that our leaders because of cowardice or because of the oath to Alexius do not wish to lead us to Jerusalem; therefore, why can't we select a brave knight in whose loyal service we can be secure, and God willing we shall reach the Holy Sepulchre with him as our leader. My goodness! A year in the land of the pagans and the loss of two hundred thousand soldiers; isn't this enough? Let those who covet the Emperor's gold or the Antiochene revenues possess them; but for us who left out homes for Christ, let us renew our march with Him as leader. May the coveters of Antioch die wickedly even as its inhabitants did recently. If the Antiochene quarrel continues, let us tear down the walls; then the era of princely good will existing prior to the city's capture, will return with its destruction. Otherwise, we should turn back to our lands before hunger and fatigue exhaust us.<sup>988</sup>

This is obviously not a report of the mutterings of the poor pilgrims and lower clergy but a carefully organized message from the ringleaders of the prophetic crusade. The text itself may reflect Raymond d'Aguilers own role as a ringleader of this movement, as a close confidant of the Count and advocate for the Holy Lance. The strain of anti-Byzantine rhetoric that has been noted in Raymond d'Aguilers' chronicle is clear here, as is an anti-materialist rhetoric that meshes well with the egalitarian redistribution scheme of Peter Bartholomew. The new leader of the crusade will be God, mediated through the righteous. Raymond of Saint-Gilles could become

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<sup>988</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 75. Latin: "Quoniam principes vel propter timorem vel propter iuramenta que imperatori fecerunt nos in Iherusalem ducere nolunt, eligamus de militibus aliquem fortem, cui fideliter serviendo et tuti esse possimus, et si gratia Dei est eodem milite duce, in Iherusalem perveniamus. Eo non sufficit principibus nostris quod hic per annum fuimus, et ducenta milia armatorum hic consumpta sunt ? Habeant qui volunt aurum habere imperatoris, et qui volunt redditus Antiochie habere. Nos autem Christo pro quo venimus duce, iter nostrum adgrediamur. Pereant male qui volunt habitare Antiochie sicut nuper habitatores eius perierunt. Quod si hec tanta lis diutius propter Antiochiam datur, diruamus muros eius, et pax que ante captam civitatem principes tenuit, destructa civitate eosdem tenebit. Alioquin antequam omnino fame et tedio hic deficiamus, ad propria reverti devemus. » Raymond, *Liber*, 94.



the loyal, brave knight who leads the crusade to Jerusalem, or the coveter of Antioch who will “die wickedly even as its inhabitants did recently.”<sup>989</sup>

The argument to leave immediate for Jerusalem was clearly popular. The vast majority of the army was not concerned with building their own principalities in the East. Raymond of Saint-Gilles, on the other hand, was forced into heading south. With the death of Adhémar of Le Puy the only spiritual authority he had was, first, through Bishop William of Orange, officially a papal legate but without Adhémar’s universal prestige and authority, and second, through Peter Bartholomew, likely the architect of the popular protest. Raymond and Robert, count of Flanders, “along with the people on the set day marched into Syria,” though still following along the plans of the princes—they immediately besieged the city of Ma’arrat-an-Nu’mān, another large and wealthy Turkish city southeast of Albara.<sup>990</sup> Unlike Albara, which was stormed quickly, Ma’arrat-an-Nu’mān was well defended, and had bested the crusaders in an earlier skirmish en route. This time again, the first assault with ladders was driven off. The crusaders set in to building proper siege equipment, reinforced by Bohemond and the southern Normans who arrived to besiege a separate section of the city, though this attack was once more driven off.<sup>991</sup> Despite the fervor to reach Jerusalem, the crusaders had become bogged down again at another city which, likely, none of them had ever heard of before their arrival.

And there were logistical difficulties. The after-effects of the year-long siege of Antioch meant that a second siege, around Ma’arrat, was deeply undersupplied. The pillaged Antiochene countryside could not support the army as it encircled the city, and between the famine and the failure to take the city, Raymond d’Aguilers reports that “some of our people, impressed by the

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<sup>989</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 75.

<sup>990</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 75-6. France, *Victory in the East*, 311-3.

<sup>991</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 76.

misery around them and the audacity of the Saracens, lost hope of God's mercy and turned tail."<sup>992</sup> Once again, Peter Bartholomew had a vision, this time from the Apostles Andrew and Peter, who "entered the Count's chapel and awakened Peter Bartholomew, the one to whom they had shown the Lance."<sup>993</sup> Changing from rag-clad paupers to shining beings of light, they overawed Peter, casting him down. The Apostle Peter warned him, "So shall all disbelievers and transgressors of the Lord's command fall, but the Lord raises them as I did you after your fall if they repent their evil deeds and cry out to God."<sup>994</sup> The great sin was the desertion of so many men, even in the face of God's clear favor, shown through the Lance at Antioch, as well as myriad other sins: murder, pillage, theft, "the absence of justice," and adultery.<sup>995</sup> Once again, Peter Bartholomew advocated a Gospel-oriented egalitarian redistribution. These sins must be met by a new form of justice:

The Lord orders that all goods in the dwelling of the violent oppressor of the poor shall be public property. If you pay your tithes the Lord is prepared to give you that which you need; but he will give Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man to you on account of His mercy and not because of your deeds; and whenever you wish besiege it; do so because, without doubt, it will be seized.<sup>996</sup>

Once again, Peter Bartholomew was proposing the creation of an apostolic community, with goods to be held in common for the poor believers.

With this new vision, recounted in the morning to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, the efforts of the crusaders were redoubled. Raymond held a public meeting alongside Bishop William of

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<sup>992</sup> Ibid.

<sup>993</sup> Ibid.

<sup>994</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 77.

<sup>995</sup> Ibid.

<sup>996</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 77-8. Latin: "De iusticia vero sic precept Dominus, ut quicumque pauperi violentiam intulerit, quicquid in domo oppressoris est totum publicetur. De decimis autem dicit Dominus quod si reddatis eas quicquid necesse fuerit, ipse donare paratus est. Civitatem vero istam pro misericordia sua et non pro benefactis vestris donabit vobis, et quandocumque vultis obpugnate eam quia sine dubio capietur." Raymond, *Liber*, 97. This vision is summarized and echoed by Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 99, with the four part division and the appropriate tithing scheme, showing that this existed beyond Raymond d'Aguilers small circle.

Orange and the newly-created Bishop of Albara, Peter of Narbonne, and led the crusaders in prayers and donations before assaulting the city with a siege tower.<sup>997</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles' vassal William of Montpellier was noted for leading the charge in the tower.<sup>998</sup> Finally, after an all-day battle, the crusaders took the walls. Gouffier of Lastours, a lord from the Limousin, was the first over the walls, and he and the other crusaders managed to take most of the city's walls before nightfall.<sup>999</sup> The *milites* who had taken the walls cut off escape, but seemingly were unwilling to risk the dangers of a night attack into the city. Not everyone shared their opinion. A group of the poorer pilgrims and soldiers, having dealt with starvation outside the city long enough, entered in darkness and sacked the city, an action celebrated by Raymond d'Aguilers: "Thereby the poor gained the lion's share of booty and houses in Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man while the knights, who awaited morning to enter, found poor pickings."<sup>1000</sup> The sack was vicious, beyond the scale of Antioch and, one might hazard to guess, worse than what awaited more famously in Jerusalem.<sup>1001</sup> The Muslim inhabitants of the city who survived the siege and the sack retreated under the city, into what are described as "subterranean caves." When the crusaders discovered these tunnels, they "smoked the enemy out of their caves with fire and Sulphur fumes."<sup>1002</sup> They looted and massacred the remaining inhabitants: "they tortured to death the hapless Muslims in their reach," or else the Muslims committed suicide by jumping down wells. Because "of their

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<sup>997</sup> Ibid.

<sup>998</sup> *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), 78.

<sup>999</sup> Gouffier of Lastours would have a long career in crusading memory as a noble warrior and heroic figure; the now-lost Occitan chronicle of the First Crusade by Gregory Bechada was dedicated to him in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. See Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 79; *Deeds of the Franks*, 79; *Canso Antioca*, 5-17. For a good treatment of his reputation, see Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2012), 37-8, 80, 85-7, 92-3.

<sup>1000</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 78.

<sup>1001</sup> Ibn al-Athir, 17-8, gives the death toll at over 100,000; at Jerusalem, 21-2, he says 70,000. The Damascus and Aleppan chronicles also record a massacre, though without the numbers that make Ibn al-Athir's account so useful for comparative purposes. France, *Victory in the East*, 314.

<sup>1002</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 79.

intransigence all submitted to death.”<sup>1003</sup> Peter Tudebode added that, in their attempts to find more loot, “our poor people began to split open the pagan corpses because they found bezants hidden in their bellies,” and that “there were others who were so famished that they cut the flesh of the dead into bits, cooked, and ate it,” an example of cannibalism earlier than either Raymond or the *Gesta* reports it as occurring.<sup>1004</sup> Most bodies were dumped unceremoniously into the swamps around the city.

The continued conflict between Bohemond and Raymond spilled over to Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man, where Bohemond and the Normans had seized a number of towers. Raymond d'Aguilers, writing in one of his more partisan passages, accused the Normans of having been “more of a hindrance than a help,” and of having mocked the visionaries.<sup>1005</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles had intended to give the city to the Bishop of Albara and thus increase his pseudo-realm south of Antioch, a goal that was quickly defeated by Bohemond's refusal to hand over his sections of the walls. Further defections of knights who went to Edessa forced the issue of continuing on to Jerusalem, lest the crusade disintegrate. Once again, it was the visionaries and their allies among the pilgrims and lower level clergy and knights who pushed the crusade ahead. Peter of Narbonne, with a party of nobles and the support of the poor, “called upon Raymond for help” through a sermon, and ended the public service by kneeling:

before the Count, the recipient of the Holy Lance, and tearfully beseeched him to make himself leader and lord of the army. They further stated that in view of the merits of his possession of the Holy Lance and the fact that he was beholden for the Lord's benefaction, he would not fear to continue the journey in safety with the people. Failing to do so Raymond should hand over the Lance to the masses, and they would continue the march to the Holy City under the Lord's leadership.<sup>1006</sup>

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<sup>1003</sup> Ibid. Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 101, continues the description of the massacre and puts Bohemond in a very negative light as robbing the palace during the sack.

<sup>1004</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 102.

<sup>1005</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 79. France, *Victory in the East*, 315.

<sup>1006</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 79-80. Latin: “Cumque episcopus predicationem suam complisset procubuerunt milites et omnis populus ante comitem et cum multis lacrimis deprecabantur eum, ut ipse cui Dominus lanceam suam contulerat, doctor et dominus exercitus eiusdem fieret, addentes quod ob hoc lanceam dominicam

This was the moment when Raymond of Saint-Gilles had to decide his fate. Up to this point, he had been trying to claim both versions of the crusade, making lordly claims on conquered territory while leading the poor and the masses of the less fortunate as the champion of the Lance. With the Bishop of Albara himself preaching against this path, there were no other options that Raymond could turn to while maintaining any degree of credibility. By his own men, his own bastion of support, he was forced to become the people's champion or to become insignificant. A man like Raymond, pious in his own right, convinced of his own divine right to greatness, and with a degree of ambition that led him to grab control of most of Occitania, could not pass up the control of the crusade. Regardless of what had been promised at Clermont, of Raymond as the Aaron to Adhémar's Moses, it was at this moment that he would become the leader of the First Crusade.<sup>1007</sup>

After Raymond agreed to lead the army onwards, Bohemond returned to Antioch, leaving the city in Provençal hands. William of Orange, the last papal legate with the crusade, died that December in Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man, leaving the new Bishop of Albara as the most senior religious figure in the Provençal army.<sup>1008</sup> The Count of Saint-Gilles and the Bishop of Albara then went about setting up a garrison and the transfer of territory to the Bishop. He organized a meeting with Godfrey of Bouillon, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Tancred, and others at Chastel-Rouge, and, when they were reluctant to continue, essentially offered an extremely large bribe: "As a result Raymond offered Godfrey and Robert of Normandy ten thousand solidi apiece, six thousand to Robert of Flanders, five thousand to Tancred, and proportionally to

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promeruisset, ut si alii principes defecissent, ipse obnoxious tanto beneficio Domini secures cum populo pergere non formidaret, alioquin traderet lanceam populo, et iret populus in Iherusalem ipso domino duce." Raymond, *Liber*, 99.

<sup>1007</sup> Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1972), 58-9.

<sup>1008</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 102.

others.”<sup>1009</sup> This incredible show of wealth suggests that Raymond of Saint-Gilles had departed from his territories with even more supplies and money than usually supposed.<sup>1010</sup>

Despite the best-laid plans, Peter Bartholomew, Peter of Narbonne, and, indeed, Raymond d’Aguilers, had set in motion a plan that went beyond practicalities, logistics, and even the vast wealth of Count Raymond. From Ma’arrat-an-Nu’man, the prophetic crusade was on an eschatological voyage to both the physical and the spiritual Jerusalem, brought by the sanctity of the crusade and the promises of the Apostles into the same spatial and temporal location. Any delay was unacceptable. Raymond d’Aguilers reports that the crowds decided to help move the armies along, saying amongst themselves, “Let us put an end to further strife here, and for the sake of tranquility among the leaders and peace of mind for Raymond, who worries over its loss, come and let us tear down its walls.”<sup>1011</sup> The mob attempted to finish the destruction of the fortifications of the sacked city, rendering it useless, and did so under the protest of the Bishop of Albara and Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ allied nobles.

When Raymond of Saint-Gilles arrived, he was forced to bow to the *fait accompli* of the city, and, to bolster his authority, he “ordered the foundations of the walls to be undermined when he learned that neither threats nor force on the part of the Bishop of Albara and other leaders could dissuade the mob from its purpose.”<sup>1012</sup> With only his own army having arrived at Ma’arrat, and no supplies, Raymond led foraging expeditions into “Hispania,” succeeded in “captur[ing] many castles, prisoners, and much plunder.”<sup>1013</sup> At this point, Raymond d’Aguilers was no longer interested in the military details of the expedition. Rather, the *Liber* uses the

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<sup>1009</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 80.

<sup>1010</sup> See Alan Harvey, “Financial crisis and the rural economy,” in *Alexios I Komnenos*, eds Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996): 172-80; Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad*, tr. E.R.A. Sewter, rev. Peter Frankopan (London: Penguin Classics, 2009): 130-2.

<sup>1011</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 81.

<sup>1012</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 82.

<sup>1013</sup> *Ibid.* *Deeds of the Franks*, 81.

foraging expedition to show the miraculous support for the crusaders and as symbols of martyrdom. A group of crusaders killed just after the foraging expedition were discovered to have miraculous “crosses on their right shoulder,” and “greatly comforted by the sight, they offered prayers to the Omnipotent God who remembered His paupers.”<sup>1014</sup> Raymond once again claims eyewitness status in connection with one of the mortally wounded brought back to the camp: “We saw a miracle in this poor man, one so mutilated that his battered body scarcely had a spot to conceal his soul. Yet he lived seven or eight days without nourishment, all the time testifying that Jesus, to whose judgment he would surely go, was God, the creator of the cross which he bore on his shoulder.”<sup>1015</sup> These symbols, the martyr-crosses, were the “propitious omens” that marked the beginning of the march to the earthly incarnation of the city of Heaven.<sup>1016</sup>

### **Processing to the Promised Land: The Eschatological Movement of Peter Bartholomew**

With heavenly symbols and fresh supplies left at Kafartab, south of Ma’arrat-an-Nu’mān, the Provençal crusade, the crusade of the poor and the prophets, prepared to move on. Of the other crusading princes, only Tancred’s services had been bought at Chastel-Rouge, and only he and his “forty knights and many footmen” joined the amalgamation of the poor, the lower knights and clergy, and the Provençals, a group that included all of the remaining eyewitness chroniclers: Raymond d’Aguilers, Peter Tudebode, the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, and the

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<sup>1014</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 82. William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the holy Land and Iberia c. 1095-c. 1187* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 32-9.

<sup>1015</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 82.

<sup>1016</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 83.

author of the anonymous Ripoll account of the siege of Jerusalem.<sup>1017</sup> It was equal parts military advance and liturgical procession. “On the appointed day the Count, his clerks, and the Bishop of Albara departed and trudged along barefooted, calling out for God’s mercy and the saints’ protection as flames set by the departing Christians mounted the ruins of Ma’arrat-an-Nu’mān.”<sup>1018</sup> Coming out of what would be the worst massacre of the Crusade, and leaving in a religious procession, the crusading army would have made terrifying spectacle. Many of the independent emirates along the rest of the route, already dealing with a precarious balance between the warring Fatimids and Seljuks, sent envoys to the crusade to avoid something like Ma’arrat from happening to them: “News of the resumption of the crusade caused nearby rulers to send Arab nobles to Raymond with prayers and many offerings and promises of future submission as well as free and salable goods.”<sup>1019</sup> The emir of Shaizar sent guides to lead the crusaders past the core of his territories, away from the city. Inadvertently those same guides moved the army into the path of “the cattle of the ruler and of all of the vicinity had been herded on account of fear which we had inspired,” leading to a wealth of supplies.<sup>1020</sup> For the starving mass of crusaders heading south under the banner of the Holy Lance, the entry into Syria was seen as the arrival in the Promised Land. If milk and honey were not available, at least there was food in abundant quantities.

In addition to extensive supplies, they also bought horses in large quantities, “so we had almost one thousand of the best war horses,” remounting the knights.<sup>1021</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers writes that there were two routes argued for south of Shaizar, one along the coast to Gibellum,

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<sup>1017</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1018</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1019</sup> Ibid. *Deeds of the Franks*, 81. For Shaizar, Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, tr. with intro. and notes Paul Cobb (London: Penguin Classics, 2008), xv-xxxiii.

<sup>1020</sup> *Deeds of the Franks*, 81-2.

<sup>1021</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 84.



while the other was to go inland along the shortest route to Jerusalem. To make the case for this latter route, Raymond put in an elaborate speech into the mouth of Tancred, one more likely representative of the arguments of Peter Bartholomew than of the Norman knight:

God visited the poor and us, therefore must we turn from the journey? Are not the past hardships of battle at Antioch, cold, starvation, and all human wretchedness sufficient? Why should we alone fight the whole world? Shall we kill all mankind? Think a bit; of one hundred thousand knights hardly less than one thousand remain, and of two hundred thousand armed footmen less than five thousand are left to fight. Shall we dillydally until all of us are liquidated? Will Christians from the West come if they hear of the fall of Antioch, Gibellum, and other Islamic towns? No, but let us march to Jerusalem, the city of our quest, and surely God will deliver it to us; and only then will cities on our route, Gibellum, Tripoli, Tyre, and Acre be evacuated by their inhabitants out of fear of those who will come from our lands.<sup>1022</sup>

Sometime after this, the Count of Normandy and his forces joined the march, where his forces, Tancred's, and the Bishop of Albara rode in the front of the army, while Raymond and his remounted knights took the rear and ambushed Seljuk forces attempting to pick off stragglers.<sup>1023</sup>

Peter of Narbonne at this point summoned his own forces, which had originally been a small garrison of seven knights and thirty footmen led by the Auvergnat knight William of Cunhlat, a hamlet in the Livradois north of La Chaise-Dieu.<sup>1024</sup> Willaim of Cunhlat had apparently recruited more followers from those who were willing to leave the established forces in Antioch and Edessa, and when he took the garrison south to rejoin the crusade near of Gibellum he brought seventy footmen and over sixty knights. With reinforcements and the

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<sup>1022</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 84. Latin: "Deus visitavit plebem pauperum et nos, et declinare ab itinere debemus? Sufficiant nobis preteriti labores apud Antiochiam belli et frigoris et inediae, denique et tocius miserie. Numquid nos soli totum mundum expugnabimus? et habitatores mundi omnes interficiemus? Ecce de centum milibus equitum, vix milites mille habemus. Et de ducentis milibus peditum armatorum et amplius modo non sunt in exercitu nostro quinque milia armati et expectabimus donec omnes consumamur? Numquid ideo venient de terra nostra quia audient captam esse Antiochiam, et Gibellum atque reliquas civitates Sarracenorum? Sed eamus in Iherusalem pro qua venimus et revera Deus donabit nobis eam. Et tunc solo timore eorum qui venient de terra nostra, et de aliis terris. Hee civitates Gibellum, et Tripolim, et Sur, et Accaron, que sunt in itinere nostro, ab incolis relinquuntur. » Raymond, *Liber*, 104. It is interesting that Tancred becomes a voice of the Provençals here, especially as this speech is not recreated in Ralph of Caen, Tancred's chronicler and panegyrist.

<sup>1023</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 85.

<sup>1024</sup> *Ibid.*

prospect of a better-supplied route, the army “agreed in council to abandon the route to Damascus and to march to the seacoast because we could trade with Cyprus and other islands with our ships from Antioch.”<sup>1025</sup> The coast not only offered resupply by ship, but a long series of abandoned “cities, fortifications, and their well-stocked farms,” as well as fertile terrain to pillage as they marched.<sup>1026</sup> Coming out of the starvation at Antioch and Ma’arrat-an-Nu’mān, the route Raymond advocated, through rich farmlands, must have seemed like the entry into the Promised Land. The crusaders seized the future Krak de Chevaliers en route when, after a pitched battle, the defenders fled in terror.<sup>1027</sup> While there, the crusaders “most devoutly celebrated the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary,” on February 2<sup>nd</sup>, from the Krak.<sup>1028</sup> This feast, one of the four great Marian celebrations, is only mentioned in Peter Tudebode, a southern French chronicle from the same region as Geoffrey of Vigeois, who, as discussed in the previous chapter, described Clermont as first and foremost a Marian council.

The continued success of the crusade, especially against as strongly fortified a castle as the Krak, led the emir of Homs and “the king of Tripoli,” another independent emirate, to send envoys with gifts in hope of buying off the crusaders.<sup>1029</sup> They also “prayed to [Raymond] to send his standards and seals until he could receive their cities and castles. I mention that it was custom in our army to respect the standard of any Frank and to refrain from an attack thereafter. Consequently, the king of Tripoli placed the Count’s standard on his castles.”<sup>1030</sup> All of this is credited directly by Raymond d’Aguilers to the “fear which seized the whole area of the hitherto impregnable castle.”<sup>1031</sup> The submission of these emirates would have been to Count Raymond’s

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<sup>1025</sup> Ibid. France, *Victory in the East*, 317-8.

<sup>1026</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1027</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 85-7; *Deeds of the Franks*, 82-3.

<sup>1028</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 106.

<sup>1029</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 87.

<sup>1030</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1031</sup> Ibid.

liking. Despite losing Antioch to Bohemond, Tripoli's decision to accept the standards and seals would, in Occitania, have been a reasonable indication of suzerainty. Given the precarious web of influences of viscounts and bishops in the cities of Languedoc, having emirs under his lordship would have fit in within the constructed realm Raymond had previously created in Europe, though the religious differences would certainly have forced considerations later on. Having independent emirates flying the standard of the house of Toulouse made Raymond by far the most important leader of the continuing crusade: "the fame of the Count of Toulouse seemed to be excelled by no leader of the past."<sup>1032</sup>

The port cities stretching along the Levantine coast, defended by major inland fortresses and mountains, with trade routes overland, would suggest to Raymond of Saint-Gilles a landscape similar to his power-base along the Mediterranean coast of Languedoc and Provence. Tripoli in particular was an alluring target for the crusaders, with the envoys sent by Raymond "impressed by the royal wealth, the rich dominion, and the populous city."<sup>1033</sup> Tripoli was an extremely wealthy port city, the center of a bishopric in several different churches, and, along with Tortosa, it served as the port for most of the major inland cities of northern Syria, namely Aleppo, Hama and Homs, as well as a port-of-call for the Fatimid navy.<sup>1034</sup> The amount of tribute gathered from the emir of Tripoli would have suggested its worth as a physical holding, much in the same way that the *parias* system of extortion in *taifa*-period Spain led the Christian kingdoms to attack and conquer the wealthiest of the city-states.<sup>1035</sup> One can only assume that

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<sup>1032</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1033</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 87.

<sup>1034</sup> Nasr-e-Khosraw, *Nasr-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnama)*, tr. with intro. and annotations W.M. Thackston, Jr., Persian Heritage Series 36, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1986), p. 12-3; Ibn al-Athir, Year 499, p. 105; Jean Richard, "Les Bases Maritimes des Fatimides, leurs corsairs et l'occupation Franque en Syrie," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, II*, eds U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Louvain: Peeters, 1998): 116, 119-121.

<sup>1035</sup> Peter Tudebode, 109-110; Angus McKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*, New Studies in Medieval History, ed. Denis Bethell (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 17; Bernard F. Reilly, *The*

the vestiges of *romanitas*, such as aqueducts, reminded the Occitanian contingent of their homeland.<sup>1036</sup>

The returning envoys thought that such a wealthy city could be extorted for more money, and while the crusaders had been fortunate with the coastal march to that point, their success had been attributed to both a reputation for viciousness and a continuing sequence of rapid victories while moving towards Jerusalem: the first allowed for the second, which kept the masses willing to live with the programs of political aggrandizement they had previously rejected. Raymond of Saint-Gilles seemed to have forgotten how precarious his position could quickly become. When the envoys returned, nonetheless, “they persuaded Raymond that the king of Tripoli would in four or five days give him gold and silver to his heart’s content if he laid siege to ‘Arqah, a strongly defended place, one unconquerable by human force.”<sup>1037</sup> This siege would provide the catalyst for the unwinding of the prophetic crusade.

‘Arqah would become the kind of protracted siege nobody wanted, but at the same time the kind of test of the crusader’s divine character, such that no one could abandon it. For Raymond d’Aguilers, the siege had a very immediate effect on his writing process:

Sad to say, we bore heavy losses, including many illustrious knights. One of these, Pons of Balazun, lost his life from a rock hurled by a petrary, and it was because of his prayers that I have carried on this work which I have taken the trouble to write for all of the orthodox, especially those across the Alps and for you, revered head of Viviers. I shall take care with the inspiration of God, the real author of these events, to complete the

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*Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain 1031-1157* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 36-40, 58-60; Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 155, 165-1, 176; Richard Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989), 69-72, 116-7. For a primary source of the *parias* in action, see *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, tr. and annotated Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000), 54-5, from the *Historia Silense*. Southern France had strong connections to Spain in this period; see Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c. 1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993): 70-114.

<sup>1036</sup> See Gustaf Sobin’s books *Ladder of Shadows: Reflecting on Medieval Vestige in Provence and Languedoc* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009) and *Luminous Debris: Reflecting on Vestige in Provence and Languedoc* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) for an idea of the Roman landscape still present in 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. Occitania

<sup>1037</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 87; *Deeds of the Franks*, 83; France, *Victory in the East*, 318-324 for the siege of ‘Arqah.

remainder of my report with the same love with which I began, and pray and beseech that all who shall hear these things shall believe in their truth.<sup>1038</sup>

Raymond's narrative from this point becomes confused, as he seems to lose the chronological framework of his story. Consider for example his description of Tortosa, the modern Syrian Tartus. It was the largest holding of the crusaders near 'Arqah, a formidable port that would later become the core of Raymond of Saint-Gilles' nascent county of Tripoli. Raymond d'Aguilers, bereft of the experience of his knightly co-author, merely notes that, "The Saracens had abandoned before the siege of 'Arqah Tortosa, a city well fortified by inner and outer walls and well provisioned. They left it on account of the fear which God had instilled in the Saracens and Arabs of the area, a fear which caused them to believe that we were all powerful and bent on ruthless devastation of their lands."<sup>1039</sup> For comparison, a much better account appears in the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, with full consideration of the motives behind the leadership's decisions:

Raymond Pilet and Raymond viscount of Turenne left the main army of Count Raymond and came to the city of Tortosa, which they attacked bravely, for it was garrisoned by many of the pagans. When night fell they withdrew into a corner where they encamped and lit many fires, so that it might appear that the whole host was there. The pagans were terrified and fled secretly in the night, leaving the city full of provisions. (It has also an excellent harbor.) Next morning our men came and attacked it from all side, but they found it empty, so they entered it and stayed there until the siege of Arqa began.<sup>1040</sup>

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<sup>1038</sup> Ibid. Latin: "Propterea tantos ac tales milites perdidimus, quod relatu gravissimum est. Interfectus est ibi Pontius de Baladuno cum lapide de petraria, cuius ago precibus ad omnes orthodoxos, et maxime ad transalpinos, et ad te reverende presul Vivariensis, hoc opus cui scribere curavi. Nunc autem quod reliquum est, Deo inspirante, qui hec omni fecit, eadem caritate qua incepi perficere curabo. Oro igitur et obsecro omnes qui hec audituri sunt, ut credant hec ita fuisse. » Raymond, *Liber*, 107. The death of Pons of Balazun was mentioned in the other eyewitness chronicles, all of whom were traveling in the expanded Provençal contingent at this point.

<sup>1039</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 88.

<sup>1040</sup> *Deeds of the Franks*, 83-4. Latin: "De exercitu uero Raimundi comitis exierunt Raimundus Piletus, et Raimundus uiccomes de Tentoria, ueneruntque ante Tortosam ciuitatem, et fortiter aggrediuntur illam. Quae nimis erat munita multitudine paganorum. Sero autem iam facto, secesserunt in quemdam angulum, ibique hospitati sunt ; feceruntque innumerabiles ignes, ita ut tota hostis esset ibi. Pagani uero timore perterriti nocte latenter fugerunt, et dimiserunt ciuitatem plenam omnibus bonis, quae etiam ualde optimum portum secus mare in se retinet. Crastine autem die uenerunt nostri, ut undique inuaderent illam inueneruntque illam uacuam. Et intrantes habitauerunt in ea usque dum obsessio esset ante urbem Archae. »

Without Pons of Balazun, Raymond's chronicle would consistently skim through military events and re-focus on the eschatological and visionary aspects of the crusade. This not only reinforces the collaborative nature of the chronicle, but its early date of composition—the death of Pons at 'Arqah, one of the stated authors in the Preface, and the change in writing style that follows, shows that the chronicle was being written while the crusade was underway.

Tortosa at least provided a good base of operations for the region, and the closest harbor, but it did not help the crusaders take a strongly fortified position with a garrison that refused to flee. All of their improbably victories south of Ma'arrat were based on the terror of their opponents. Those of 'Arqa provided an exception to that rule, with lethal results. After inconclusive negotiations with a Fatimid delegation concerning the fate of Jerusalem, Raymond d'Aguilers recorded that another army was coming to fight the crusaders besieging the city.<sup>1041</sup> Other chronicles suggest that this fear of imminent attack was a ploy. They attribute it to Raymond of Saint-Gilles' treachery, a fictional threat to keep Godfrey and the other crusaders from taking Gibellet; Raymond d'Aguilers, however, only observes that “the army was alerted to battle readiness, and the Bishop of Albara was dispatched to Godfrey and the Count of Flanders at Gibellum.” Both Godfrey and Robert then abandoned that siege and came to help.<sup>1042</sup> Raymond then acknowledges that there was no army, but he does not blame his count. Instead, he writes, “in the interim we learned that it was a false rumor circulated by the Saracens to frighten us and thereby gain respite from the siege.”<sup>1043</sup>

The situation of the crusade was surprisingly stable at this point. The armies had combined and thus had the numbers to drive off any attacking forces. Their supplies held

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<sup>1041</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1042</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1043</sup> Ibid.

adequately, and the later account of the priest Ebrard, discussed below, shows that the crusaders were able to buy supplies throughout the region and maintain commercial ties with the independent emirates even as they conquered their way through the region. But the prophet contingent remained active, now on behalf of a large number of poor and infirm pilgrims:

So because of the great number of poor and infirm, the people were urged to give a tenth of all spoils of war. The authorized division went as follows: one-fourth to the priests who administered their masses, one-fourth to the bishop, and one-half to Peter the Hermit, the authorized custodian of the poor, the clergy, and the people. In turn, of this sum, Peter gave equally to the clergy and the people. Consequently, God so multiplied the number of horses and camels, as well as other necessities for the army, that wonder and astonishment grew among our army. This sudden prosperity brought such contention and haughtiness to the leaders that God's most devout Christians longed for poverty and dreadful conflict to threaten us.<sup>1044</sup>

Unlike the early call to egalitarian division, which took place in a time of overwhelming poverty on the part of all of the crusaders, this request took place in a time of relative prosperity. By 'Arqah, the fortunes of Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his party had changed dramatically. The emir of Tripoli sent as tribute to the crusaders outside of the fortress, "fifteen thousand gold pieces of Saracen money plus horses, she mules, many garments, and even more of such rewards in succeeding years," with the gold pieces described as being worth eight or nine solidi each; the emir of Gibellum sent his own tribute, which included another five thousand gold pieces, horses, she mules, and "an abundant supply of wine."<sup>1045</sup> This vast wealth did alleviate the misery of the crusaders, but it also caused new tensions. One of the most immediate concerned Tancred, who, despite having earlier taken five thousand solidi and a pair of Arabian horses from Raymond of

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<sup>1044</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 91. Latin: "Predicatum est vero eo tempore ut daret populus decimas de omnibus que cepisset, quoniam multi pauperes erant in exercitu, et multi infirmi. Et mandatum est ut quartam partem redderent sacerdotibus suis, ad quorum missas veniebant, et quartam episcopis, reliquas vero duas Petro Heremite, quem prefecerant pauperibus de clero et populo. Ideoque duas partes accipiebat, videlicet unam pro his qui de clero erant, et alteram pro his de populo. Multiplicabat ideo Deus exercitum nostrum adeo in equis, et mulis, et camelis, et aliis vite necessariis, ut nobis ipsis in mirum ac in stuporem fieret. Orta est itaque ex rerum oppulentia contentio atque superbia inter principes, adeo ut illi qui Deum intime diligebant, rerum inopiam atque bella formidiosa nobis imminere preobtarent. » Raymond, *Liber*, 111.

<sup>1045</sup> Ibid.

Saint-Gilles to be his retainer, “quarreled, and finally Tancred wickedly deserted the Count” to join Godfrey’s army.<sup>1046</sup> Perhaps he wanted a bigger cut of the tribute. Perhaps he was growing uncomfortable with some of the more unorthodox practices of Raymond’s followers.

The continuing siege of ‘Arqah, and the defection of Tancred, led into the longest, and most radical, of Peter Bartholomew’s visions, known as the Vision of the Five Wounds.<sup>1047</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers describes it in great detail, beginning with a dramatic announcement: “Many visions, sent to us by God, were announced now; and I, author of this book, relate the following revelation under the name of the one who witnessed it.”<sup>1048</sup> Peter Bartholomew claimed to have received a vision while he was in the Count’s chapel during the siege of ‘Arqah. This time he saw Jesus, the Apostles Peter and Andrew, and an unidentified large figure that had been suggested to be the Apostle Paul.<sup>1049</sup> At Peter’s request, Christ appears to him now on the cross, “stretched and crucified just as in the Passion,” with the Apostle Peter on the right, the Apostle Andrew on the left, and the unidentified stranger behind him.<sup>1050</sup> From this position, Jesus proclaimed:

Report to my people this vision. Do you see my five wounds? Like these wounds, the crusaders stand in five ranks. Those of the first rank fear not spears, swords, or any kind of torment, and they resemble me who went to Jerusalem, fearing not swords, lances, clubs, sticks, and last, even the Cross. They die for me as I died for them, and together we reside spiritually, one in the other. Upon their death they are seated on God’s right, the place where I sat after My Resurrection and Ascension. Those of the second rank are auxiliaries of the first, a rear guard as well as a shelter in case of flight. This rank, I may say, resembles the apostles, who followed and partook of food with me. Those of the third rank provide supplies, furnishing such things as stones and spears to those who fight, and they remind me of those who smote their breasts and cried out against the injustice as I was hanging on the Cross and suffering My Passion. Those of the fourth rank shut themselves up in their houses and tend to their own business when war arises, because they believe that victory lies not in My strength, but in human wisdom. They are

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<sup>1046</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 92.

<sup>1047</sup> See Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 252-6, for the vision; Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 93-6.

<sup>1048</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 93.

<sup>1049</sup> *Ibid.* Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 252.

<sup>1050</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 93.



like My crucifiers who said, He deserves death; to the Cross with Him because He claims to be a king, the Son of God. Those of the fifth rank, hearing the noise of battle, view it at a distance, seek its cause, display cowardice rather than bravery, and take no risks for me or their brothers. In fact, under the guise of caution they invite those wishing to join the fray or at least to furnish arms to sit on the sidelines; and so they are similar to the betrayers, Judas and the judge, Pontius Pilate.<sup>1051</sup>

From here, Christ gives an exegesis of the vision in conversation with Peter, but the vision needs to be examined in greater detail. Jay Rubenstein has laid out a description of the five orders that is the most coherent explanation of the complicated vision: the fearless, who are the elect among the pilgrims, “who would enter Jerusalem as Christ had done on Palm Sunday more than one millennium before the crusade”; the “knights of the people,” who defend and shelter the first group; the logistical supporters of the “knights of the people,” also a group of non-combatants who carried supplies, gave weapons to the soldiers, and what-not; the deserters; and the cowards.<sup>1052</sup>

These divisions do not line up with the actual wounds of Christ, and Rubenstein says that it “defies any coherent program of allegory.”<sup>1053</sup> It also places the majority of the militant class in the position of the damned, as of the three commendable orders, only the second rank are

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<sup>1051</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 93-4. Latin: “Hec dices populo meo, quia sic me vidisti. Vides has quinque plagas meas, sic vos quinque ordinibus consistitis. Primus ordo est non formidantium tela, vel gladios, nec aliquid genus tormenti. Ordo iste michi similis est. Ego enim veni in Ierusalem, gladios et lanceas, fustes, et baculos, demum et crucem non dubitavi. Moriuntur pro me, egoque pro eis mortuus sum. Et ego sum in eis, et ipsi sunt in me. Cum vero hi tales obeunt, a dextris Dei collocantur, ubi post resurrectionem in celum ascendens, consemi. Secundus ordo est eorum qui in subsidio prioribus sunt, atque eos a tergo custodiunt, a quos etiam illi refugere possunt. Hi vero apostolicus sunt similes, qui in sequebantur, mecumque manducabant. Tercius ordo est illorum qui lapides et tela prioribus ministrant. Hi vero similes illis sunt qui cum viderent me in cruce postium, de passione mea dolentes, pectora sua percuciebant, iniuriam michi fieri proclamantes. Quartus quidem ordo est, eorum qui videntes bellum surgere, se domibus intrudunt, atque ad negocia sua convertuntur, non credentes in virtute mea victoriam consistere, sed in hominum probitate. Hi tales similes illis sunt, qui dixerunt: reus est mortis, crucifigatur, quia se regem fecit, et Dei filium se dixit. Quintus autem ordo est, eorum qui cum belli clamorem audiunt de longe speculantes, clamoris causas requirunt, et ignavie non virtutis exempla aliis tribuunt. Et non solum pericula pro me, verum etiam pro fratribus subire nolunt. Sed sub specie cavendi alios volentes pugnare, vel pugnatoribus arma ministrare, secum ad speculandum invitant. Hique Iude proditori et Pontio Pilato iudici similes sunt.” Raymond, *Liber*, 113-4.

<sup>1052</sup> Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 253-4; William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 43, discusses the first order as martyrs.

<sup>1053</sup> Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 254.

fighters. This prejudice alone would turn most of the army against Peter Bartholomew. The remainder of the vision only worsens things. Peter Bartholomew asks Christ how to differentiate the lower two ranks from the three who are good. He responds that Raymond of Saint-Gilles needs to gather together the entire host and “have them line up as if for battle or a siege, and at the proper time let the best known herald give the battle cry, God help us, three times, and have him try to complete the military array. Then, as I said to you, you shall see the ranks, and along with the other believers recognize the unbelievers.”<sup>1054</sup> In addition to reinforcing Raymond as the head of the crusade and leader of the “children of God,” these instructions make Peter Bartholomew the mouthpiece of Christ and the only one who will be able to discern the just from the unjust. Peter next asks Christ what to do with these “doubters”: “Show them no mercy, kill them; they are My betrayers, brothers of Judas Iscariot. Give their worldly goods to the first rank proportionate to their need; and by this act you will find the right way which you so far have circumvented. Just as other revelations came to pass as predicted, so shall these.”<sup>1055</sup> Peter’s message from Christ, then, is that the crusading army needed to conduct a bloody purge of itself, massacring the greater part of the knights so that the only survivors would be the poor, the pilgrims, the clergy, and a bare handful of knights to guard them on their way to Jerusalem.

After arguing for the slaughter of the fighting class, Peter’s vision advocates for a radical change in the societal organization of the surviving crusaders, the three remaining classes of the “true pilgrims, their warrior guardians, and the squires and servants who could attend to practical needs.”<sup>1056</sup> In order to deal with any discord that might arise among them, the crusaders must:

Appoint judges by families and relatives. If one commits an offense against another, let the plaintiff ask, Brother, would you like to be treated this way? If the aggressor continues, let the plaintiff charge him in accordance with his legal right. Thereupon, let

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<sup>1054</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 95.

<sup>1055</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1056</sup> Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 254-5.

the judge feel free to take all of the possessions of the defendant, giving one half to the plaintiff and one half to the authorities. If for any cause the judge equivocates, go to him and tell him if he doesn't set this right, he shall not be absolved even to the end of the world unless you free him.<sup>1057</sup>

With some final farewells, Christ departed, and the vision ended. For those who would follow Peter Bartholomew's vision, the greater plan of the Vision of the Five Wounds, not only would there be a purge of the unrighteous but a radical transformation of the entire sociopolitical structure of the crusade.<sup>1058</sup> This appointment of "judges" from households and family groupings would create an egalitarian community, dealing with all offenses in common trials, with property and goods being taken in penalty and redistributed to the plaintiffs and to the communal leadership of the crusade.<sup>1059</sup> The judges were under a moral and spiritual imperative to make their rulings swiftly, and the by-product of acting outside of this framework was damnation: "he shall not be absolved even to the end of the world unless you free him."<sup>1060</sup> If this violent purge is carried out, and the apostolic community of the righteous put back into place, God would allow the crusade to attain Jerusalem, presumably both the terrestrial and celestial one.

Raymond d'Aguilers placed himself firmly within this group of visionary believers. Indeed, he was one of Peter's most vocal defenders to the rest of the army. "When we related these things to the brethren, some said they would never believe that God carried on a conversation with such a man, overlooking princes and bishops in showing himself to an

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<sup>1057</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 95. Latin: "Per familias et cognationes ponant iudices. Cum autem quilibet offenderit alium, dicat qui iniuriam patitur : Frater vellesne sic tibi fieri ? Post hec nisi malefactor desierit, ex nomine sue potestatis ei contradicat. Deinde iudex, licenter a malefactore omnia bona sua auferat, et medietas omnium sublatorum site i qui iniuriam paciebatur, reliqua vero pars potestatis. Si autem iudex aliqua de causa hec distulerit, tu vade ad eum, et dic ei quod nisi ille correxerit, non exsolvetur usque ad ultimum seculi diem, nisi remiseris illi. » Raymond, *Liber*, 115.

<sup>1058</sup> Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 152-176.

<sup>1059</sup> Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 255.

<sup>1060</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 95.

illiterate yokel; and they went so far as to cast doubts on the Holy Lance.”<sup>1061</sup> The army was now broken into two parts, those who embraced the “unadulterated millenarianism” advocated by Peter Bartholomew, Raymond d’Aguilers, and their followers, and the rest of the crusade, who rejected the bloody, divisive, eschatological program. The foremost opponent of Peter Bartholomew was Arnulf of Choques, the chaplain of the Count of Normandy, who would eventually become Patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>1062</sup> Arnulf, cannily, claimed as the inspiration for his doubt of the Holy Lance was Bishop Adhémar, linking himself to the papal legate and one of the few people who had been respected by the entire crusade.

The result of all of this was a trial for Peter Bartholomew, and Raymond d’Aguilers’ account of that trial, whose records Raymond seems to draw upon.<sup>1063</sup> The first witness for Peter Bartholomew was Peter Desiderius, the chaplain of Raymond’s vassal Count Isoard I of Die.<sup>1064</sup> His defense of Peter involved a vision he himself had had in Antioch, of the dead Adhémar and the Blessed Nicholas, where Adhémar told him, “I now reside in the heavenly hosts of Saint Nicholas, but because I hesitated to believe in the Lord’s Lance, when, I, of all people, should have accepted it, I was led into hell.”<sup>1065</sup> The next witness, a priest named Ebrard, had his vision within the city of Tripoli, apparently on a mission there before Antioch was first captured.<sup>1066</sup> While despairing over the plight of those in Antioch, he “took refuge in a church and fell down before the statue of the Virgin Mary,” spending several days before it in prayer and fasting and begging her to bring God’s mercy on to the crusaders. Eventually,

a Christian Syrian came and said to me, ‘Be of good cheer and stop crying’; and he continued: ‘A little while ago I stood before the portals of the church of the Blessed

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<sup>1061</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 96.

<sup>1062</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1063</sup> Morris, “The Case of the Holy Lance,” 40-1, suggests that Raymond may have been incorporating court documents into his chronicle.

<sup>1064</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 96-7.

<sup>1065</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1066</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 97.

Mary, Christ's mother, and a clerk in white vestments appeared. When I asked his name and home he answered, I am Mark, the evangelist, recently of Alexandria, and I detoured here because of the church of the Blessed Mary. I further inquired concerning his destination, and Mark answered: 'Christ now resides in Antioch and commands His disciples to join Him and aid in the battle which the Franks must wage with the Turks,' and then he departed.<sup>1067</sup>

Ebrard offered to undertake an ordeal in support of this. He also claimed that the Syrian, after the vision of the Apostle Mark, said that "You must understand that it is recorded in the gospel of the Blessed Peter that the Christian people who are destined to capture Jerusalem shall first be besieged in Antioch and cannot break out until they find the Holy Lance."<sup>1068</sup> This theoretically apocryphal text was used again later by Raymond d'Aguilers, and added a layer of extra-biblical prophecy to the crusade.

Still other witnesses followed. Stephen of Valence recounted his vision of Jesus and Mary, and said that their words supported of the Lance. The Bishop of Apt said that in a vision or a dream "a man in white clothes stood in front of me, held in his hands the Lord's Lance, this Lance, I say, and asked me, 'Do you believe this is the Lance of the Lord,'" asking repeatedly until the visitor was convinced the Bishop did, in fact, believe.<sup>1069</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers himself became a witness: "Then I, author of this book, before the brotherhood and the Bishop, added to the evidence. 'I was there in the church of Saint Peter when the Lance was unearthed, and I kissed its point before it was completely uncovered, and there are in the army many other witnesses along with me.'"<sup>1070</sup> He then recounted a vision by the priest Bertrand of Le Puy, from

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<sup>1067</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 97-8. Latin: "venit ad me quidam Surianus qui christianus erat, et dixi michi: Bono animo esto et vide ne amplius fleveris, et dixit: Modo eram ante fores ecclesie Beate Marie matris Domini, et venit quidam clericus ante me albis vestibus indutus. Et cum quessem ab eo quis esset, aut unde veniret, respondit: Ego sum Marcus evangelista venioque ab Alexandria et diverti huc propter ecclesiam Beate Marie. Et cum rursus quererem quo iret, dixit: Dominus noster est apud Antiochiam, et mandavit omnibus discipulis suis ut venirent eo, quoniam Franci debent pugnare cum Turcis, et nos erimus eis presidio, et hoc dicto abiit. » Raymond, *Liber*, 117-8.

<sup>1068</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 98.

<sup>1069</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1070</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 99.

the entourage of Adhémar, who had a vision of both Heraclius of Polignac and Adhémar of Le Puy while sick in Antioch. Heraclius and Adhémar had a conversation concerning his illness. The Bishop said, “He is sick because he is a doubter,” and Bertrand responded, “Lord, do I not believe in the Lance of the Lord as I do in the Lord’s Passion?”<sup>1071</sup> In a show of where the visionary party held the Lance in relationship to other relics, the ghostly Adhémar replied, “This is not enough; you should believe in more.”<sup>1072</sup>

After all of the testimony, Arnulf accepted the validity of the Lance and promised the Bishop of Albara that he would do penance for his initial skepticism.<sup>1073</sup> This would have been a major victory for the visionary party, but Arnulf recanted on the day of the council, saying that while he might believe in the Lance, he wanted to consult the Count of Normandy before doing any kind of penance. Peter Bartholomew, in this instance, decided to force the issue, saying: “I not only wish, but I beg that you set ablaze a fire, and I shall take the ordeal of fire with the Holy Lance in my hands; and if it is really the Lord’s Lance, I shall emerge unsinged. But if it is a false Lance, I shall be consumed by fire. I offer to do this because I see that no one believes in revelations or witnesses.”<sup>1074</sup> After the number of offers to undertake ordeals made by the various visionaries in the Provençal army, Peter Bartholomew’s offer was finally taken up.

On Good Friday, the crusaders assembled in a vast crowd while “dry olive branches were stacked in two piles, four feet in height, about one foot apart, and thirteen feet in length.”<sup>1075</sup> When the fire was started, Raymond d’Aguilers came forward as the official spokesperson for Peter Bartholomew’s ordeal, writing that:

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<sup>1071</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1072</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1073</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 99-100.

<sup>1074</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 100.

<sup>1075</sup> Ibid.

I, Raymond, in the presence of the crowd declared: ‘If Omnipotent God talked to this man in person, and Saint Andrew revealed the Holy Lance to him at vigils, let him walk through the fire unharmed; but if this is a lie, let Peter Bartholomew and the Lance he carries be consumed by fire.’ As they knelt the crowd responded, ‘Amen’. The searing heat rose thirty cubits into the air and no one could come close to it.<sup>1076</sup>

Obviously Raymond d’Aguilers was not an impartial witness to the proceedings. After Peter Bartholomew confessed, the Bishop of Albara handed him the Lance, and passed through the fire unharmed. Raymond further cites a variety of miraculous signs, with three named witnesses, cleric and lay, to them: Ebrard, who had been a witness earlier; Guillelmus Bonofilius, a knight of Arles; and Guillelmus Malus Puer, a knight of Béziers.<sup>1077</sup> Unlike the non-Provençal chronicles, which report Peter being injured by the fire, Raymond d’Aguilers accuses the crowd of beating Peter to near death in their exuberance over his miraculous crossing of the flames: “Whereupon the crowd seized him, seized him, I say, and pulled him along the ground,” and that “we think that Peter would have died there if Raymond Pilet, a renowned and courageous knight, had not with the aid of numerous comrades charged the milling mob, and at the risk of death snatched him from them.”<sup>1078</sup>

Peter’s injuries were severe, and he would not survive them. Before he died, however, he had specific instructions for both Raymond d’Aguilers and Raymond of Saint-Gilles.

Peter afterwards called Raymond d’Aguilers, the Count’s chaplain, and demanded: ‘Why did you want me to submit to the ordeal of fire in proof of my revelations of the Holy Lance and God’s instructions? Certainly I know your wishy-washy thoughts,’ and he revealed Raymond’s thoughts. When Raymond denied these thoughts, Peter pinned him down: ‘This absolute proof you cannot deny because I found out the other night from the Virgin Mary and Adhémar the truth. I was very astonished to learn that although you entertained no doubts concerning the words of the Lord and His apostles, you wished me at my peril to prove of these same revelations. Upon Peter’s detection of his lies and his

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<sup>1076</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 100-1. Latin: “Cum vero ignis vehementer accensus esset, dixi ego Raimundus coram omni multitudine: Si Deus omnipotens huic homini locutus est facie ad faciem, et beatus Andreas lanceam dominicam ostendit ei cum iste vigilaret, transeat iste illesus per ignem. Sin autem est mendatium conburatur iste cum lancea quam portabit in manu sua. Et omnes flexis genibus responderunt amen, Exestuabat ita incendium, ut usque ad .xxx. cubitos aera occuparet. » Raymond, *Liber*, 120-1.

<sup>1077</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 101.

<sup>1078</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 102.

guilt before God, Raymond d'Aguilers cried in anguish; and thereupon Peter consoled him: 'I do not wish you to be despondent because the most Blessed Virgin Mary and the Blessed Andrew will gain pardon for you before God if you pray earnestly to them.'<sup>1079</sup>

That even Raymond d'Aguilers, who had been such a staunch supporter and had repeatedly placed himself in the narrative as a witness to the validity of Peter Bartholomew's statements, had his doubts provides strong evidence of just how radical his visions were. In the end, Raymond clearly believed in the Lance. Whether he agreed with all of Peter's visionary commands, or even understood them, is in doubt.<sup>1080</sup> The Vision of the Five Wounds would be abandoned by all of his followers immediately after his death, though the visionary priests who had supported him would continue to have their own visions.<sup>1081</sup>

Peter Bartholomew's death-bed message to Raymond of Saint-Gilles sought to reinforce the bond between the lord of Occitania and his Provençal prophet. His instructions concerned the fate of the Lance after the crusade, rather than further instructions for how the army should conduct itself:

Upon your arrival at Jerusalem command the army to pray God to lengthen and continue your life and God will double your life. Moreover, upon your return put the Lance within five leagues of the church of Saint Trophimus and have a church erected there; and upon oath make sound money there and do not permit any false acts in that place. This spot

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<sup>1079</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 102-3. Latin: "Post hec convocavit ad se capellanum comitis Raimundum nomine et dixit ei Petrus: Quare voluisti ut ego ob testimonium dominice lance et ceterorum que ex parte Dei dixeram per incendium transirem? Scio satis quia hoc modo et hoc modo cogitasti. Et dixit ei que ipse cogitaverat. Cum vero ille se taliter cogitasse negaret, repondit Petrus Bartholomus: Michi quidem negare non potes, quia certum hoc habeo. Etenim alia nocte fuit hic beatissima Virgo Maria, et episcopus Podiensis per quos ego ea que tu negas didici. Miror satis cum de verbis Domini et apostolorum ipsius non dubitaveris, quare experimentum cum periculo meo de his solis habere volueris? Tunc deprehensam cogitationem suam, et se culpabilem ante Deum Raimundus videns, amarissime in lacrimas prorupit. Et Petrus ad hec: Noli desperare, quia piissima Virgo Maria et sanctus Andreas tibi apud Deum veniam obtinebunt. Tu vero enixius eos deprecare. » Raymond, *Liber*, 123-4.

<sup>1080</sup> Morris, "The Case of the Holy Lance," 43-4, says that "Nevertheless, the visions which he records do not always tally with his own views and it is reasonable to think that he was often reporting, with fair accuracy, the words of the visionaries. Through these we can obtain a glimpse of the aspirations of some of the ordinary crusaders, who (in a fairly familiar medieval style) used the utterances of saints and seers to shape the politics of princes."

<sup>1081</sup> He is not the only one. It is interesting that the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* makes no mention of the ordeal, even though he was traveling in the entourage of Raymond Pilet by that point in the crusade. From the *Gesta*, there are no doubts about the authenticity of the Lance. See Morris, "The Case of the Holy Lane," 37.



shall be called Mount of Joy, and may these things be carried out in Provence because the Blessed Peter promised his disciple, Trophimus, to deliver the Holy Lance to him.<sup>1082</sup>

These instructions are very specific to Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his domain. Peter had already attempted to establish a feast day for the Holy Lance and its *inventio* in Antioch, and in this final request seemed to be attempting to ensure his legacy, and, more importantly, the legacy of Lance in Arles. The desire to establish a church for the Lance with an associated mint seems a particularly powerful indication of the Provençal attitude towards power: the unity of church, relic, and money into a single place of secular and religious power intermixed. The vision was never achieved, and the cult of the Lance would not make it back to the Arelate.

This was the end of the crusade's millenarian movement. If the particularly radical visions of the Arelate preacher had ended, however, his legacy was not; Raymond of Saint-Gilles was still very much the champion of the Lance, and his chronicler and chaplain, Raymond d'Aguilers, would continue to push an eschatological vision of the crusade.

### **The Kingdom Comes: Jerusalem and the Provençal Apocalypse**

The death of Peter Bartholomew, the dissension among the crusade leaders surrounding the trial and ordeal, and the continued siege of 'Arqah caused the aura of invincibility around the Crusade to falter. Raymond of Saint-Gilles' authority, especially, was badly shaken, and his role as leader of the crusade ceased the moment Peter Bartholomew was injured. One of the

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<sup>1082</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 69. Latin: "Cum veneris in Iherusalem fac ut exercitus postulet Deum, quatinus vitam tuam prolonget, et continuet. Et Deus prolongabit eam, tantumdem quantum vixisti. Tu autem cum reversus fueris prope .v. leugas ecclesiam Sancti Trophimi, lanceam Domini pones, et ecclesiam ibi fabricari facies. Et fiet ibi moneta quam tu iurabis ne falsa fiat. Sed neque aliud aliquid falsum ibi fieri permittes. Vocabitur ille locus Mons gaudii et fiet hec infra Provinciam. Etenim Beatus Petrus Trophimo discipulo suo promisit quod lanceam Domini ei mitteret. Atque sic per huiusmodi discordias et sediciones res pauperum annullate sunt. » Raymond, *Liber*, 88.

immediate results of these setbacks was that the emir of Tripoli began to question the need to pay tribute to the army, especially as he had not yet been attacked in force and the city itself was much better defended than ‘Arqah. Unfortunately for the emir, the cessation of tribute provided a common enemy to rally the divided crusaders, and a more active pastime than the siege. Leaving the Bishop of Albara and a garrison behind at ‘Arqah, the main body of the crusaders decamped to Tripoli, where the Tripolitans mounted an offensive outside of the ramparts near to the aqueduct.<sup>1083</sup> The set piece battle was a disaster for the emirate: “Now the land stank with Moorish blood, and the aqueduct was choked with their corpses. It was a delightful sight as the swirling waters of the aqueduct tumbled the headless bodies of nobles and rabble into Tripoli.”<sup>1084</sup>

The victory led to a renewed treaty with the emir of Tripoli, not only benefitting the crusaders with a fresh influx of gold pieces, horses, mules, and provisions, but the opening of the Tripolitan market and the freeing of all Christian captives within the emirate “if we would abandon the siege of ‘Arqah.”<sup>1085</sup> This allowed the crusaders to extricate themselves from an unpleasant situation without shame. Envoys from the Byzantines arrived around the same time, protesting Bohemond’s seizure of Antioch and asking the crusaders to postpone their march to Jerusalem until the Feast of Saint John, so that Alexius and the Byzantine army could join them.<sup>1086</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his circle wanted to wait, making practical arguments about the increase in forces and prestige of having the Byzantine emperor at the head of the

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<sup>1083</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 104.

<sup>1084</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 105.

<sup>1085</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1086</sup> *Ibid.*

Christian army, but the majority opposed him — their number including, presumably, Raymond d’Aguilers.<sup>1087</sup>

Into this dispute came the Provençal visionary priests, led by Stephen of Valence, who proclaimed a vision given to him by Adhémar of Le Puy and the Virgin Mary to find the Cross:

Why have you ignored so many times my commands concerning the Cross of the Lord, as well as those of our Mother, the Virgin Mary? I speak of the Cross which was in my front ranks; let it be carried in the army. Tell me, what relic is better than the Cross? Has this Cross not been stoned enough for you? Or has it not guided you to the Holy Lance? Now our Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary, says that without this Cross you will have no wisdom.<sup>1088</sup>

Stephen vision continued on with the Virgin, the blessed Agatha, and a celestial virgin appearing. Stephen is commanded to give his ring to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and Adhémar gives him new instructions for the processing of the Lance:

‘Have [Raymond of Saint-Gilles] persuade the bishop-elect to perform three masses to the Lord for the souls of our relatives. Our Mother Mary orders that henceforth the Holy Lance shall not be shown unless carried by a priest clad in sacred vestments and that the Cross precede it in this manner.’ Then Adhémar held the Cross suspended from a spear and a man clad in sacerdotal garments with the Holy Lance in his hands followed as the Bishop gave this response: ‘Gaude Maria Virgo, cunctas hereses sola interemisti’. Hundreds of thousands of countless voices joined in the heavenly choir and the company of saints vanished.<sup>1089</sup>

Stephen relayed this message to the Count the next morning, and Raymond of Saint-Gilles sent Willaim Hugh of Monteil, Adhémar’s brother, to Latakia to retrieve Adhémar’s cross and

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<sup>1087</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 106.

<sup>1088</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 107. Latin: “Quare neglexisti semel et secundo, quod dixi tibi de cruce Domini et matris nostre Virginis Marie, de cruce dico quam ego preferri faciebam, ut aportaretur in exercitum? Et quod signum est melius cruce ? At non est, satis illa crux pro vobis lapidata ? An non illa bene vos conduxit usque ad lanceam Domini? Et nunc ait domina et beata Virgo Maria, quod nisi illam crucem habeatis, non potestis habere consilium. » Raymond, *Liber*, 127.

<sup>1089</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 107-8. Latin: “Oret bene electum episcopum ut pro animabus parentum nostrorum .iii. missas celebret ad Dominum. Precepit mater nostra ut deinceps lancea non monstretur, nisi a sacerdote, et induto sacris vestibus et crux ei preferatur sic. Et tenuit episcopus crucem in astile positam, et quidam indutus sacerdotali veste sequebatur eum habens lanceam inter manus. Et episcopus incepit responsorium hoc : Gaude Maria Virgo cunctas hereses sola interemisti. Inceperunt sine numero centena milia virorum, atque sic collegium sanctorum abiit.” Raymond, *Liber*, 128.

bishop's hood. In the place of the radical and dangerous visions of Peter Bartholomew, Stephen of Valence was returning to the liturgically-focused, reform-minded visions he had begun with.

Meanwhile, the crusaders planned to move on towards Jerusalem as quickly as possible. The renewed negotiations with the emir of Tripoli played a role in this program, since he provided the army with a guide to accompany them to Jerusalem and to aid in their dealings with the locals.<sup>1090</sup> A group of Maronite Christians, whom the Raymond d'Aguilers calls "Surians, also met with Raymond of Saint-Gilles and helped him plan out his route to Jerusalem.<sup>1091</sup> Their advice seems to have been both practical and rooted in prophecy, as the chronicler Raymond records it.

The Damascus route is flat, well stocked with food, but waterless for two days. The road through the Lebanon mountains is safe, bountiful in necessities, but very tough for camels and pack animals. Still another way, skirting the sea, has many passes so narrow that fifty or a hundred Saracens could hold back all of the human race. Yet it is recorded in our Gospel of the Blessed Peter that if you are the destined captors of Jerusalem, you will journey by the seacoast, although its hazards make it appear impossible to us. This Gospel, written among us, contains not only your choice of routes, but many of your past acts and the course of future actions.<sup>1092</sup>

Though this version of the Gospel of Peter is no longer extant, what it represents is important—in the eyes of Raymond of Aguilers and presumably others, these Syrian Christians, perhaps by

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<sup>1090</sup> John France, "The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem in the Ripoll Manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale (Latin) 5132", *The English Historical Review* Vol. 103, No. 408 (Jul., 1988): 642; 645, "Interim uenerat dies illa in qua quidam Sarracenus, quem Raimundus comes obsidem et preuium a rege Tripolis acceperat, ne a nostris ipsi uel ab ipso nostris aliquid iniurie inferretur, sed et ut exiretur eis obuiam dum uenirent Iherusalem a cunctis conterraneis prefati regis queque commercia mutue dando uel accipiendo sicut et factum est, predixerat capiendam ciuitatem."

<sup>1091</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 109. France, *Victory in the East*, 328.

<sup>1092</sup> Ibid. Latin: "Est uia per Damascum plana satis, et plena victualium sed non inueneritis aquam per duos dies. Est alia uia per montana Libani tuta satis et copiosa, sed gravis multum sagmariis, atque camelis. Est et alia uia secus mare, ubi tam multe ac tales angustie sunt, ut si quinquaginta aut centum Sarraceni retinere eas uoluerint prohibere possint omne hominum genus. Et tamen in euangelio beati Petri quod apud nos est continetur, quod si uos estis gens illa que Iherusalem debet capere, per maritima transibitis, licet propter difficultatem nobis impossibile uideatur. Non solum autem hoc de itinere, sed et alia multa quomodo uos egistis, et qualiter agere debeatis in euangelio illo apud nos scripta continentur. » Raymond, *Liber*, 130.

virtue of geography, were in touch with older, lost Christian truths — and the keepers of their faith, moreover, had foreseen the eventual arrival of the crusade.<sup>1093</sup>

When William Hugh of Monteil returned with the Cross, the majority of the army decided not to wait for the Byzantines and spontaneously moved on from ‘Arqah. Raymond attempted to convince the masses to besiege Tripoli, but was met by another vision, this time from Peter Desiderius channeling Saint Andrew, who counseled a more aggressive march on Jerusalem: “Actually, a battle, in which these as well as many other cities will be conquered, is imminent.”<sup>1094</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles, however, continued to press for a siege of Tripoli, worrying about the financial aspects of the march south.

Despite his hesitation, the vanguard of the crusade captured the pass leading south to Acre. The emir there promised (falsely) to surrender his city to Raymond if the armies seized Jerusalem. In the meantime he offered friendship and open markets.<sup>1095</sup> South of Acre the terrain passed swiftly, with the garrison at Ramla abandoning the fort and their fields, giving the crusaders fresh provisions.<sup>1096</sup> Regrouping only fifteen miles from Jerusalem, “we made pledges to Saint George, our avowed leader, and our chieftains and the public decided to select a bishop, because here we found the first church of Israel. We also felt that Saint George would be our intercessor with God and would be our faithful leader through his dwelling place.”<sup>1097</sup> While Raymond d’Aguilers gives a description of an argument over delaying their advance, it seems unlikely that this was more than a stop to plan the final assault. It was as if Raymond d’Aguilers had replaced his all too flawed count with a militant saint in the role of Provençal leader.

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<sup>1093</sup> Guy Lobrichon, *1099 Jérusalem Conquise* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1998), 110.

<sup>1094</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 110.

<sup>1095</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 114.

<sup>1096</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 114-5. France, *Victory in the East*, 329-30.

<sup>1097</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 115.

The new Bishop of Ramla was left with a garrison, and the rest of the army approached Jerusalem at full speed. But even now Raymond d'Aguilers was dissatisfied. As he describes the final stages of the march, "In the mad scramble caused by our greed to seize castles and villas, we failed to remember and held valueless the command of Peter Bartholomew that we not approach within two leagues of Jerusalem unless barefooted."<sup>1098</sup> A handful "who held Gods' command dear" marched barefooted in penitential prayer, but the majority raced ahead to seize all of the forts and the towns along the Jordan plains en route to the city.<sup>1099</sup> The medieval city of Jerusalem, smaller than its Roman incarnation, did not expand to the full advantage of the natural contours of the land, leaving the north side vulnerable from high ground and the south-western side vulnerable from the height of Mount Zion.<sup>1100</sup> In besieging Jerusalem, the army once again divided: Godfrey, Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy took the northern front from the church of Saint Stephen to the tower next to the city's citadel, the Tower of David; Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his forces originally took the positions to the west, from the flank of the other army to the foot of Mount Zion, though a ravine separated the two forces.<sup>1101</sup> That Raymond of Saint-Gilles still had enough men to cover one of the two siege zones, by himself, compared to the totaled forces of the other three crusading princes gives a good indication of how numerous the Provençal force still was and the degree of authority he possessed.<sup>1102</sup>

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<sup>1098</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 116.

<sup>1099</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1100</sup> Conor Kostick, *The Siege of Jerusalem* (London: Continuum, 2009), 56-7. France, *Victory in the East*, 334-5, 337-43, on the state of Jerusalem when the crusaders arrived.

<sup>1101</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 116.

<sup>1102</sup> Kostick, *The Siege*, 58.

Raymond of Saint-Gilles had spent most of the crusade using the visions directed towards him to bolster his own authority. By the time he arrived in Jerusalem, however, some of the eschatological fervor and visionary spirituality seems to have rubbed off on him:

One day while Raymond was encircling Jerusalem he stopped and visited the church of Mount Zion, where he heard of God's miracles there and was so impressed that he addressed the princes and those present: 'What would happen to us if we abandon these sacred gifts of God and the Saracens should seize them, and, perhaps, defile and break them because of their hatred of the crusaders? Who knows that these gifts of God may not be tests of the intensity of our love for Him? This I do know, namely, failure to guard the church of Mount Zion zealously will cause Him to withhold like spots in Jerusalem.'<sup>1103</sup>

This about-face by the Count, taking a spiritual approach to the defense, went against everyone's wishes, especially his own men.<sup>1104</sup> It seems likely that his arguments were either proof of his sincere acceptance of the role as God's champion, as imparted to him by Peter Bartholomew, or an attempt on his part to regain some of the esteem and authority he had had until 'Arqah.<sup>1105</sup> Given that Raymond d'Aguilers makes no positive remarks about this other than that everyone complained, he too likely disapproved. Most of his army refused to move, except for those whom the count bribed daily.<sup>1106</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers goes on to list the important sites on the mountain, including the tombs of David, Solomon, and Saint Stephen, along with the place of the dormition of the Blessed Mary, the site of the Last Supper, and the room where he appeared after death to his disciples, where Thomas placed his hands inside Christ's wounds.<sup>1107</sup> The

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<sup>1103</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 116-7. Latin: "Igitur dum die quadam circuisset civitatem comes, et venisset in montem Syon et vidisset ecclesiam, audissetque mira que Deus ibi operator est, dixit ad principes et ad eos qui ibi aderant: Si dimittamus hec sacra que nobis hic Deus presentavit, et deinceps Sarraceni occupant ea, quid erit de nobis? Quid si propter odium nostrum contaminent ea atque confringant? Quis scit an in temptationem dederit Deus hec, ut comprobaret quantum diligeremus eum? Certe hoc unum scio, quia nisi diligenter conservemus hec sacra, non tradet nobis illa que sunt infra civitatem." Raymond, *Liber*, 138.

<sup>1104</sup> As Kostick has pointed out, Mount Zion, while not as effective at covering the wall as the previous positions, did allow Raymond of Saint-Gilles to see over the walls into the city. It was at the least a good vantage point. Kostick, *The Siege*, 57, 59.

<sup>1105</sup> Kostick, *The Siege*, 59-60. I would argue for the former, given his post-Jerusalem actions.

<sup>1106</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 117.

<sup>1107</sup> *Ibid.*

importance of Mount Zion was reinforced by 1 Maccabees 4:36-59, where the brothers Maccabee rebuilt the sanctuaries. As the best Biblical examples for how a warrior could be a holy figure, 1 Maccabees may well have been on Raymond's mind. Raymond thus appropriated for himself the role of Judas Maccabeus when claiming Mount Zion as his military base.

For the Provençals, the trials and tribulations of the crusade at this point led to serious religious reflection:

We know that we got our just deserts, because we had no faith in God's messages. Consequently, the crusaders gave up hope of God's mercy and so marched down to the plain of Jordan. There they gathered palms, and were baptized in the Jordan River; and since they had viewed Jerusalem, they planned to give up the siege, go to Jaffa, and, in whatsoever manner they could, return home; but the Lord took care of the ships for His unbelievers.<sup>1108</sup>

At this time of hope and uncertainty, with the capture of Jerusalem seeming both imminent and impossible, the clergy raised a question that probably should have come up earlier: Who would become the leader of Jerusalem if, or when, the crusaders took it? Raymond d'Aguilers' position on this was very clear. Of all of the accounts of these discussions, Raymond is the lone voice against the crowning of a king:

The assembly also posed the question of the election of one of the princes as a guardian of Jerusalem in case God gave it to us. It was argued that it was common effort which would win it, but it would be common neglect that would lose it if no one protected it. But the bishops and the clergy objected by saying: 'It is wrong to elect a king where the Lord suffered and was crowned. Suppose that in the elected one's heart he said, 'I sit upon the throne of David, and I possess his dominion.' Suppose he became a David, degenerate in faith and goodness, the Lord would, no doubt, overthrow him and be angry with the place and the people. Moreover, the prophet cries out, 'When the Holy of Holies shall have come, unction will cease,' because it was made clear to all people that he had come. But let us select an advocate to guard Jerusalem and to divide the tributes and rents

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<sup>1108</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 120-1. Latin: « Sed hec omnia adhuc iuste contigisse cognoscimus, cum et sermonibus que a Deo mandabantur nobis fidem abnegaremus. Et desperantes de Dei misericordia, ad campestria Iordanis descendebant, et colligebant ibi palmas, et baptizabantur in flumine Iordanis. Et ob hoc maxime ut transferrent se Ioppen, visa Iherusalem et dimissa obsidione, atque sic quomodocumque possent reverterentur. Sed de navibus providit Dominus suis incredulis. » Raymond, *Liber*, 142-3.



among the protectors of the city.’ As a result of these and other reasons, the election was not held until eight days after the fall of Jerusalem. Nothing good came from this quarrel, and only work and grief doubled each day upon the people.<sup>1109</sup>

The objection here is drawn, most obviously, from Biblical history and the checkered career of David.<sup>1110</sup> It also eschatological in nature, drawing on Daniel 9. For they argued, “Moreover, the prophet cries out, ‘When the Holy of Holies shall have come, unction will cease,’ because it was made clear to all people that he had come.”<sup>1111</sup> The reference is to Daniel 9:24-27, the seventy weeks given to the holy to reject sin and rebuild a holy Jerusalem on earth, before the crucifixion, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the “abomination of desolation” that lasts until the end. In terms of an eschatological timeline, this is Raymond d’Aguiler’s most direct reference to an endpoint for history. His championing of an advocate, rather than a king, is known, but in this context references not only Daniel 9 and its eschatological timeline, but echoes the legend of the Last World Emperor.<sup>1112</sup> The Last World Emperor legend was made popular in the west through Adso of Montier-en-Der’s letter, *De antichristo*, and the Tiburtine Sibyls, which were then incorporated into legends of Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>1113</sup> As conceived in the

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<sup>1109</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 121. Latin : « Quesitum est, etiam ut aliquis de principibus in regem eligeretur, qui civitatem custodiret. Ne communis facta si nobis eam traderet Deus, a nullo custodita communiter, destrueretur. Quibus ab episcopis et a clero responsum est ? Non debere ibi eligere regem ubi Dominus passus et coronatus est. Quod si in corde suo diceret, sedeo super solium David et regnum eius obtineo, deneger a fide et virtute David. Fortassis disperderet eum Dominus et loco et genti irasceret. Propterea clamabat propheta : Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio, qui advenisse cunctis gentibus manifestum erat. Sed esset aliquis advocatus qui civitatem custodiret, et custodibus civitatis tributa regionis divideret, et redditus. Atque his et aliis multis de causis dilatata est electio, et impedita, donec ad octavum diem post captam Iherusalem. Neque solum hoc verum etiam aliud aliquid nobis non proveniebat. Sed labor et tribulatio per singulos dies in populo conduplicabatur. » Raymond, *Liber*, 143.

<sup>1110</sup> Philippe Buc, *L’ambiguïté du Livre: prince, pouvoir, et people dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Age* (Paris : Beauchesne, 1994), 27-8. The Bible is the source book for how kings ought to conduct themselves, but it is also an extremely anti-king book, in that all its kings, even David, are flawed models.

<sup>1111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1112</sup> Buc, “Religion, violence, pouvoir,” 5 ; Rubenstein, “Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Gilles,”; Luc Ferrier, “La couronne refusée de Godefroy de Bouillon: eschatologie et humiliation de la majesté aux premiers temps du Royaume de Jérusalem”, in *Le Concile de Clermont et l’appel à la croisade* (Rome : École française de Rome, 1997) : 245-265 ; John France, “The Election and Title of Godfrey de Bouillon,” *Canadian Journal of History/Annales Canadiennes d’Histoire* XVIII (December 1983): 321-330.

<sup>1113</sup> Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 110-128; Anne E. Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800-1229* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2013), 69-74. In Paris, BNF lat.

eleventh century, the legend promoted the belief that a king of the Franks, as heir to the Roman emperors, would reclaim the Christian world and at the end of his life go to Jerusalem to depose his sceptre and crown on the Mount of Olives.<sup>1114</sup> A king in Jerusalem would violate this model. Instead, the ruler who had the arrogance to crown himself in the city of Christ would be fulfilling the role of the Antichrist, regardless of his original intentions. Raymond of Saint-Gilles, a Provençal Frank steeped in *romanitas*, with his focus on Mount Zion, the burial place of King David, would have been particularly susceptible to the temptations of such a crown, and Raymond d'Aguilers, his priest and chronicler, would have been especially worried about where those temptations might lead.

Before the debate could be settled, the final assault on Jerusalem began. Visionary leaders passed on liturgical instructions to increase the chances for victory. Adhémar of Le Puy appeared to Peter Desiderius, instructing the crusaders to fast for nine days, process barefoot around the city, and then attack.<sup>1115</sup> After agreeing to assault the city, “clergymen with crosses and relics of saints should lead a procession with knights and the able-bodied men following, blowing trumpets, brandishing arms, and marching barefooted.”<sup>1116</sup> They marched up to the Mount of Olives, and the priests, including Raymond d'Aguilers, preached to the assembled army: “We followed the Lord to the spot of the Ascension and since we can do no more, let us forgive those who have hurt us so that almighty God can be merciful to us.”<sup>1117</sup> Shortly thereafter, the assault began in earnest.

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5390, from Fecamp in the late eleventh century, Adso's letter appears alongside the Tiburtine Sibyl and Rodolfus Glaber's *Vita Wilhelmi*, showing a clear interest in and link between the two texts in the time of the First Crusade.

<sup>1114</sup> Gabriele, *Empire of Memory*, 111.

<sup>1115</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 122-3. France, *Victory in the East*, 347-350.

<sup>1116</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 122-3.

<sup>1117</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 123.

When the attack commenced, Raymond and his forces held down the majority of the Fatimid garrison around the Tower of David, where the fighting was fiercest.<sup>1118</sup> This included two-thirds of the city's defensive siege machines, as described in the anonymous Ripoll account of the capture of Jerusalem.<sup>1119</sup> The Tower of David was built of Herodian foundations, over a natural spring, and was an isolated city unto itself, with barracks, a mosque, and independent defences.<sup>1120</sup> With the Tower anchoring one end of the section of wall the Provençals were attacking, and the majority of the Fatimid garrison and siege weapons operating against them, Raymond of Saint-Gilles was faced with an enemy he could not defeat.<sup>1121</sup> That the Provençals could not successfully breach the defences on the sector they were assaulting was not due to weakness, but to having been given the most difficult target to assault. The Ripoll account, clearly an account from an eyewitness part of the Provençal army, reported a seer/guide, given to Raymond by the king of Tripoli, gave a prophecy that encouraged the crusaders to keep fighting, even in the face of increasingly heavy fire:<sup>1122</sup>

Interim venerate dies illa in qua quidam Sarracenus quem Raimundus comes obsidem et previum a rege Tripolis acceperat, ne a nostris ipsi, vel ab ipso nostris aliquid iniurie inferretur, sed et ut exiretur eis obviam dum venirent Ihierusalem a cunctis conterraneis prefati regis queque commercia mutue dando vel accipiendo, sicut et factum est; praedixerat capiendam civitatem.<sup>1123</sup>

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<sup>1118</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 127. The Tower of David was one of the buildings in Jerusalem that had been maintained and expanded under the Fatimid and Seljuk garrisons. See Iris Shagrir, "Adventus in Jerusalem: the Palm Sunday celebration in Latin Jerusalem," *Journal of Medieval History* 41:1 (2015): 2-3. The garrison in the Tower of David were some of the few Fatimid soldiers to survive the siege, as they surrendered to Raymond of Saint Gilles. See Abu-Munshar, "Fatimids," 47.

<sup>1119</sup> Kostick, *The Siege*, 106; John France, "An Unknown Account of the Capture of Jerusalem," *The English Historical Review* 87:345 (Oct. 1972): 778; idem., "The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem in the Ripoll Manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale (Latin) 5132," *The English Historical Review* 103:408 (Jul. 1988): 645; Paris, BNF lat. 5132, f. 16r.

<sup>1120</sup> Kostick, *The Siege*, 59.

<sup>1121</sup> France, *Victory in the East*, 353-355 for the final assault on the Provençal front.

<sup>1122</sup> Other than the two France articles listed in fn 287 and Kostick in *The Siege*, there has been very little work done on the manuscript or the account contained within, something I hope to rectify in future work.

<sup>1123</sup> France, "An Unknown Account," 779; idem., "The Text of the Account," 645-6.

The prophecy, which follows in detail, is a Biblical construction using Old Testament figures that goes on at length, covering two full folia and ending with a properly Christian ending, “Benedictus es Domine, qui non dedisti nos in captionem dentibus eorum.”<sup>1124</sup> While clearly an authorial creation, the association of prophecy and the Provençal army demonstrates that Raymond d’Aguilers was not alone in believing that God had created a special destiny for the Occitanians. The prophecy that the Tripolitan seer gave elaborated on Raymond d’Aguilers typological reading of the First Crusade in the immediate context of the assault on Jerusalem. The Tripolitan seer united the Testaments and the Crusade in that moment, that final assault against the forces of their enemies.<sup>1125</sup> The New Israelites were coming to the city of Christ, no matter what stood in their way; in this case, even against the forces of Antichrist: “Cogitate adversitatem Antichristi et bonitatem Christi.”<sup>1126</sup>

When Tancred and Godfrey broke through the walls, a portion of the garrison continued fighting around Mount Zion, allowing the northern crusaders to break into the city with less resistance. The result was a massacre of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, one that has been a subject of significant historiographical debate in terms of scale. When Fulcher of Chartres arrived to celebrate Christmas months later the remains of the massacre were still making life in the city unbearable: “Oh what a stench there was around the walls of the city, both within and without, from the rotting bodies of the Saracens slain by our comrades at the time of the capture of the city, lying wherever they had been hunted down!”<sup>1127</sup> The Provençal forces took longer to enter

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<sup>1124</sup> France, “The Text of the Account,” 646-8.

<sup>1125</sup> Ibid. France, “An Unknown Account,” 776-7.

<sup>1126</sup> France, “An Unknown Account,” 777; idem., “The Text of the Account,” 652; Paris, BNF lat. 5132, f. 19v.

<sup>1127</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, I. XXXIII.19, p. 132. Among the most important articles in the debate on the massacre are Benjamin K. Zedar, “The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades,” *Crusades* 3 (2004): 15-76; Daniella Talmon-Heller and Benjamin Z. Kedar, “Did muslim survivors of the 1099 massacre of Jerusalem settle in damascus? The true origins of the al-(S)ali. (h)iyya suburb,” *Al-Masaq* 17, no. 2 (Sept. 2005): 165-9; Pnina Arad, “Le modèle des croisés: trois conquêtes de Jérusalem par le texte et par l’image,”

the city. It was shortly after the walls had been breached that news reached them the city was falling, relayed by “a knight, whose name is unknown to me, [who] signalled with his shield from the Mount of Olives to the Count and others to move forward.”<sup>1128</sup> The northern breach likely caused the garrison to abandon their positions, either to retreat to the Tower of David or into the city, allowing the Provençals to mount the walls and partake in the sack. The garrison within the Tower of David continued to hold out, probably reinforced by fleeing members of the forces from elsewhere in the city, where they would stay throughout the sack.<sup>1129</sup> That was the only holy site in the city the Fatimids held on to, as the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa mosque, the other sites of continuing conflict, would become the scene of the most graphic descriptions of the massacre.<sup>1130</sup>

Raymond d’Aguilers’ description of the battle around the Temple Mount famously draws together all of these eschatological and military themes. He writes that when the crusaders arrived at the Temple of Solomon, “the accustomed place for chanting rites and services,” the crusaders “rode in blood to the knees and bridles of their horses. In my opinion this was poetic justice that the Temple of Solomon should receive the blood of pagans who blasphemed God there for many years. Jerusalem was now littered with bodies and stained with blood, and the few

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in *Quand l’Image relit le Texte : Regards croisés sur les manuscrits médiévaux*, eds Sandrine Hériché-Pradeau et Maud Pérez-Simon (Paris : Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2013) : 173-183 ; Kaspar Elm, « *O beatus idus ac prae cateris gloriosas !* Die Eroberung Jerusalems 1099 und der Erst Kreuzzug in der Geschichtsschreibung Raouls von Caen, » in *Es hat sich viel ereignet, Gutes wie Böses: Lateinische Geschichtsschreibung der Spät- und Nachtantike*, eds Gabriele Thome and Jens Holzhausen (Leipzig : K.G. Saur München, 2001), 152-178 ; Thomas F. Madden, « Rivers of Blood : An Analysis on One Aspect of the CrusadeR conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, » *Revista chilena de estudios medievales* 1 (Enero-Junio 2012): 25-37; Konrad Hirschler, “The Jerusalem Conquest of 492/1099 in the Medieval Arabic Historiography of the Crusades: From Regional Plurality to Islamic Narrative,” *Crusades* 13 (2014): 37-76.

<sup>1128</sup> Raymond, *Historia*, 127; Lobrichon, *1099*, 120-1.

<sup>1129</sup> Ibn al-Athir, 21-2. France, *Victory in the East*, 355-7.

<sup>1130</sup> See Tamar Boyadjian, “Bridging East and West: A Study of Crusader Jerusalem in the Literature and Chronicles of the Early Crusade,” PhD diss., UCLA, 2010, 90-2 for ibn al-Athir’s description, and 94-103 for the lament of al-Abiwardi.

survivors fled to the Tower of David and surrendered it to Raymond upon a pledge of security.”<sup>1131</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles had achieved his Apocalypse, as the discussion of the blood is well-known from Revelation 14:20: “And the winepress was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the winepress, even up to the horses’ bridles, for a thousand and six hundred furlongs.” But all was not secure, at least not typologically. In capturing the Tower of David, he had exposed himself to the temptations of David’s pride.

Jerusalem had been taken, the goal of the crusade achieved.<sup>1132</sup> The aftermath would bring about the creation of the crusader states, which maintained a Latin presence in the Levant for two hundred years.<sup>1133</sup> The Provençal First Crusade was almost at an end. Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ role as probable leader of the First Crusade clearly had not survived the journey. There was one last act in the drama of the crusade, however, a final battle and a final assembly that would determine the legacy of the First Crusade.

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<sup>1131</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 127-8. Latin: “Per cadaver vero publice hominum et equitum discursus erat. Sed parva et pauca que adhuc dicimus. Sed ad templum Salomonis veniamus. Ubi suos ritus atque sollempnitates cantare solebant. Sed quid ibi factum est? Si verum dicimus, fidem excedimus. Sed tantum sufficiat, quod in templo et porticu Salomonis equitabatur in sanguine ad genua, et usque ad frenos equorum. Iusto nimirum iudicio, ut locus idem eorum sanguinem exciperet, quorum blasphemias in Deum tam longo tempore pertulerat. Repleta itaque cadaveribus et sanguine civitate, confugerunt aliquanti ad turrem David, et poposcerunt a comite Raimundo securitatis dexteram, et dederunt ei arcem. » Raymond, *Liber*, 150-1.

<sup>1132</sup> William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 16-7.

<sup>1133</sup> The early period would bear the mark of the Provençals who would remain in the Holy Land after the foundation of the crusader states. Two small examples suffice for what requires a longer study, the mid-twelfth century Bible fragment, originally from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, found now in San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Guarneriana, MS III, written in a southern French hand, and the presence of Provençal influence in crusader sculptures, Zehava Jacoby, “The Provençal Impact on Crusader Sculpture in Jerusalem: More Evidence on the Temple Area Atelier,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48:4 (1985): 442-450.

## **Conclusion: The Lance, the Last World Emperor, and the Last Battle of the Provençal Crusade**

The capture of Jerusalem involved a massacre of the Muslim and Jewish population that has inspired an ongoing historiographical debate among crusade scholars. For Raymond d'Aguilers, the conquest of the terrestrial Jerusalem, massacred included, opened the gateway to the celestial city and enabled the arrival of the Kingdom of Heaven. His description of the event combines many of the aspects of Occitanian piety and culture that we have noted throughout this dissertation — a compelling mixture of the sublime and the ecstatic:

A new day, new gladness, new and everlasting happiness, and the fulfillment of our toil and love brought forth new words and songs for all. This day, which I affirm will be celebrated in the centuries to come, changed our grief and struggles into gladness and rejoicing. I further state that this day ended all paganism, confirmed Christianity and restored our faith. 'This is the day which the Lord has made; we shall rejoice and be glad in it,' and deservedly because on this day God shone upon us and blessed us. Many saw Lord Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, in Jerusalem on this day, and many also asserted that he led the way over the walls urging the knights and people to follow him. It is also noteworthy that on this day the apostles were thrown out of Jerusalem and dispersed throughout all the world. On this day the children of the apostles freed the city for God and the Fathers. This day, the Ides of July, shall be commemorated to the praise and glory of the name of God, who in response to the prayers of His church returned in faith and blessing to His children Jerusalem as well as its lands which he had pledged to the Fathers. At this time we also chanted the Office of the Resurrection, since on this day He, who by His might, arose from the dead, restored us through His kindness.<sup>1134</sup>

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<sup>1134</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 128. Latin: "Nova dies, novum gaudium, nova et perpetua leticia laboris atque devotionis consummatio, nova verba nova cantica, ab universis exigebat. Hec inquam dies celebris in omni seculo venturo, omnes dolores atque labores nostros gaudium et exultationem fecit. Dies hec inquam tocus paganitatis exinancio, christianitatis confirmatio, et fidei nostre renovatio. Hec dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et letemur in ea. Et merito. Quia in hac illuxit et benedixit Dominus populo suo. In hac die domnus Ademarus Podiensis episcopus a multis in civitate visus est etiam multi de eo testantur, quod ipse primus murum ascendens, ad ascendendum socios atque populum invitabat. In hac autem die eiecti apostoli ab Ierosolimis per universum mundum dispersi sunt. In hac eadem die apostolorum filii, Deo et patribus urbem et patriam quam iuravit patribus et reddidit in fide et benedictione filiis. In hac die cantavimus officium de resurrectione, quia in hac die ille qui sua virtute a mortuis resurrexit, per gratiam suam resuscitavit. » Raymond, *Liber*, 151.

Such was the result of Jerusalem's conquest. Adhémar of Monteil may not have made it to the Promised Land in his physical form, but the Moses of the New Israel did manage to cross spiritually into Jerusalem at the end. The crusaders were the new Israelites and the new apostles. Upon entering the city, they chanted the office of the Resurrection to mark the end of their eschatological voyage. This is the story of the Provençal Apocalypse, a march through the Old and New Testament, guided by visions of saints, Apostles, ghosts, the Virgin Mary, and Christ Himself. The Kingdom of Heaven had arrived: "this day ended all paganism, confirmed Christianity and restored out faith."

There was still a final act, though, one that risked becoming anticlimactic. Eight days after the capture of Jerusalem, the nobility "turned to the election of a king to run the government, collect the taxes of the region, protect the countryside from further devastation, and to serve as a counselor of the people."<sup>1135</sup> As explained at the end of the last chapter, many clerics had objected strenuously to the idea of a King in Jerusalem, a new David with all of his flaws and foibles. The clergy who attended this new meeting tried to delay the creation of a king by arguing for the election of a spiritual leader first.<sup>1136</sup> Before the capture of Jerusalem, the visionary leadership of priests was a powerful force. Since God's mercy to the crusade was still in doubt, that kind of threat might have worked. With Jerusalem in the hands of the crusaders, however, God's favor had been secured. The reaction on the part of the aristocratic leaders was to hasten the election.

But that process had been difficult, because there were no universally respected ecclesiastical leaders left. Adhemar had died at Antioch, remembered by Raymond d'Aguilers as the one "who had restrained the army, consoling them with admirable acts and sermons, just

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<sup>1135</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 129.

<sup>1136</sup> *Ibid.*



as Moses once did.”<sup>1137</sup> The other papal legate, William of Orange, “a respected man and bishop dedicated to our protection,” had died at Ma’arrat-an-Nu’mān, removing all official papal representatives from the army.<sup>1138</sup> Peter Bartholomew died in disgrace after ‘Arqah, leaving his followers, like Peter Desiderius and Stephen of Valence, as marginal, Provençal figures; on the other side, men like Arnulf of Choques, Robert of Rouen (the bishop of Ramla) and the Bishop of Marturana, the new bishop of Bethlehem (who would disappear before the council) were clearly partisans on the Norman-Frankish-German axis.<sup>1139</sup>

Under these circumstances the election occurred. The assembled clerics and laymen were “disdainful of our advice and protest,” according to Raymond d’Aguilers. The princes offered the crown first to Raymond of Saint-Gilles. Traditional crusade historiography has seen Raymond of Saint-Gilles as being on the margins of the crusade by this point, bereft of his power and the authority imparted to him by Peter Bartholomew. But as I have argued, at Jerusalem he still commanded the single most powerful army in the crusade. His ambition was profound, and the attainment of a crown would have been the final step in transforming his Occitanian holdings into an independent kingdom, bolstered by the prestige of the crusade and the crown of the city of the Passion. But he refused it: “he confessed that he shuddered at the name of king in Jerusalem.”<sup>1140</sup> The last biographers of the Count, the Hills, explained this surprising decision by saying that, “we believe the tradition that [Raymond of Saint-Gilles] was offered the city probably reflects nothing more than the feeling that it was proper that the post should have been offered to him and likewise appropriate that, as a pilgrim, he should refuse it.”<sup>1141</sup> This is

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<sup>1137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1139</sup> Ibid.; John France, “The Election and Title of Godfrey de Bouillon,” *Canadian Journal of History/Annales Canadiennes d’Histoire* 18 (Dec. 1963): 325-6.

<sup>1140</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 129.

<sup>1141</sup> Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, 133.

unconvincing. Raymond of Saint-Gilles was offered the crown of Jerusalem legitimately, as the most powerful remaining noble in the crusade, whose forces made up approximately half of the surviving army.

Why did he turn it down? If we return to the first chapter of this dissertation, we have to accept that Rome and its legacy, both antique and medieval, deeply influenced the world-view of Raymond of Saint-Gilles and his compatriots from the Bas-Rhône. As such, he would have taken the questions of Roman sovereignty and authority seriously. As such, the Last World Emperor problem would have again reared its head. To review, this legend holds that a king of the Franks, as heir to the Roman emperors, would reunite the Christian world during his reign, and at the end of his life go to Jerusalem to depose his sceptre and crown on the Mount of Olives.<sup>1142</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles fit much of this description. He was Frankish; he was attempting to turn himself into a king; and with the former imperial capital of Arles and the Augustan city of Nîmes under his authority, he was a possible heir of the Roman emperors. We should take these political and spiritual ideas seriously. His choice was between being either the Last World Emperor and rejecting the crown after being granted it or else taking the crown and becoming the Antichrist. As Philippe Buc has argued, this fear, of becoming the Antichrist by accepting the crown, provides crucial context for why the ambitious Raymond of Saint-Gilles refused the kingdom when it was offered to him.<sup>1143</sup> Godfrey of Bouillon then donned the mantle of king in full cognizance of the Last World Emperor legend, though he remained cautious and refused actually to wear a crown.<sup>1144</sup> It was the last great liturgical act of the crusade.

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<sup>1142</sup> Gabriele, *Empire of Memory*, 111.

<sup>1143</sup> Buc, "Religion, violence, pouvoir," 5.

<sup>1144</sup> Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 296-301.

Raymond of Saint-Gilles wanted to stay in Jerusalem until Easter, and tried to hold on to the Tower of David, the city citadel he had seized and whose defenders he had ransomed, until then. This became a source of contention between Raymond and the new king, Godfrey, who wanted full possession of his city. Raymond would eventually give the Tower of David to the Bishop of Albara, who promptly gave it over to the new king. No longer a claimant to the throne of David, Raymond instead followed the choreography Peter Bartholomew had long ago drawn up for him. As Raymond of Aguilers describes it, “we made a raft of small branches, placed Raymond on it, and paddled across the river. We then ordered the assembled crowd to pray for the lives of the Count and the other princes. With Count Raymond clad only in shirt and new pants, we carried out the order concerning baptism, but why God’s man, Peter Bartholomew, issued such an order we still have not the slightest idea.”<sup>1145</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ clearly had bought in to the stories of the Arelate prophet enough to follow his commands after death, even after his disgrace. And despite his chaplain’s plain doubts, a significant portion of his army must have expected him to fulfil those instructions. Not just a tool cynically manipulated for his own advancement, the cult of the Holy Lance had become something he genuinely believed in.

Conflict in Jerusalem over the election of Arnulf, and the reclamation of the Tower of David, seems to have pushed Raymond of Saint-Gilles towards a rapid departure back to Occitania, where he would have brought the prestige garnered from the completion of the crusade to bear on his own territorial ambitions. Before he could leave, however, “news came that the king of Babylon had arrived in Ascalon with a large force of pagans with the purpose of

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<sup>1145</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 130-1. I would argue that the baptismal rites may have been an Arelate formula, or at least something from the Bas-Rhône, that would have been unfamiliar to someone from Le Puy en Velay. See Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: baptism and the education of the clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), which includes a substantial list of southern French manuscripts with unique baptismal formulae.

storming Jerusalem, killing all of the Franks twenty years of age and above, and capturing the rest along with their women.” The King of Babylon was the Fatimid caliph, Babylon being the medieval Latin name for Cairo. Given how symbolically charged the name Babylon was, this latest military confrontation had direct bearing on the eschatological program of Raymond d’Aguilers and the Provençals. This battle, perhaps more than Jerusalem, was the Last Battle of the Provençal Apocalypse. From other sources we know that Raymond of Saint-Gilles had not originally agreed to leave Jerusalem to join the crusaders at Ascalon, and only came later, under duress, as they did not believe Babylon was attacking.<sup>1146</sup> Their opponent, Antichrist in the figure of the Caliph of Babylon, was given the characteristics of a religious and secular monster:

Still unsatisfied, he blasphemed God by saying that he would destroy the Lord’s birthplace, the manger where the Lord had lain, the place of the Passion and Golgotha, purportedly the spot where blood gushed from the crucified Lord, the Lord’s burial grave, and all other sacred spots in Jerusalem and its environs. He further boasted that he would unearth these relics, break them into small pieces, and scatter their dust over the sea so that the Franks would no longer search beyond their lands for relics of the Lord now lost in the oblivion of the sea.<sup>1147</sup>

Some of these aspects are reminiscent of the so-called “Mad Caliph” al-Hakim, Fatimid caliph at the turn of the millennium who had ordered the Holy Sepulchre destroyed in 1009. The only two records of this destruction in Latin sources came from southern France, the chroniclers Ademar of Chabannes from Saint-Marital of Limoges, and Rodulfus Glaber of southern Burgundy.<sup>1148</sup> A source from Moissac, discussed in the third chapter of this dissertation, the pseudo-crusade letter of Sergius IV, mentions the need for a military response on the part of the Latin world in

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<sup>1146</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 133, only says that Godfrey went with his forces by himself and then sent back a messenger for all of the other counts.

<sup>1147</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 132.

<sup>1148</sup> Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and tr. John France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), 132-7; Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. Jules Chavanon (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, éditeurs, 1897), 169-71.

response to the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre. Thus another highly eschatological document from Occitania seems to speak directly to events of the crusade.

The crusaders had no choice but to go out and meet the Fatimid army in combat.

Raymond d'Aguilers gives a description of the preparation for the march that is similar to the liturgical processions commanded by the saints at Antioch and around Jerusalem, that:

the assembled crusaders marched barefooted before the Holy Sepulchre and tearfully begged mercy from the Lord, asking Him to free His people whom He had made conquerors in the past. They also beseeched Him not to permit the further profanation of the place of His sanctification, which had just been purified for His name's sake. Then we came to the Temple of the Lord barefooted, imploring His mercy with songs, hymns, and saintly treasures, and there in soul and body poured forth our prayers before God. We urged that He remember the pouring forth of His blessing in the same place: 'If your people have sinned against you and changing have done penance and coming have prayed in this place, listen to them from heaven, Oh! Lord, and free them from the hands of their enemies.'<sup>1149</sup>

Having attained the terrestrial Jerusalem, the crusaders could make their most potent prayers at the sites of the greatest spiritual power in Christendom, the Holy Sepulchre. To a degree, all saint's shrines offered an opening into heaven. The Holy Sepulcher would seem to have provided a grand gate, perhaps now on the verge of opening wide. The mechanics of prayer at Christ's tomb fit neatly into Raymond d'Aguilers' typological reading of the First Crusade as a sacred voyage through space, time, and religion. Having fulfilled the promises and predictions of both testaments, Ascalon would be the final act in Raymond's account, the Last Battle between the forces of God (the crusaders) and the Antichrist (the Fatimids) to bring about the celestial Jerusalem that visionary priests had been promising the army and pushing them towards.

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<sup>1149</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia*, 132-3. Latin: "congregati sunt nostri principes et clerus et nudis pedibus incedentes ante sepulchrum Domini cum multis orationibus et lacrimis, misericordiam a Domino deprecabantur ut populum suum modo liberaret quem actenus victorem de omnibus fecerat. Et qui locum sanctificationis sue modo mundaverat ulterius contaminari propter nomen suum non pateretur. Post hec similiter nudis pedibus incedentes, in psalmis, et ymnis, et sanctorum presidiis misericordiam Dei appellantes ad templum Domini venimus. Ibiqum animo et corpore ante Deum fusi, ut benedictionis sue ibidem effuse recordaretur. Si peccaverit in te populus tuus et conversus egerit penitentiam, veniensque oraverit in loco isto, tu exaudies de celo Domine et libera eum de manibus inimicorum suorum. » Raymond, *Liber*, 155-6.

Whatever its problems of credibility, the cult of the Holy Lance was still very present among the followers of Count Raymond: “the leaders issued a call to the able bodied, prayed to God, marched out of Jerusalem in full armor carrying the Holy Lance, and on the same day came to the plains.”<sup>1150</sup> The non-Provençals likely marched behind the fragment of the True Cross, showing once again the divisions within the crusade. With their miraculous totems ahead of them, the crusaders camped outside of Ascalon, preparing for the fight. The night before battle, they “forgave one another sins of commission and omission,” and were reassured because that believed “that God was with us as in other trials and that on account of the pagan’s blasphemy He would on His own initiative punish them even if our cause was weak. Thus we preferred to think of God as defender and ourselves as His helper.”<sup>1151</sup> Their confessions given, and God firmly on their side, they slept, to wake at dawn for the final confrontation.

For Raymond d’Aguilers and probably for Raymond of Saint-Gilles, the battle of Ascalon was a battle between Christianity and Islam in its most primal form. The chronicler writes that when they set out, they “moved toward the camp of Mohammed,” and their preparations for battle are described as involving “Stargazers and soothsayers,” once again conflating Islam and “paganism.”<sup>1152</sup> The crusaders, on the other hand, “moved forward in nine ranks,” the number of so-called “Fruits of the Holy Spirit,” those being joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control, as described in Galatians 5:22-3.<sup>1153</sup> God supported the advance of his faithful followers with miracles, bringing the animals around the armies into herds that “followed us, stood when we stood, ran when we ran, and

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<sup>1150</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 133.

<sup>1151</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 134.

<sup>1152</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 134-5.

<sup>1153</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia*, 135.

marched forward when we marched forward,” aiding the crusaders in battle.<sup>1154</sup> This is reminiscent of Revelation 5:13, where all animals praise God and give their obedience to him. If this were the final battle of the Apocalypse, then the obedient service of animals is in line with the marshalling of heavenly forces, as well as harkening back to the Garden of Eden, when pre-Lapsarian Adam could expect animals to obediently march before him while he gave them names.

From other sources, we know that Raymond of Saint-Gilles fought heroically, catching one of the flanks of the Egyptian army against the sea and slaughtering them.<sup>1155</sup> Raymond d’Aguilers’ chronicle does not go into details of the battle. Immediately after Ascalon, it seemed to be beginning a new story of what happened afterwards, but ended on that same folio. After the chronicle, however, there remains another written source from Raymond d’Aguilers, the letter of Daimbert of Pisa, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and King Godfrey to the new pope Pascal II.<sup>1156</sup> The letter emphasizes the apocalyptic aspects of the *Liber*, placing Ascalon as only the sixth of seven apocalyptic battles, though it is clearly listed under the heading of eschatological event.<sup>1157</sup> It acts as a fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy in its opening: “Multiply your supplications and prayers in the sight of God with joy and thanksgiving, since God has manifested His mercy in fulfilling by our hands what He had promised in ancient times.”<sup>1158</sup> In its description of the crusade, it once again emphasizes the important of the Holy Lance, even after the crusade: “But God looked down upon His people whom He had so long chastised and mercifully consoled them. Therefore, He at first revealed to us, as a recompense for our

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<sup>1154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1155</sup> Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 310.

<sup>1156</sup> The translation of the letter is in *Translation and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* (Philadelphia: Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1894), vol. 1, no. 4, 8-11; the Latin edition, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100. Eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck: Verlag de Wagner’schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901), 161-174, 371-403.

<sup>1157</sup> Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 310; Lobrichon, *Jérusalem 1099*, 25-30.

<sup>1158</sup> Lobrichon, *Jérusalem*, 27; *Translations and Reprints*, 8. The specific Old Testament prophecies are Isaiah 52 and 60, and Zachariah 8: 7-8 and 22.

tribulation and as a pledge of victory, His lance which had lain hidden since the days of the apostles.”<sup>1159</sup> Even after the crusade, the miraculous gift of God to his army, the Holy Lance, was being held up as the definitive relic to Pope Pascal.

The Provençal First Crusade had been a very particular kind of journey. Begun under the direction of the reforming pope Urban II, who had promoted Adhémar of Le Puy and Raymond of Saint-Gilles as the Moses and Aaron of a Reformist, it sought to advance papal ends and provide aid to Byzantium. Through the intervention of Peter Bartholomew and his associates, all from Occitania, it became a venture equal parts military and visionary — an eschatological march to the Apocalypse, one guided by the prophet of the Holy Lance from Antioch to ‘Arqah. But those Occitanian priests could not maintain their hold on the army all the way to Jerusalem. Still, their vision remained both powerful, both among soldiers and historians. All of the eyewitness chroniclers — Raymond, the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, and Peter Tudebode — joined the great eschatological pilgrimage under Raymond of Saint-Gilles’ leadership. Raymond d’Aguilers’ chronicle of these events, while marginal in much modern historiography, was a representative text of the latter part of the crusade, and its earliest surviving manuscript, crafted in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and sent back as part of the authoritative history of the First Crusade, shows how important it was in the early twelfth century.<sup>1160</sup>

Raymond d’Aguilers’ chronicle was written shortly after the battle of Ascalon. It was truly the book of the Holy Lance, written after it was found, and carrying the story only as far as it would go. In the chronicle itself, Ascalon is the Last Battle, and there is no reason to believe Raymond d’Aguilers’ continued writing long after that battle ended. His story had been told. It

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<sup>1159</sup> *Translations and Reprints*, 9.

<sup>1160</sup> Paris BNF lat. 14378 ; the letter of Daimbert was likewise exceedingly influential, as it was the official history of the Crusade sent to the new Pope by the new papal legate, written by Raymond d’Aguilers and bearing the viewpoint of the prophetic crusade.



was not only certainly completed before 1105, when Raymond of Saint-Gilles died, the generally acknowledged *terminus ante quem*, but also before 1101, when the Holy Lance was lost in combat in Anatolia during the disastrous Crusade of 1101. Belief in the relic would have been shaken as much by that event as by anything that had happened to the visionary who discovered it. The lack of reflection on such a loss suggests the chronicle was finished beforehand.

Raymond of Saint-Gilles would remain in the East, take part in the disastrous Crusade of 1101 where he would lose the Holy Lance, and would be in the process of constructing the County of Tripoli when he died in 1105. He was a Provençal prince, the wealthiest and most powerful noble of the First Crusade and, despite not becoming King of Jerusalem by his own choice, a man who could have left the Holy Land with added prestige and his power intact. His adult son, Bertrand of Saint-Gilles, had successfully defended their interests in Europe against the invasion of William IX of Aquitaine, whom Raymond fought alongside in 1101.<sup>1161</sup> William of Malmesbury wrote that, “Not long after that, in consideration of his grey hairs, he vowed to make the journey to Jerusalem, that his bodily strength, weary and worn out as it was, might even at that late hour be devoted to the service of God.”<sup>1162</sup> Contrary to this assertion, there was every indication that in 1101 Raymond of Saint-Gilles was en route back to Provence to deposit the Holy Lance outside of Arles.<sup>1163</sup> Why he stayed has to remain speculation. I believe that after the loss of the Holy Lance, Raymond felt he needed some to accomplish some other achievement whose news he could back to return to Occitania. Had he brought the Holy Lance

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<sup>1161</sup> Gérard Pradalié, “Les comtes de Toulouse et l’Aquitaine (IXe-XIIe siècles),” *Annales du Midi* 117 (Janvier-Mars 2005) : 12-18.

<sup>1162</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum, The History of the English Kings*, Vol. 1, ed. and tr. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1998), 696-7. Latin text: “Nec multo post, niuem capitis respiciens, Ierosolimitanum iter uouit, ut lassus et effetus corporis uires iam uel sero Deo deseruirent.”

<sup>1163</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum, The History of the English Kings*, Vol. 1, ed. and tr. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 695-7.

back to Arles, the successful crusader could have united his disparate realms into an independent principality, bolstered by a relic claimed by the Ottonian kings and Byzantine emperors, though Raymond's version of the relic would have had claims to authenticity surpassing either of the imperial relics. With it, he might have welded together a new kingdom of Arles that would have been Occitanian, with visual reminders of Rome that might compete with either his Greek or German rivals. Instead, he would spend the last years of his life building a nascent county of Tripoli, with its strong point the port of Tortosa, home to the earliest Marian shrine. This realm would be integrated with his Provençal holdings, the churches associated with his youth: donations to Saint-Victor of Marseilles, to Saint-Ruf d'Avignon, and a serment given to one of the Provençal lords for the territories along the coast near Marseilles. When Raymond died his final will was recorded by the Porcellet family of Arles. The document is still extant in the municipal library in Avignon and copied as well by the cathedral chapter of Arles into their twelfth-century cartulary *Autograph B*, among others.<sup>1164</sup> In it, Raymond calls himself, "Ego Raimundus Sancti Aegidii comes," retaining on his death-bed his first title solely, and writing to the church of Arles, where the Holy Lance was supposed to have gone.<sup>1165</sup> He reconciles himself with the new archbishop, Gibellus of Arles, the first reformist archbishop of the city, and returns all that he had taken from the archbishopric and the city. He explains this final bequest by saying,

Precor denique Bertrannum & omnes successores & homines & amicos meos, ut si forte debiti vel cujuslibet occasionis impedimentum in praedictis honoribus factum est, pro amore Dei & pro remedio animae meae & pro recordatione beneficiorum quae erga eos aliquando exhibui, illud exsolvant & ad usus sanctae Arelatensis ecclesiae illud restituant, & a modo inde ei veri amici & fideles adjutores & firmissimi defensores in perpetuum

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<sup>1164</sup> Martin Aurell, *Actes de la Famille Porcelet d'Arles (972-1320)* (Paris : C.T.H.S., 2001), 34-5 ; the Avignon copy is Avignon, BM MS 4903; *Autograph B* of the cartulary of Arles is Marseilles, AD Bouches-du-Rhone, 3 G 17, p. 19-20.

<sup>1165</sup> *HGL* V, no. 420, col. 791.

existant. Si quis vero mortalium hujus mei testamenti constitutionem cassare vel infirmate tentaverit, etc.<sup>1166</sup>

Raymond ends his life thinking of his eldest son, his legacy, and the people of his realm, the fate of his soul, and the restoration of the church of Arles, the city where the Lance was intended to be and where he might have built his Provençal kingdom, commending it to its “true friends and faithful believer and strong defenders” to protect it forever. For the Provençal lord, even from his castle on Mont Peregrinorum in Syria outside of Tripoli, he would send his final words, prayers and bequests to Arles, right across from his holdings in the Bas-Rhône, under the name of the Count of Saint-Gilles. It was the final act in the performance of the Provençal crusade, a crusade lost to modern historiography but one whose character, customs, and significance this dissertation has hopefully called back to historical memory.

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<sup>1166</sup> *HGL* V, no. 420, col. 792.

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## Appendix

Charters of Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Texts of his Life

I. August 1048—Charter in favor of the abbey of Lézat, in the presence of Raymond

HGL V, no. 228, col. 456, PDF 278

Paris, BNF lat. 9189, cartulaire de l'abbaye de Lézat, 13<sup>th</sup> c., f. 209v.

II. 9 June 1063—Confirmation of the Union of the Abbey of Moissac to Cluny

HGL V, no. 265, col. 522, PDF 311

Cartulaire de saint Odilon, a l'abbaye de Cluny; Baluze, *Miscellanea*, t. 6, p. 467

III. Aout 1065, 1st proper Raymond—Union of the monastery of Goudargues to Cluny

HGL V, no. 270, col. 531, PDF 316

Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cluny; D. Martene, *Thesaurus novae anecdotum*, t. 1, p. 190

IV. Vers 1066—Accord between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Guifred archbishop of Narbonne, I and II

HGL V, no. 273, col. 535, PDF 318

Archives de la vicomte de Narbonne, n. 7, and serments de fidelite n. 7—Baluze, *Armoires*, v. 392, n. 585.

V. 6 Octobre 1066—Accords between Guifred, archbishop of Narbonne, and the viscount of the city

HGL V, no. 275, col. 540, PDF 320

Archives de l'archeveque de Narbonne; Baluze, *Concilia Galliae Narbonensis*, *Append.* p. 79

VI. 15 December 1066—Union of the abbey of Saint-Gilles to Cluny

HGL V, no. 276, col. 542, PDF 321

Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cluny; Baluze, *Miscellanea*, t. 6, p. 480 & seq.

VII. Vers 1070—Accord entre Raimond de Saint-Gilles & l'archeveque d'Arles

HGL V, no. 298, col. 584, PDF 342

Cartulaire noir de l'église d'Arles, f. 11 & suiv.

VIII. 7 September 1071—Accord between William, count of Toulouse, & Raymond, count of Barcelona, concerning the Lauragias

HGL V, no. 301, col. 588, PDF 344

Chateau de Foix, original, caisse 20, & cartulaire, caisse 15; aujourd'hui Trésor des chartes, J. 879, n. 8. P d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, t. 10, p. 162 & seq.

VIII. Vers 1074—Donations de Roger II, comte de Foix, a l'abbaye de Saint-Pons de Thomieres, II

HGL V, no. 312.II, col. 608, PDF 354

Chateau de Foix, caisse 20; copied dans la collection Doat, Paris, BNF v. 72, f 184v and 182

IX. Vers 1076—Promesse de Raimond de Saint-Gilles de proteger Guillaume de Montpellier & son aïeule

HGL V, no. 323, col. 624, PDF 362

Manuscrits d'Aubays, n. 81

X. Vers 1077—Etablissements des chanoines reguliers dans la cathedrale de Toulouse

HGL V, no. 325, col. 626, PDF 363

Archives de l'abbaye de Moissac, & bibliotheque du roi, copie originale, Baluze, *Affaires ecclesiastiques*, n. 1 [Auj. *Armoires*, v. 388, no. 325]

XI. Vers 1077—Promesse de Raimond de Saint-Gilles à Ermengarde, vicomtesse de Nimes, Bèzeirs etc.

HGL V, no. 328, col. 635, PDF 368

Trésors des chartes du roi; Toulouse, sac 13, n. 101 [J. 322]

XII. 27 June 1077—Plaid tenu par Raimond de Saint-Gilles, etc.

HGL V, no. 333, col. 642, PDF 371

Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques, & copie dans la collection Doat, Paris, BNF v. 143, f. 165 bis

XIII. 16 June 1080—Chartes de Guillaume IV, duc & comte de Toulouse, en faveur de l'abbaye de Saint-Pons

HGL V, no. 336 II & III, col. 649, PDF 375

Trésor des chartes du roil Toulouse, sac. 8, n. 1 [J. 317.] ; Cartulaire de Saint-Pons, cop. Paris, BNF lat. 12760, p. 508

XIV. 1084—Abandon fait par Raimond de Saint-Gilles du droit qu'il avait sur la dépouille des évêques de Béziers

HGL V, no. 359, col. 685, PDF 393

Cartulaire de la cathédrale de Béziers, & copie dans la collection Doat, Paris, BNF v. 62, f. 112

XV. 28 December 1084—Union of Saint-Baudile of Nimes to La Chaise Dieu

HGL V, no. 362, col. 691, PDF 396

Archives de l'abbaye de la Chaise-Dieu—Le Puy, AD Haute-Loire 1 H 179

XVI. 1085—Confirmation de la fondation de l'abbaye de Saint-Pons par Raimond de Saint-Gilles

HGL V, no. 366, col. 697, PDF 399

Cartulaire de l'église de Saint-Pons ;

XVII. April 1, 1087—Extraits de diverses chartes [Adhemar of Le Puy]

HGL V, no. 367, col. 699, PDF 400

Archives du monastere de Chanteuge

XVIII. 1088-1096, since we don't know—Donation de Raymond de Saint-Gilles, a l'abbaye de Saint-Andre d'Avignon

HGL V, no. 372 I, col. 707, PDF 404

Archives de l'abbaye de Saint-Andre d'Avignon ;

XIX. 1088-1096—Donation de Raymond de Saint-Gilles a l'abbaye de Saint-Andre d'Avignon

HGL V, no. 372 II, col. 708, PDF 404

Archives de l'abbaye de Saint-Andre d'Avignon

XX. 28 July 1094—Charte de Raymond de Saint-Gilles en faveur de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseilles

HGL V, no. 386, col. 731, PDF 416

Archives de Saint-Victor de Marseille, Grand Cartulaire f. 152, cartulaire imprime, t. 2, p. 25

XXI. March 1094—Charte de Raymond de Saint-Gilles en faveur de l'abbaye de Psalmodi

HGL V, no. 387, col. 733, PDF 417

Archives de l'abbaye de Psalmodi

XXII. June 1095—Contract of marriage between Bertrand, son of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and Helen of Burgundy

HGL V, no. 389, col. 738, PDF 419

Paris, BNF fr. 2638, p. 165 ; Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méj.

XXIII. July 6 1096—Dotation de l'église de Nimes, par Raymond de Saint-Gilles, lorsqu'elle fut consacree par Urbain II

HGL V, no. 392, col. 742, PDF 421

Cartulaire de la cathedrale de Nimes—Nimes, AD Gard, G 131 f. 4r & 99r copy XVIIIe s., G 133 f. 58r-v original

XXIV. July 12, 1096—Chartes de Raymond de Saint-Gilles en faveur de l'abbaye de Saint-Gilles, avec la confirmation du pape Urbain II

HGL V, no. 393, col. 743, PDF 422, no. 1

Labbe, *Conciles*, t. 12, c. 609 & suiv. ; Nimes, AD Gard, H 785 for 17th c. copy no. 1, no. 2 bulle of Urban II confirming privileges vs. others

XXV. July 22, 1096—Ibid.

HGL V, no. 393, col. 744, PDF 422, no. 2

Collationné sur le manuscrit Paris, BNF lat. 11018, f. 213

XXVI. 1096—Notice de la donation de l'église de Beaucaire, faite par Raimond de Saint-Gilles à l'abbaye de la Chaise-Dieu

HGL V, no. 394, col. 746, PDF 423

Communique par M. le marquis de Maillanes-Porcellets, autrefois aux archives de la sénéchaussée de Nimes, sac de Beaucaire

XXVII. 1096—Donation de Raymond de Saint-Gilles a l'église du Puy

HGL V, no. 395, col. 747, PDF 424

Archives de l'église du Puy

XXVIII. 1097—Donation de Raymond de Saint-Gilles a Saint-Andre d'Avignon

Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine MS 515, p. 651

XXVIII. 17 January 1103—Donation faite par Raimond de Saint-Gilles de la moitié de Gibellet, a l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille

HGL V, no. 414, col. 779, PDF 440

Archives de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille, Grand Cartulaire f. 184 r-v, cartulaire imprime t. 2 n. 802 p. 151

XXIX. 1103—Serment prêté à Raymond de Saint-Gilles marquis de Provence par Pons, fils de Garsie, de tenir fidèlement les châteaux de Fos, Hyères et Aix.

Archives nationales, J329/22

XXX. 1103—Donation of a church by Raymond of Saint-Gilles to Sainte-Marie-Latine of Jerusalem

Jean Richard, “Le chartrier de Sainte-Marie-Latine et l’établissement de Raymond de Saint-Gilles a Mont-Pelerin, » in *Orient et Occident au moyen age : contact et relations (XIIe-XVe s.)*, p. 605-612

XXXI. 1103~1105—Donation of a church by Raymond of Saint-Gilles to Saint-Ruf d’Avignon

Ulysses Chevalier, *Codex diplomaticus ordinis Sancti Rufi* (Valence, 1891) : p. 18, n. 14.

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XXXII. 31 January 1105—Codicille de Raimond de Saint-Gilles, comte de Toulouse, etc.

HGL V, no. 420, col. 791, PDF 446

Archives de l’église d’Arles



## Vita

Thomas Lecaque was born January 22, 1985 in Boulogne-Billancourt, France. A child of two academics, he spent the first year of his life in Veliko Tarnovo, Bulgaria, before moving to the United States. He grew up in Kirksville Missouri, graduating from Kirksville Senior High School in 2003. Thomas attended Tulane University in New Orleans from 2003 to 2005, majoring in Theater and History. He transferred to Truman State University in 2005, following Hurricane Katrina, and graduated in 2008 with a Bachelor's degree in History, with a minor in Philosophy & Religion. In 2010, Thomas graduated with a Master's degree in English from Truman State University, having written a thesis entitled "Everything Made by Hand Perishes: The Cycle of Entropy in Wace's *Roman de Brut*," which was the department's Distinguished Master's Thesis of that year.

Thomas started a PhD in History at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville in the Fall of 2010, as a recipient of the Newton W. and Wilma C. Thomas Graduate Fellowship. Since that time, he has presented at ten professional conferences in the United States, United Kingdom and Bulgaria. He received the Galen Broeker Graduate Student Research Fellowship in the summer of 2013 to spend two and a half months doing primary research in France, and the Etienne Gilson Dissertation Grant from the Medieval Academy of America and the W.K. McClure Scholarship for the Study of World Affairs to spend the months of November 2014 and February 2015 in France, Switzerland and the United Kingdom doing archival work. In his final year of dissertation work, Thomas was supported by the Jimmy and Dee Haslam Dissertation Fellowship from the Marco Institute, successfully defending this dissertation May 22, 2015.