

The Use of *Chanson de geste* Motifs in the

Latin Texts of the First Crusade,

c.1095-1145



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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Simon Parsons, declare that this thesis consists entirely of my own work. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is clearly demarcated in the text and notes.

Signed.....

Dated.....

ABSTRACT

The relationship between the earliest Latin texts on the subject of the First Crusade and the genre of French vernacular epic poetry known as the *chansons de geste* has been frequently asserted in previous scholarship, but without sustained or meaningful analysis of the nature of any resemblance. These posited relationships have been claimed without detailed consideration of the genres as a whole. Instead, individual works have been viewed in comparative isolation. This thesis, which constitutes an original assessment of this historiographical position by relating it to the real natures of the two genres under discussion, seeks to redress these inadequacies in the scholarly study of the crusade texts, and position both genres within the literary culture of the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries. Seventeen key Latin texts and several shorter works written or composed in the period under investigation are the subject of analysis alongside a wide range of *chansons de geste*. The conclusion is reached that the postulated relationship is, in most but not all of the ways previously considered, a meaningful one, and that texts across the Latin crusading genre are profoundly influenced by the vernacular epic. It is further shown that the resemblance is greater at certain narrative points, denser in epic phrasings and references across the corpus, than others: in particular Dorylaeum, Antioch, and Ascalon. In part, this provides rare additional evidence for the debate about the genesis and development of the Latin genre, which has long been hypothesized to be linked to vernacular retellings, either oral or written. Furthermore, the systematic analysis of this relationship elucidates the poorly understood processes of textual memorialization of the First Crusade, and suggests that the participants of the expedition, or the redactors of the texts, were semiotically prepared to experience the crusade in accordance with existing epic models.

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Dedicated to my parents, Chris and Janice Parsons.

Je n'ai fait celle-ci plus longue que parce que je n'ai pas eu le loisir de la faire plus courte.

Blaise Pascal

~

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Translations are provided for foreign language quotations in Appendix C. The existence of a translation is signalled in the footnotes by the typographic asterisk (*) following the footnote number. These correspond to numbered translations in the appendix presented following the typographic symbol for ‘number’ (N^o).

Italic font is used for foreign language quotations, due to their high volume, to differentiate them from the body text.

ABBREVIATIONS

Used solely in footnotes.

AA = Susan B. Edgington, ed. *Albert of Aachen: Historia Ierosolimitana. History of the Journey to Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

AER = *Aspects de l'épopée romane: Mentalités, idéologies, intertextualités*, ed. Hans Van Dijk and Willem Noomen (Groningen: Forsten, 1995).

Aliscans = Claude Régnier, ed. *Aliscans*, 2 vols (continuously numbered). (Paris: Champion, 1990)

Antioche = Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham, *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

AntiocheDuparc = Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, ed. *La Chanson d'Antioche: Édition* (Paris: Geuthner, 1976)

APC = *Autour de la première croisade: Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996).

Aspremont = François Suard, *Aspremont: Chanson de geste du XII^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2008).

Boydell = Boydell & Brewer.

BB = Steven Biddlecombe, ed. *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014).

BN = "Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux, vol. 3* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866).

CC = *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade: Actes du colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995) organisé et publié avec le concours du Conseil Régional d'Auvergne*, ed. Georges Duby, Gabriel Fournier, and Jean Richard (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997).

CCM = *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*.

Charroi = Duncan McMillan, ed. *Le Charroi de Nîmes: Chanson de geste du XII^e siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1972)

CMR = *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, III*, ed. David Thomas, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

COHE = *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays: Presented to Dana C. Munro by His Former Students*, edited by Louis J. Paetow (New York: Crofts, 1928).

Couronnement = Yvan G. LePage, ed. *Les Rédactions en vers du Couronnement de Louis* (Geneva: Droz, 1978).

CUP = Cambridge University Press.

EA = "Ekkehardi abbatis Uraugiensis Hierosolymita," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux, vol. 5* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1895).

EHR = *English Historical Review*.

Epistulae = Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed. *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacrae spectantes: Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901).

FC = Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed. *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1913).

FCOI = *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

Fierabras = Marc Le Person, ed. *Fierabras: Chanson de geste du XII^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2003).

GF = Rosalind Hill, trans. & Roger Mynors, ed., *Gesta Francorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (London: Nelson, 1962).

Girart = Winifred Mary Hackett, *Girart: Chanson de geste*, 3 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1955). Without indication otherwise, the first volume is that cited.

GN = Robert B. C. Huygens, ed. *Guibert de Nogent Dei gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996).

Gormont = Alphonse Bayot, ed. *Gormont et Isembart: Fragment de chanson de geste du xii^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1969).

GP = Christopher W. Grocock and Elizabeth Siberry, eds., *The Historia vie Hierosolimitane of Gilo of Paris and a Second, Anonymous Author* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Guillaume = Philip E. Bennett, ed. *La Chanson de Guillaume* (London: Grant & Cutler, 2000).

HBS = Edoardo D'Angelo, ed. *Hystoria de via et recuperatione Antiochiaie atque Ierusalymarum (olim Tudebodus imitatus et continuatus): I Normanni d'Italia alla prima Crociata in una cronaca cassinese* (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2009).

HH = Diana E. Greenway, ed. *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum. The History of the English People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

JG = *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Luis García-Guijarro (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

JMH = *Journal of Medieval History*.

LE(Vol. in Roman Numerals) = Joseph Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques: Recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste*, 4 vols., 3rd ed. (Paris: Champion, 1926-9).

NDCGE(Vol. in Roman Numerals) = André de Mandach, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe* (Geneva: Droz, 1975-1993).

OUP = Oxford University Press/Clarendon Press.

OV = Marjorie Chibnall, ed. *Orderici Vitalis Historia Ecclesiastica. The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, vol. 5: Books 9 and 10* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

PA = "Peregrinatio Antiochie." In *St. Catharine's College, Cambridge 3*. (MS)

Pèlerinage = Glyn Sheridan Burgess and Anne Elizabeth Cobby, eds., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne and Aucassin and Nicolette* (New York: Garland, 1988).

PMLAA = Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.

Prise = Claude Régnier, ed. *Les Rédactions en vers de la Prise d'Orange* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1966).

PT = John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill, eds., *Petrus Tudebodus: Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* (Paris: Geuthner, 1977).

RA = John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill, eds., *Le « Liber » de Raymond d'Aguilers* (Paris: Geuthner, 1969)

Raoul = Sarah Kay, ed. *Raoul de Cambrai* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)

RBPH = *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*.

RHC Occ./Or. (Vol. Number) = *Recueil des historiens des croisades occidentaux/orientaux*.

RM = Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, eds., *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013).

RMS = Reading Medieval Studies

Roland = "The Oxford Version," in *The Song of Roland: The French Corpus*, ed. Ian Short and Joseph J. Duggan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

Tancredus = Edoardo D'Angelo, ed. *Radulphi Cadomensis Tancredus* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011)

WEC = *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014)

WM = Ralph A. B. Mynors, Rodney M. Thomson, and Michael Winterbottom, eds., *William of Malmesbury: Gesta regum Anglorum. The History of the English Kings. Vol. 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

ZRP = *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*

TERMS

I write 'Latin crusade texts' or 'histories' rather than 'crusade sources' (which implies that they exist to be stripped of useful information to achieve historical knowledge) or 'crusade chronicles'. Only two of the main texts under discussion are chronicles, in that they are divided by year rather than topically, Ekkehard of Aura, and the anonymous Montecassino chronicle. Even Ekkehard found this medium unsatisfactory for the recording of the events of the crusade, and rewrote his crusade material as a coherent postscript in many manuscripts. The word, 'chronicle' then, is considered by this thesis to be an unsatisfactory description of the Latin crusade texts.¹

When 'Frank' is used, it is in a medieval sense, with a wider meaning than 'French'. Notker's *Gesta* elucidates that the term applied to all those who lived in *cisalpinas provincias*, and linked it with the one-time rule of Charlemagne (p.123).² As Matthew Gabriele summarizes: 'At the end of the ninth century, being a Frank seems to have meant consciously associating oneself with a larger, European identity and with an idealized memory of Charlemagne's reign.'³ Investigating the heavy usage of the term in the crusade texts, Marcus Bull has explicitly linked martial prowess and the use of the term 'Franci': 'Franci as a collectivity were distinguished by their pre-eminence as warriors.'⁴ *Franci* was a 'mark of quality' as much as a specific mark of regional identity, and the term has pronounced relevance to Charlemagne, and hence, the *chansons de geste*.

For convenience, and so as not to impose modern categorizations on a medieval paradigm, the term 'pagans' will be used as it was by medieval authors: to denote a large number of various classifications of foreigners, including Saracens, Arabs, Syrians, Turks, Moors, Berbers – in essence, the non-Frankish man, not part of Charlemagne's subjects, and the Other in a philosophical sense.

¹ For explorations of the definition of chronicle, see both Richard W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski, "The History and Origins of the Latin Chronicle Tradition," *The Medieval Chronicle* 6 (2009); David Dumville, "What is a Chronicle?," *The Medieval Chronicle* 2 (2002).

^{2*} Hans Frieder Haefele, ed. *Notker der Stammler: Taten Kaiser Karls des Grossen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959), 13.

³ Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 23 and see more generally 130-139. Also useful are Peter Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen: Der erste Kreuzzug in der deutschen Chronistik* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1966), 92-3, 97-8; Marcus Bull, "Overlapping and Competing Identities in the Frankish First Crusade," in CC; Michel Balard, "Gesta Dei per Francos: L'usage de mot 'Francs' dans les chroniques de la première croisade," in *Clovis: Histoire et Mémoire. Le Baptême de Clovis, son écho à travers l'histoire*, ed. Michel Rouche (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997).

⁴ Bull, "Overlapping," 205.

The very homogenization of these groups shows the generalization which is a consistent feature of their portrayal.

For clarity, this thesis uses the taxonomy of John France to describe the various battles which took place around Antioch. Hence, the 'Foraging Battle' refers to the engagement of the Crusader foraging force on the 30th of December 1097; the 'Lake Battle' to that of the 9th of February 1098 against Ridwan of Aleppo; the 'Bridge Battle' to that of the 6th of March 1098 against a pagan sally out of Antioch; and the 'Great Battle' or simply 'Battle' of Antioch, to the final engagement against Kerbogha on the 28th of June 1098.⁵

⁵ See, for each engagement respectively, John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 240-241, 249-251, 254-255, and 283-290.

INTRODUCTION

No group of twelfth-century Latin texts have been so deeply studied, analysed, and assessed as those describing the course of the First Crusade.⁶ It is therefore with some trepidation I add my own contribution to a generally overworked field. Further work is necessary, however, because relatively little of the extensive literature (mostly concerned with assessing reliability, primacy, and historicity) has dealt with the issue of style, or the genre's place in contemporary literary culture. Thirteen central Latin texts written within fifty years of the event, with the addition of several other works containing narratives of the crusade as part of a larger project, constitute a remarkably coherent literary genre. That so many texts should emerge from the aftermath of a single contemporary event is remarkable, and unique in terms of scale in the Middle Ages.⁷ Understanding these texts, not just as source material for our knowledge of the crusade, but as epic, historical, and narratorial works in their own right, positions this flourishing of literary activity within the intellectual culture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁸

There have, however, been comments on the style of the crusade texts. Nearly every editor or scholar who has investigated these Latin works has commented to some extent on the 'heroic' or 'epic' style of, at least, certain passages. Many have gone even further, attempting to link the crusade texts with the dominant popular genre of French vernacular epic, the *chansons de geste*. The broader contention has been that there are stylistic similarities between the two genres, and that *chanson de geste* motifs are utilized in crusade sources. It is this assertion which this thesis shall address, through a thorough analysis of the texts involved, establishing the validity of previous assumptions. As such, this study constitutes an assessment of the historiographical position that the crusade texts possess stylistic similarities with the *chansons de geste*.

A starting point is provided by six influential articles. The first, Joseph Duggan's 'Medieval Epic as Popular Historiography: Appropriation of Historical Knowledge in the Vernacular Epic', in

⁶ Jean Flori, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes: Introduction critique aux sources de la première croisade* (Geneva: Droz, 2010), 8.

⁷ Marcus Bull, "The Western Narratives of the First Crusade," in *CMR*, 15.

⁸ "The Eyewitness Accounts of the First Crusade as Political Scripts," *RMS* 36 (2010).

1986, provided a new understanding of the *chansons de geste*'s relationship with history. By delineating how the epic transformed historical 'fact' into formulaic text, he provided a taxonomy of the processes of creation of the *chansons de geste*. He also explicitly stated that these processes were underway in the early years of the twelfth century with the subject matter of the First Crusade, a process which would eventually culminate in the text of the *Chanson d'Antioche* (1170-1204), an epic recasting of the crusade, written in the style and form of a *chanson de geste*. Duggan believed that this process was evident in the Latin texts, arguing: "The portrayal of Muslim life found in the chronicles of the First Crusade is far closer to... the French epic than it is to historical reality."⁹

This was not unique. Many scholars had argued before for the influence of epic on the crusade histories (pp. 98, 103, 116), but for these commentators, this came from an extant proto-*Antioche* which exerted an influence on the Latin texts, or from 'camp-gossip'. The possibility of a proto-*Antioche*, that is, a reconstructable vernacular early-twelfth century *chanson* about the First Crusade, such as that rather ambitiously deduced by Suzanne Duparc-Quioc in 1976, had recently been struck a severe blow by the work of Robert Francis Cook, who, in 1980, had convincingly argued against the proposition that such a text certainly existed.¹⁰ Duggan was innovative in his description of a historiographical *process*, a formulaic way of understanding and commemorating current events, through definable progressions, of which the Latin crusade texts were demonstrable evidence.¹¹ Both his taxonomy and theory will be evoked throughout this thesis.

In the same year, Matthew Bennett explored similar ground to Duggan, more closely: namely the proposition that the Latin First Crusade accounts were influenced by the Old French epic in their depiction of pagans. Bennett agreed, drawing particular attention to religious dimensions and pagan idolatry.¹² Bennett's approach represented the first attempt to pursue a wide-ranging analysis of the issue across several works: a strand taken up again by this thesis. The next key starting point is Colin

⁹ In *La Littérature historiographique des origines à 1500*, ed. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Ursula Link-Heer, and Peter-Michael Spangenberg (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter), 308.

¹⁰ Robert Francis Cook, '*Chanson d'Antioche*,' *Chanson de geste: le Cycle de la croisade est-il épique?* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1980); "Les Épopées de la croisade," in *AER*, 98. The reconstruction of the proto-*Antioche* is found in Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, *La Chanson d'Antioche: Étude critique* (Paris: Geuthner, 1978).

¹¹ In this he was supported by recent theory in the field of medieval French literature, especially: Ramón Menéndez-Pidal, *La Chanson de Roland y el neotradicionalismo: Orígenes de la épica románica* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1959); Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972).

¹² Matthew Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images of Muslims: the Influence of Vernacular Poetry?," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* XXII (1986).

Morris' 1993 article 'The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History'.¹³ Morris presented a convincing, but brief, investigation into the epic narrative nature of the *Gesta Francorum*, one of the key Latin texts for the First Crusade, concluding with a statement that acts as a 'call to arms' for this thesis: 'the *Gesta Francorum*, in a real if limited sense, is a *chanson de geste*.'¹⁴ Despite the audacity of this statement, positive or negative reaction to Morris' assertion on epic style has been very modest, and discourse continues to focus on questions of authorship and of reworking of this complex text (p.55).

The next two articles which have provoked this thesis were both published in 1998. The first, 'Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de geste*' by Susan Edgington, convincingly argued for vernacular epic influence in the composition of Albert's *Historia*, and, by extension, in several other Latin crusade accounts.¹⁵ The second, Jeanette Beer's 'Heroic Language and the Eyewitness: The *Gesta Francorum* and *La Chanson d'Antioche*', claimed 'a unity of purpose, if not of style', between Latin texts and *chansons de geste* relating to the crusade, noting that claims of eyewitness authority did not suddenly remove these texts from the difficulties and uncertainties of literary creation, and in fact added paradoxically to doubts surrounding their veracity.¹⁶ Beer's study was characterised by a deep analysis of heroic language, but little of syntax, and marred by a tendency to compare as parallels the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Gesta Francorum*. She failed to take account of the fact that both belonged to part of the same tradition and that the *Antioche* was, in its present state, composed many years later, when the material of the *Gesta* had been reworked into many other intermediary texts. In short, she treated the two as if they were composed alongside each other. By contrast, this thesis is careful to situate texts with reference to known dates, and circumstances, of composition. Nevertheless, her exhortation to deconstruct boundaries between genres was important.

The final article which has acted as a spur for this thesis is Jay Rubenstein's 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who is Peter Tudebode?', partially constituting a response to two John France articles on the complex relationship between the eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade.¹⁷ Attempting to

¹³ *RMS* 19 (1993).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 61-62.

¹⁵ In *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Farnham: Ashgate).

¹⁶ In *Echoes of the Epic: Studies in Honour of Gerard J. Brault*, ed. David P. Schenck, Mary Jane Schenck, and Gerard J. Brault (Birmingham, Alabama: Summa, 1998).

¹⁷ *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005); John France, "The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade," in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Farnham: Ashgate, 1998);

resolve the issues of shared subject matter and tone but differing language and form of expression, as well as the inconsistencies which plague all the eyewitness accounts, Rubenstein proposed a lost source which he named the 'Jerusalem History'. Although not a new theory, Rubenstein's case has, to date, been the best argued.¹⁸ Tantalisingly, he believed it may well have been a vernacular source, and suggested a relationship with the *chansons*, which he claimed to be 'a thorny question', neglecting to address it.¹⁹ Demonstrating a meaningful stylistic link between the *chansons* and the crusade texts, or lack thereof, as is the purpose of the current thesis, is essential to evaluating Rubenstein's proposal in future scholarship.

These six insightful studies on the topic are only a tiny proportion of the literature referring to a relationship between the *chansons* and the crusade texts, and more will be outlined in the literature review (p.116), and throughout the analytical chapters where relevant. The ubiquity of this claim, namely that the crusade texts were in some way 'epic', is part of the problem that this thesis seeks to ameliorate. Yet 'epic' as a term is problematic: it was not used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and has been utilized by modern scholars as shorthand for either the vernacular epic (a term which in the period under investigation normally historiographically signifies, but is not entirely coterminous with, the *chansons de geste*); the continuing classical traditions of Latin epic of Statius and Prudentius, embodied in anonymous medieval works such as *Waltharius* or *Ruodlieb*; or a general corpus of literary works dealing with 'heroes' and battles.

It is clear that Aristotelian conceptions of the term as 'elevated subject matter discussed in metrical language' is insufficiently specific to adequately define the group of texts understood as such by modern commentators.²⁰ It is equally certain that a taxonomy of the epic constructed by identifying its commonplace themes, such as that of Richard McDonald, suggests an unrepresentative thematic and narrative unity.²¹ This thesis bases its working definition of the word on the work of

"The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade," 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 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

¹⁸ E.g. the 'Lotharingian Chronicle' proposed by Knoch, *Studien*.

¹⁹ Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?" 197.

²⁰ Aristotle, "Poetics", ed. and trans. by Stephen Halliwell, in *Aristotle, XXIII*, ed. by Stephen Halliwell, Doreen C. Innes, and W. Rhys Roberts, The Loeb Classical Library, 199 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 1-141 (47).

²¹ Richard McDonald, "The Epic Genre and Medieval Epics", in *A Companion to Old and Middle English Literature*, ed. by Laura Cooner Lambdin and Robert Thomas Lambdin (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2002), 230-254.

Mikhail Bakhtin, and postulates that the medieval epic comprises three main features: the action is separated through narrative temporality from the represented present; it is concerned with the real or imagined past (usually of the community or culture in which it is written); and it is expressed in a poetic or rhythmical prose form.²²

To some extent, because of the accepted truth that the Latin texts are ‘epic’ and can be seen as having links with the *chansons*, editors and commentators have felt qualified to highlight these links in individual studies predominately concerned with other matters. This is normally accompanied by a singular reference to one *chanson*, conventionally the *Roland* (by far the most studied and available in multiple English translations). There has been no widespread study (by which I mean one which looks at the genre as a whole) which assesses whether these assertions of vernacular epic style are, in fact, convincing and meaningful. This tendency to generalize has been exacerbated by a general, but not complete, reluctance on the part of historians of crusade texts to deeply engage with the genre of the *chansons de geste*, and an equally evident reluctance on the part of *chanson*-scholars to participate in a field of study dominated by historians of Latin texts.²³

The question of how to meaningfully investigate this proposition initially leads to consideration of the extant twelfth-century French epic about the First Crusade: the *Chanson d'Antioche*. Although it is clear that the *Antioche* was engaging in the same historiographical process of memorialization as the Latin crusade texts, and the two genres were not distinct, the whole area of investigation into the Latin crusade accounts has been haunted by the spectre of the *Antioche*, especially the question of to what extent earlier versions of it may have interacted with Latin accounts.²⁴ Evidently, what is recorded in the *Antioche* cannot be used with any certainty to explain the relationship between earlier Latin texts, as, in its extant form, it is at the earliest a creation of the

²² See Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe, "Über epische und dramatische Dichtung," *Sämtliche Werke* 6 (1827): 1. Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, "Epic and Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), esp. 13-14.

²³ Exceptions include the work of Susan Edgington, Carol Sweetenham, and Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, but their studies have focused on the *Antioche*: Edgington and Sweetenham's *Antioche*; Duparc-Quioc, *Chanson d'Antioche: Étude*. Sweetenham's introduction and notes to Robert the Monk currently constitute the deepest analysis of a crusade text alongside the *chansons*: this thesis hopes to extend this across the genre as a whole. Carol Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade - Historia Iherosolimitana* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005).

²⁴ See Simon T. Parsons, "Making Heroes out of Crusaders: The Literary Afterlife of Crusade Participants in the *Chanson d'Antioche*," in *JG*, esp. 304-305.

late twelfth century.²⁵ Arguments which use the Latin texts' relationship with the *Antioche* as evidence for earlier epic material risk being countered by the argument that the *Antioche* derived such material from the Latin texts themselves.²⁶ It is worth noting that the *Antioche* cannot truly be considered an appropriate model for a 'comparator', as a standard *chanson de geste*, either. The *chanson de geste*, as normally conceived, is separated through narrative temporality from its subject. The *Antioche* and the rest of the crusade cycle is not, at least not in the same way. This thesis, therefore, excludes the *Antioche* from its primary investigation, which limits the corpus of Latin texts to those composed, or perhaps redacted, in the fifty years after the Council of Clermont, that is, to 1145.

As demonstrated above, there have already been several comprehensive investigations into the concordances between individual Latin texts and the *chansons*, but wide analysis of all the texts alongside each other has been absent. A contribution which could have been promising, Armelle Leclercq's *Portraits croisés*, frustratingly excludes over half the crusade texts from its studied corpus.²⁷ Modern scholarship rightfully treats the crusade histories as a genre, a term defined here as a corpus of texts grouped together according to subjectively observed similarities in content and form.²⁸ They recount broadly the same narrative, with many ending at the same point (after the battle of Ascalon in 1099) and contain strong textual links with each other, replicating stories and figures, and providing details which are omitted elsewhere. The four 'eyewitness' accounts (the *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode, Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguilers) have an uncertain relationship to each other,

²⁵ Cook, *Chanson d'Antioche*, 205; Bernard Guidot, ed. *La Chanson d'Antioche. Chanson de geste du dernier quart du XII^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2011), 9-10.

²⁶ Henri Pigeonneau, *Le Cycle de la croisade et la famille du Bouillon* (Saint-Cloud: Belin, 1877), esp. 37; Cook, *Chanson d'Antioche*.

²⁷ Armelle Leclercq, *Portraits croisés: L'Image des Francs et des Musulmans dans les textes sur la première croisade. Chroniques latines et arabes, chansons de geste françaises des XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris: Champion, 2010), 22.

²⁸ This unstable typology cannot be understood as an absolute, persistent, and strictly delineated categorisation, but the process of establishing genre, sometimes subconsciously, is inherent in the critical recognition, reception, and classification of literature. The conventions of these nominative groupings, when understood as such by the implied and actual audience of texts, can function as a normative set of rules which may be followed or subverted as part of authorial play, but this is not necessary for a group of texts to be considered a genre. Both the crusade texts (as identified) and the *chansons de geste*, to greater or lesser extent, participate in this extended definition, and the logic, social function, and commonplaces of the existing body of literature shape the narrative and thematic development of new texts writing in the tradition. For expansion on the idea that genres properly are related in social function, shared *mythoi*, and categories of communicative symbolism, rather than merely aesthetically, see Northrop Frye, "Rhetorical Criticism: Theory of Genres", in *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 243-340; Carolyn R. Miller, "Genre as Social Action", *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 70 (1984), 151-167; John M. Swales, *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*, The Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 36-38, 45-58; Hans-Robert Jauss, "Theory of Genres and Medieval Literature", in *Modern Genre Theory*, ed. by David Duff, Longman Critical Readers (Edinburgh: Longman, 2000), 127-147.

and at least ten others explicitly or implicitly reproduce material from these, mainly from the *Gesta Francorum* or something like it.²⁹ This thesis examines all of the Latin narratives of the First Crusade which are believed to have been composed in the fifty years after the events themselves without attempting to establish hierarchies of text. All texts are equal testament. Notably, this excludes the work of William of Tyre (c.1170-1184). In essence, this is a study of the historiographical scene c.1145 and prior, excluding the *Antioche* and William. This coincides with the launching of the Second Crusade, an expedition which brought with it a profoundly different approach to crusading historiography.³⁰

It is of limited use to assert that there were stylistic similarities shared between the crusade texts and the *chansons* if these similar characteristics are shared by all contemporary texts: this reduces the argument to 'twelfth-century literature looks a lot like twelfth-century literature'. If any meaningful relationship between the two genres is to be evidenced, this must include analysis of how unique these elements were to the genres in question. Were these similarities always a feature of 'French' or 'Frankish' historiography, or of Latin literature more generally? Beer suggested that crusade historiography was almost a new genre for the Latin west, to which the models of classical historiography and previous Latin chronicles were unfitting.³¹ As Beryl Smalley summarized in 1974: 'There was nothing comparable in ancient and early medieval history; the historian of the crusades had to express himself in his own way.'³² These Latin texts were able to situate 'historical' content within an arena firmly supported by rhetoric and popular literature.³³ Pre twelfth-century Latin texts, selected as a representative sample, outside of the base corpus of works of this thesis will be mentioned throughout, therefore, to assess whether the style of Latin crusade accounts really was

²⁹ On the problematic nature of eyewitnessing, see Marcus Bull, "Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000 - c.1200: Reflections on the Study of First Crusaders' Motivations," in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume One: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 15; Yuval Noah Harari, "Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum* and other Contemporary Narratives," *Crusades* 3 (2004); Elizabeth Lapina, "'Nec signis nec testis creditur...': The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade," *Viator* 38, no. 1 (2007); Simon John, "Historical Truth and the Miraculous Past: The Use of Oral Evidence in Twelfth-Century Latin Historical Writing on the First Crusade," *EHR* 130 (2015).

³⁰ Carol Ann Cioffi, "The Epistolary Style of Odo of Deuil in his *De Projectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 23 (1988).

³¹ Beer, "Heroic Language," 1.

³² Beryl Smalley, *Historians of the Middle Ages* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), 122.

³³ Robert Levine, "The Pious Traitor: The Man Who Betrayed Antioch," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 33 (1998): 59. The false dichotomy between historical and legendary sources is also refuted by Susan B. Edgington, "Romance and Reality in the Sources for the Sieges of Antioch, 1097-1098," in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinos, et al. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003), 45.

unique in any resemblance it may bear the Old French epic. Approximate dates of composition will appear in brackets, but there will be insufficient space to discuss their background or nature in detail, a task which will fall instead to the works cited in the footnotes for each.

The *chansons de geste*, or ‘songs of heroic deeds’, were a genre of predominately performative poetry, composed in assonanced and then rhymed verses, gathered together in stanzas known as *laissez*. Their nature and composition, along with summaries of the narrative and historiography of those which I have consulted for this study are included below (p.27). The manuscripts of most are twelfth- or thirteenth-century in date, and so there has been some scholarly reluctance to accept that the *chansons de geste* as a genre necessarily precede the events of the First Crusade. As a prelude to a fuller study below, I state the opinion of this thesis. The *chansons de geste* were an oral form of poetry extant at least by the eleventh century, manifested in surviving written form from the start of the twelfth-century onwards. This much is well-evidenced. Although the written, manuscript forms which we now have are necessarily slightly later (although the *Chanson de Roland* and *Gormont et Isembart* are now normally believed to have been composed in more-or-less their extant form before 1095 (pp. 28, 30)) there is no reason to believe that their nature was fundamentally different before 1100. Texts such as the *Nota Emilianense*, an eleventh-century Latin summary of *chanson* material, support this. Studies like those of Jean Rychner have demonstrated that the textual artefacts which survive contain syntactical evidence of oral composition and performance, and, left with the two options of saying we know nothing about the eleventh-century *chansons*, and saying that we can reconstruct at least their basic style and motifs, the latter is clearly preferable.³⁴ It probably represented the dominant form of popular entertainment of the period of the crusades, and so it is essential to try and comprehend it, even with deficient evidence. In a way, this is not surprising: the *chansons* were oral; manuscripts, and therefore texts, are physical. They represent only *vestigia* of the genre’s nature in the eleventh century.

This approach is informed by a new understanding of medieval poetics and textual production, much invoked and utilized in the last decades of the twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries, which turns away from Lachmannian treatments of texts (that is, editorial practice which seeks to reconstruct an archetypal original, and rejects readings as improper or deviant) as artefacts,

³⁴ Jean Rychner, *La Chanson de geste: Essai sur l'art épique des jongleurs* (Geneva: Droz, 1955). See the general introduction in Marc Leopold Benjamin Bloch, *La Société féodale, Vol. 1: la Formation des liens de dépendance* (Paris: Michel, 1989), 147, 154, 157.

towards a methodology which views them as records of underlying traditions. In this, Zumthor's theory regarding *mouvance*, itself founded on an attempt to resolve the variances of *chanson de geste* manuscripts, has been influential. In essence, this theory, extended and modified by Bernard Cerquiglini, asserted the '*mobilité essentielle du texte médiéval*': texts were not static and monolithic, but fluid; a set of narrative ideas finding different form in each manifestation.³⁵ The texts as we have them may not predate the First Crusade; the tradition itself does.

This is the background against which the transmission of *chansons de geste* are understood, as with other genres of vernacular medieval literature. The model has rarely been applied, however, to Latin literature, although there is no reason why this should be the case. With reference to the Latin texts of the First Crusade, all of the factors which initially provoked this theory regarding the vernacular are present: authorial anonymity or near-anonymity, rewriting by many different people across national boundaries, changes to the text to fulfil various functions, and the influence of oral material. The only difference is their language and versification.

The Latin crusade texts, despite the best efforts of exhaustive editors such as Heinrich Hagenmeyer, have consistently and demonstrably failed to have a simple relationship understandable through one author copying another.³⁶ There are too many inconsistencies: a later section of this thesis will draw attention to a few of these (p.112). To date, there have been broadly two approaches to this problem, varying in sophistication. The first positions texts as constantly developing artefacts, as above, changing in interpretation and gaining or losing material, thereby postulating 'earlier versions' of texts to explain hierarchies and exchange. The theory further divides between those who see authorial revisions performed by an individual as he refines his work; and those who see a culturally-shared process of composition, where different writers at various times add pertinent details.³⁷ This entire branch depends on the idea of evolutionary texts, which find form only in the physical creation of copies.³⁸

³⁵* Zumthor, *Essai*, 71; Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante. Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989).

³⁶ Edgington, "Romance," 43.

³⁷ Carol Sweetenham, "What Really Happened to Eurvin de Créel's Donkey? Anecdotes in Sources for the First Crusade," in *WEC*.

³⁸ See the inaccessible but rewarding Hans-Robert Jauss, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," in *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, ed. Paul de Man (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982). Regarding the First Crusade, see Damien Kempf, "Towards a Textual Archaeology of the First Crusade " in *WEC*.

The second approach is to introduce hypothesised 'lost sources' of indeterminate nature. Introduction of hypothesized lost sources is unsatisfactory, not least because it is *a priori* impossible to prove. Marcus Bull has memorably argued: "There is no value in parking the uncertainties that attend the GF [*Gesta Francorum*] and the texts closely related to it in an imprecise, and ultimately unknowable space marked "common source".³⁹ However, the theory of 'developing texts' does not excuse historians and literary scholars from practically considering the relationships between manuscripts and elusive 'texts' by merely invoking complex cultural composition. We have manuscripts. Many of them are dateable by either internal or external evidence. While there are huge problems underlying the principle of normalizing works, the model has more advantages than disadvantages.⁴⁰ This thesis positions itself as an attempt to understand these processes behind the creation of our extant texts, but remains open to the idea of understanding the development of Latin texts in terms of *mouvance* and *variance*.

In order to assess the relationship between the Latin Crusade texts and the *chansons de geste*, a thorough reading of all the texts has been carried out, and observations made on stylistic, topical, linguistic and syntactic similarities. Due to the large number of texts which have been analysed (seventeen key Latin works, twelve early *chansons de geste*, and several other contextualising texts) it has not been possible, with some exceptions, to investigate manuscript variance first-hand, and it has been necessary to rely on printed editions.

The first chapter introduces the *chansons de geste*, individually and as a group. It is made clear which edition is used for each text: normally the most recent critical edition unless there are significant reasons otherwise. For consistency with prose works, and for reasons of space, I have omitted line numbers for poetic sources: the benefits of simple footnotes outweighed convenience for readers using out-of-date or future editions. In addition, because of the fragmentary nature and differing principles of reconstruction of *chansons de geste*, line numbers do not always correspond across editions. After introducing the texts individually, there is a detailed discussion of the current state of scholarship and the primary evidence for the development of the genre, and the nature of the

³⁹ Marcus Bull, "The Relationship Between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*: The Evidence of a Hitherto Unexamined Manuscript (St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, 3)," *Crusades* 11 (2012): 17.

⁴⁰ Synthesis reached in David L. D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), 43-45.

evidence we today possess. A final section discusses the concepts of audience and motivation: who was expected to hear these poems or songs, and what factors influenced their performance and redaction.

The second chapter introduces the Latin texts for the First Crusade, outlines which edition has been consulted, and flagposts any important translations or studies. The authorship or redaction (where applicable) is discussed, as are the likely date and circumstances of composition. As in the preceding chapter, when the individual texts have been introduced, the development of the genre and the interrelationship of the texts are outlined. Finally, the question of audience and motivations of the Latin texts is considered, particularly with reference to the vexed question of whether these texts had an audience as such, or were designed merely to record humanistically for posterity, to emphasize the literary genius of the author, or to please God.

The third chapter takes as its topic the previous connection made in scholarship between the *chansons* and crusade, both specific claims of analogous style and perceived broader thematic relation. Since the thesis is a reassessment of a previous historiographical perception, this material will also be invoked throughout. Starting with examples of where scholars have explicitly drawn links between the two genres, the chapter moves through those who prefer to refer to a vague 'epic' without closer specification, and then onto the general relationship between *chansons* and the crusade. This final element considers the tripartite relationship between the figure of Charlemagne, the *chansons*, and the 'French' involvement in the crusade. Based partially on nineteenth-century French nationalism, which saw the *chansons de geste* as representative of its epic, heroic past, and the crusades as the greatest achievement of that 'Frankishness', and their common treatment of holy war and martyrdom, it has been conventional to link the development of the crusading movement with the development of the *chansons de geste*.

The analytical chapters follow. This is guided by the suggestions of previous scholars, but at times, it has been necessary to introduce new lines of inquiry not found in scholarship on the Latin texts, where the similarities are so evident it would be churlish not to investigate them.

The fourth chapter looks at the issue of formulaic combat. Because what characterizes a formulaic combat in the *chansons de geste* requires much understanding before it becomes striking to the reader, and is understudied (so that this thesis has had to construct a unique taxonomy to describe

it), this chapter is structured differently from the other analytical chapters. It begins with outlining this taxonomy, with reference to examples from extant *chansons de geste*. We then see how these motifs are translated into Latin in ‘intermediary texts’, that is, those texts of the period under investigation such as the *Hague Fragment*, *Carmen de prodicione Guenonis*, and the *Pseudo-Turpin* chronicle which replicate the narratives and style of *chansons* in Latin poetic and prosaic texts. Finally, it details how these formulaic combat features are identifiable in the Latin texts of the First Crusade, utilizing earlier analysis to demonstrate the *formulae* used.

The fifth and sixth chapters both, in different ways, consider analogous methods of presentation between the two genres. Chapter Five considers general clichés of the *chansons de geste* replicated in the crusade texts, for example, the formulaic positioning of Christian nobles before battle in battalions, the motif of the rising or setting sun glinting on armour, white-clad knights riding to the aid of the Christians, and the extravagant lamentations of characters of both sides. The sixth chapter, following Bennett’s article, investigates pagan religion and gods, the idea of the virtuous pagan knight, motifs of fleeing and pursuing, and the monstrous images of pagans in war.

The seventh chapter explores the significance of place names and topography, as well as the names of races. *Coroscane*, for example, the semi-mythical homeland of the pagans in the *chansons de geste*, is also found with striking regularity in the Latin text for the First Crusade. The mysterious *Agulani*, whose name has provoked much scholarly discussion, are also dealt with. The eighth chapter concerns issues of language and syntax. Cola Minis’ influential study of the *chansons de geste* and Albert of Aachen focused mainly on syntactic and linguistic reminiscences in order to demonstrate a meaningful link, and it is this study which I seek to extend here to the entire corpus of Latin crusade histories.⁴¹ The use of synonymia, binomials, vernacular language, and clauses subordinated using *coepit* are also investigated. This is followed by a coda, which concerns direct references to the *chansons de geste* found within Latin crusade texts. Some are explicit, with heroes of the epic being named, while others are more implicit and nebulous. All are assessed.

⁴¹ Cola Minis, "Stilelemente in der Kreuzzugschronik des Albert von Aachen und in der volkssprachigen Epik, besonders in der "Chanson de Roland", in *Literatur und Sprache im Europäischen Mittelalter: Festschrift für Karl Langosch zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Önnersfors, J. Rathofer, and F. Wagner (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973).

Apart from merely concluding and summarizing some demonstrable outcomes, the conclusion presents an analysis of which narrative sections of the story of the First Crusade are densest in supposed links with the *chanson de geste* tradition, and what results this has on our understanding of the development of the genre. Numerical analysis of these passages of dense association, and graphical representation of the data, are presented in the appendices. Finally, the implications of the finding of this study on our deeper comprehension of both genres are discussed, and some possible causes for the relationship are suggested.

SECTION ONE: THE TEXTS AND LITERATURE

REVIEWS

I: THE CHANSONS DE GESTE

The *Chansons de geste* were the dominant form of vernacular poetic literature in the Francophone world during the period of the Jerusalemite crusades. Written in various dialects of Old French, they were mostly epic in a Bakhtian sense, concerned with the heroic, Charlemagnic, past.⁴² Verse form, length, and subject matter varied, and the boundaries of what constituted a *chanson* as opposed to the conventionally marginally later genre of romance were fluid.⁴³ What distinguishes a *chanson* is its style, which is formulaic, suited to recitation and, perhaps, oral composition. Barely a single aspect of the academic study of *chansons de geste* has produced consensus: particular problematizations include their composition, nature of performance, historicity, morals, and textual transmission.⁴⁴

This chapter introduces the *chansons* which have been systematically studied for this thesis, selected normally for their early date or relevance to a representative reconstruction of the eleventh-century *chanson*. The reasons for these selections have been made evident in the text, along with any information about evident pre-histories of the narratives where the manuscripts are later. After the texts have been introduced, the genre's development is discussed: an area of intense debate shaped by nationalistic and romantic concerns. Finally, the problematic notions of audience and motivation are explored. As such, this chapter constitutes a synthesis of a wide range of viewpoints to construct a model of the *chansons* which can be used as a comparator for the crusade texts.

⁴² 'The epic was never a poem about the present, about its own time (one that became a poem about the past only for those who came later)', Bakhtin, "Epic and Novel," 13.

⁴³ Sarah Kay, *The "Chansons de geste" in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: OUP, 1995).

⁴⁴ The best general introductions to the *chansons* are: Martin de Riquer, *Les Chansons de geste françaises*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Nizet, 1957); François Suard, *Guide de la chanson de geste et de sa postérité littéraire (XI^e-XV^e siècle)* (Paris: Champion, 2011).

TEXTS

THE CHANSON DE ROLAND

Normally considered the archetypal *chanson de geste*, the *Chanson de Roland* tells the story of Charlemagne's expedition into Spain in 778, his subsequent withdrawal, and the ambush of his rear-guard in the Pyrénées by pagans, prompted by the treachery of one of Charlemagne's counsellors: Ganelon.⁴⁵ Charlemagne's vassal Roland, accompanied by his friend Oliver, fight vainly and fatally against the hordes of fierce pagans, after Roland, in an act of futile heroism, has decided not to blow his horn, the Olifant, which would summon Charlemagne back to the mountain pass where the ambush takes place, Roncesvalles. Only when all his knights are dead and he himself is dying does Roland blow his horn, causing himself a fatal aneurism, prompting Charlemagne to return to the battlefield, recover his body, avenge his death, and fight off a new pagan army from overseas. The second half (not present in all the manuscripts) is possibly a later addition, and the initial action up to Roland's death may have been the original poem.⁴⁶ The first half of this story has an historic basis, recorded by Einhard in his *Vita Karoli Magni* (817-833), where he discusses 'Hruodlandus comes', killed in a rear-guard action in the Pyrénées.⁴⁷

The *Roland* consists of around 4,000 lines of assonanced, decasyllabic Old French poetry. The poem exists in seven manuscripts (and additional fragments), the oldest of which is Oxford Bodleian Digby 23, dateable to the twelfth century, probably the second quarter.⁴⁸ This manuscript is insular in origin, written in Anglo-Norman, and a copy of another older written text.⁴⁹ The problem of editions is vexed, since the manuscripts record markedly different versions. Given the controversy

⁴⁵ Even in the Middle Ages; see Wolfgang Georg Van Emden, "The Reception of Roland in Some Old French Epics," in *Roland and Charlemagne in Europe: Essays on the Reception and Transformation of a Legend*, ed. Karen Pratt (London: King's College London Medieval Studies, 1996).

⁴⁶ The trial of Ganelon may also have been included in an earlier version. Maurice Delbouille, *Sur la genèse de la Chanson de Roland* (Brussels: Académie royale de langue et de littérature françaises de Belgique, 1954), 32-61.

⁴⁷* Oswald Holder-Egger, Georg Heinrich Pertz, and Georg Waitz, eds., *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni* (Hannover: Hahn, 1911), 12. A detailed study of historicity is found in Paul Aebischer, "Roland. Mythe ou personnage historique?," *RBPH* 43, no. 3 (1965).

⁴⁸ Many of the manuscripts, however, are rhymed rather than assonanced. Ian Short, "The Oxford Manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland*: A Paleographic Note," *Romania* 94 (1973); Antonio Ciaralli, "Per lo studio del nesso de *e* per la datazione di *O* (Oxford Bodl. Libr. MS Digby 23): note paleografiche," *Scrittura et civiltà* 22 (1998).

⁴⁹ Alfred Ewert and Mario Roques, "L'Accident du vers 2242 de la *Chanson de Roland*," *Romania* 59 (1933). For the potentially Norman origin of the *Roland*: David Douglas, "The 'Song of Roland' and the Norman Conquest of England," *French Studies* 14, no. 2 (1960): 101 and passim.

surrounding oral vs. written composition, scholars have been divided on whether to employ editorial principles to delineate *stemmata* and reconstruct a lost written original, or to consider each of the manuscripts as a unique manifestation of latent oral performance which cannot be synthesised into a meaningful textual relationship, or some combination of the two.⁵⁰ It is problematic to attempt to reconstitute a work uncertain to have existed in textual form, and so editions such as that of Segre have been avoided, despite obvious merits over some readings. This thesis utilizes the testimony of the Oxford manuscript alone, recently amended and corrected by Short, in a collection which reproduces the various edited texts side-by-side, taking the view that it is better to consider the extant manuscripts as distinct literary artefacts to be analyzed individually.⁵¹

Much evidence exists for preceding versions of the *Roland*, not least the *Carmen de prodicione Guenonis*, a probably earlier Latin translation of the same material. The dating of the composition of the extant *Roland*, understanding that the Oxford manuscript is a copy, is harder to determine. Dating on philological grounds is vague, and much of the dating concerns the poem's relationship to contemporary events, in particular the crusade,⁵² Reconquista, a growth in the importance of pilgrimage, and even the Christianization of Eastern Europe.⁵³ Largely, the debate has been subsumed into a wider consideration of the genesis of the genre, which is dealt with below (p.41). The most attested view, followed by this thesis, is that the extant text was composed just before the turn of the eleventh century, and that sung *chansons* concerning the same narrative antedate this.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Early editors tried to establish *stemmata* and textual tradition. The most scholarly is Cesare Segre, ed. *La Chanson de Roland. Édition critique*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1989). The 2003 reprint has reduced notes. The view that oral composition makes editorial processes null was proposed by Franz Scholle, "Das Verhältnis der verschiedenen Überlieferungen des altfranzösischen *Rolandliedes* zu einander," *ZRP* 4 (1880); "Zur Kritik des *Rolandliedes*," *ZRP* 4 (1880). and expanded upon by Kerstin Schlyter, *Les Enumérations des personnages dans La Chanson de Roland: Étude comparative* (Lund: Gleerup, 1974). Synthesis was partially achieved by Paul Zumthor, *La Lettre et la voix: de la "littérature" médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), 107-129; Andrew Taylor, "Was There a *Song of Roland*?" *Speculum* 76 (2001).

⁵¹ *Roland*. An alternate version, based on another early manuscript, is also used: Marjorie Moffat, ed. *The Châteauroux Version of the « Chanson de Roland » : A Fully Annotated Critical Text* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

⁵² Mentions of the Holy Lance and 'Outremer' have been cited to evidence a post-crusade date. The argument that a reference to the Holy Lance in a liturgical context must mean that this section was composed after the 'discovery' of the relic in Antioch in 1098 is spurious. Considering that what was found, or planted, in Antioch was almost certainly not the actual spear of Longinus, mention of it evidences the same pre-crusade imagination which provoked its 'discovery'. *Roland*, 210; Jean Györy, *Étude sur la Chanson de Roland* (Paris: Droz, 1936), 78-79. For pre-crusade Holy Lance, see also Thomas Asbridge, "The Holy Lance of Antioch: Power, Devotion and Memory on the First Crusade," *RMS* 33 (2007): endnote 25. Also, Susan B. Edgington, "Holy Land, Holy Lance: Religious Ideas in the *Chanson d'Antioche*," in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. Robert N. Swanson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000).

⁵³ See the novel argument in Gabriele, *Empire*, 33.

⁵⁴ de Riquer, *Chansons de geste*, 77.

GORMONT ET ISEMBART

Gormont et Isembart, sometimes *Gormond*, consists solely of a fragment of the end of a much larger *chanson*, contained in only one thirteenth-century manuscript, Belgium Royal II. 181, probably of English provenance. This manuscript seems to be a poor copy of an earlier version, written in Parisien dialect.⁵⁵ It would be poor evidence, then, if it were not for its postulated early date of composition. Given its fragmented rhyme, assonance and versification schemes, it seems to be a product of the eleventh century, perhaps anterior to the known *Roland*.⁵⁶ Unlike other extant *chansons*, the lines are mostly octosyllabic. It is generally understood that shorter line lengths implies earlier composition – most early *chansons* are decasyllabic.

The extant fragment recounts the events of the battle of Cayeux, where King Louis and his vassals battle the pagan king Gormont and the turncoat Isembart. It is possibly based on the historical events of 881, where a Viking army fought at Saucourt.⁵⁷ When his vassal Hugh is killed by Gormont's hand, Louis fights and kills Gormont in single combat. Isembart, attempting to hold the field, kills his own father. Unaware of this transgression, Isembart fights on, only to be forced to return to Christianity when his erstwhile pagan allies flee. It is thought to be part of a more developed story, which, using later texts, many have tried to piece together.⁵⁸

Additional evidence for a pre- or circa-1095 date of composition is provided by the close parallels between this text and the chronicle of the abbey of St. Riquier, written by a monk called Hariulf in 1088, and revised in 1104-1105. The text is so close to the events that *Gormont* describes it seems almost a translation, and Hariulf specifies he was using sung, presumably vernacular, source material, writing: '*sed, quia sit factum non solum historiis, sed etiam patriensium memoria quotidie recolitur et cantatur...*'⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *Gormont*, iii-v.

⁵⁶ Jean-Jacques Salverda de Grave, *Strofen in Gormont et Isembart* (Amsterdam: der Post, 1922). A more cautious treatment, which concludes that the date of composition was roughly the same for *Roland* and *Guillaume*, is Alphonse Bayot, "Sur *Gormont et Isembart*," *Romania* 51 (1925): 286-290.

⁵⁷ For the historicity of the *chanson*, see *Gormont*, xiv.

⁵⁸ A laudable example: *LÉIII*, 27-38.

^{59*} Ferdinand Lot, ed. *Hariulf: Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint Riquier (V^e siècle-1104)* (Paris: Picard, 1894), 141. For the textual closeness, Bayot, "Sur *Gormont* " 290.

GUILLAUME

The *Chanson de Guillaume* has traditionally been ascribed the status of one of the most ancient *chansons de geste*, but its current form presents something of an enigma.⁶⁰ It exists in only one small manuscript a copy, written in 1170s' Anglo-Norman dialect (BL Add. 38663) in the thirteenth century. The poem seems to have been composed in two halves, like the Roland (or even up to four sections), the first half's development being wholly anterior to that of the second.⁶¹ The dating of the composition has been disputed, with the only external evidence being the reference in the *Vita Sancti Wilhelmi* (1122-1125) which alludes to the existence of *Guillaume* material, but this only attests the presence of the tradition, and not the extant poem.⁶² Analysis of internal evidence, namely a perceived relationship between the names in the poem and historical figures, suggests c.1075, but taking into consideration the complex processes by which history is converted to epic this dating is problematized.⁶³ Similarly uncertain is the association of the subject matter with the political situation following the Second Crusade, which rests mainly on parallels between the poem's Louis and his queen and Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine, considered as a debauched, corrupt wife.⁶⁴ With this, the only reliable evidence is linguistic, or based on the forms of versification, and interpretations are varied. Although dates as early as 1070 have been proposed, the usual view now is around the middle of the twelfth century, with a significant pre-life, attested by the *Vita Sancti Willelmi* and the *Nota Emilianense*.⁶⁵ The edition used for this thesis is that of Phillip Bennett, who, unlike Wathelet-Willem, does not tenuously try to reconstruct a lost original.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ *LÉI*, 85-86.

⁶¹ Jean Frappier, *Les Chansons de geste du cycle de Guillaume d'Orange, 1: La Chanson de Guillaume, Aliscans, La Chevalerie Vivien* (Paris: Société d'édition d'enseignement supérieur, 1955), 141-148; Philip E. Bennett, "La Chanson de Guillaume, poème anglo-normand?," in *Au carrefour des routes d'Europe: la Chanson de geste. X^e congrès international de la Société Rencesvals pour l'étude des épopées romanes: Strasbourg 1985* (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, 1987). For four sections, see Italo Siciliano, *Les Chansons de geste et l'Épopée: Mythes, Histoire, Poèmes* (Turin: Biblioteca di Studi Francesi, 1968), 392-393. A later fragment also exists: Marianne J. Ailes and Philip E. Bennett, "Deux nouveaux fragments de poèmes sur Guillaume d'Orange", in *Epic Connections / Rencontres épiques: Proceedings of the Nineteenth International Conference of the Society Rencesvals, Oxford, 13-17 August 2012*, ed. by Marianne J. Ailes, Philip E. Bennett, and Anne Elizabeth Cobby, 2 vols., vol. 1 British Rencesvals Publications, 7 (Edinburgh: Société Rencesvals British Branch, 2015), 87-107.

⁶² *LÉI*, 109.

⁶³ Frederick M. Warren, "On the Date and Authorship of the '*Chanson de Guillaume*'," *Modern Philology* 29, no. 4 (1932).

⁶⁴ Jeanne Wathelet-Willem, *Recherches sur la Chanson de Guillaume: Études accompagnées d'une édition*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: Belles-lettres, 1975), 653.

⁶⁵ Hermann Suchier, ed. *La Chançon de Guillelme: Französisches Volksepos des XI. Jahrhunderts kritisch herausgegeben* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1911), xxx; Ferdinand Lot, "Études sur les légendes épiques françaises," *Romania* LIII (1927): 453, 465-466; Wathelet-Willem, *Recherches*, 1, 652-654.

⁶⁶ *Guillaume*.

The narrative, broadly shared with *Aliscans*, is centred on a battlefield, where Christians and pagans periodically fight. The young knight Vivien, nephew of heroic William of Orange, is in the company of Tedbald, count of Bourges, and his kinsman Esturmi. When the three hear the pagans have invaded the south coast of France, Tedbald and Esturmi get drunk and swear to fight. When the following day comes and the first battle, the two drunkards flee, leaving Vivien to fight a hopeless battle, in which he is mortally wounded. William, or Guillaume, the boy's uncle, then embarks on a series of attempts to reclaim Vivien's body from the battlefield, each time being defeated until he travels to the court at Laon where he seeks the king's help and replenishes his army. There he is joined by Reneward, a pagan-convert giant who has been working in the kitchens, and is, unbeknownst to anyone, William's brother-in-law. William, Reneward *et al* return to the battlefield, where they win a great victory and release pagan prisoners who have been held on boats. A summary on the historical understanding of the inspiration for *Guillaume d'Orange* is provided by Wathelet-Willem: the character is based on William, Count of Toulouse, who participated in the capture of Barcelona in 803, although the epic cycle concerning him has little to do with his historical presence.⁶⁷

ALISCANS

Aliscans, a *chanson de geste* preserved in around 8,200 decasyllabic rhymed verses, attested in thirteen manuscripts (the earliest are thirteenth-century) and several fragments, relates an expanded version of *Guillaume's* narrative. Based on a reference to Vermandois being in the French king's power, the composition of the extant text is normally dated to 1185-c.1216.⁶⁸ The possible latest date of composition is provided by its adaptation by Wolfram von Eschenbach into *Willehalm*.⁶⁹ An analysis of linguistic style by Claude Régner, whose edition acts as the standard for this thesis, supports a date at the close of the twelfth century.⁷⁰ *Aliscans* has been included because of its close relationship with the *Guillaume*: it may be more representative of pre-existing tradition than the defective text attested by the manuscript in London of the latter.

⁶⁷ Wathelet-Willem, *Recherches*, 1, 547 sqq.

⁶⁸ Frappier, *Chansons de geste*, I, 241.

⁶⁹ Carl Gade, "Über Metrum Und Sprache Von *Aliscans*" (Universität Marburg, 1890), 63.

⁷⁰ *Aliscans*, 2 vols. (continuously numbered), 40.

LE COURONNEMENT DE LOUIS

The *Couronnement de Louis* is the story of King Louis the Pious' crowning. It is the first of three texts included in this study (there are significantly more in manuscripts) preceding *Aliscans* in the cycle of William of Orange, utilizing common characters and narrative themes. Reluctant to accede the throne, despite the dying wishes of his father Charlemagne, Louis is forced to accept his duty by William of Orange, one of Charlemagne's greatest vassals. Upon Charlemagne's death, young Louis is put under the regency of the wicked Ernaut d'Orleans, and William, going to Rome on pilgrimage, repels a pagan incursion. He does so by defeating their champion Corsolt outside Rome (losing some of his nose in the process), before returning to France a hero, ousting Ernaut, defeating the Normans and a series of other political enemies. Louis, throughout, is an unworthy benefactor of William's efforts: a weak crown-prince.

Ernest Langlois dated the text to 1130, believing it to be composed by a cleric and to have no earlier versions.⁷¹ The opinion that there was original Carolingian or eleventh-century material represented in the text is no longer in vogue.⁷² Despite this, it is one of the earliest examples of an extant *chanson*, and evidences much of the genre's conventional style: for this reason it has been selected for the present study. Others have broadly agreed with Langlois on dating, if not on composition, understanding the text as a product of anxieties about the minority of Louis VII, 1130-1137, and onwards.⁷³ It is written in Francien/Picard dialect. Two editions are worthy of note: the first by Langlois, which attempts a Lachmannian reconstruction of a base text; and that by Yvan Lepage, which presents two differing redactions of the narrative, attested in separate branches of the manuscript tradition. The latter will be used for this thesis.⁷⁴ There are eight full extant manuscripts of the *Couronnement*, and two fragments.⁷⁵ All eight of the full manuscripts (thirteenth to fourteenth

⁷¹ Ernest Langlois, ed. *Le Couronnement de Louis: Chanson de geste du xi^e siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Champion, 1984), vii.

⁷² Alfred Jeanroy, "Études sur le cycle de Guillaume au court nez: *Le Couronnement de Louis*," *Romania* 25 (1896).

⁷³ Roelof Van Waard, "Le *Couronnement de Louis* et le principe de l'hérédité de la couronne," *Neophilologus* 30 (1946); de Riquer, *Chansons de geste*, 154-155; Jean Frappier, "Les Thèmes politiques dans le *Couronnement de Louis*," in *Mélange de linguistiques romane et de philologie médiévale offerts à M. Maurice Delbouille*, ed. Madeleine Tyssens (Gembloux: Duculot, 1964).

⁷⁴ *Couronnement*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, xix-xxx.

century) also contain narratives of *Aliscans*, the *Prise d'Orange*, and *Charroi de Nîmes*, and as such are usually called 'cyclical' manuscripts.⁷⁶

LE CHARROI DE NÎMES

Another instalment in the *Guillaume d'Orange* cycle which incorporates *Couronnement*, *Prise*, and *Aliscans*, *Le Charroi de Nîmes* describes the story of William's attempts to gain a fief. King Louis, despite William's loyal service, has neglected to reward him sufficiently, and William thus proceeds to Spain, where he tricks the Saracen King Otrant with a ploy resembling the Trojan Horse in the *Aeneid*. The eponymous *charroi*, or wagon, is a prop for a ploy used by William to gain entry to the town of Nîmes, which he takes for his own.

The poem today exists in the eight cyclical manuscripts, the earliest of which are thirteenth-century in date.⁷⁷ Composed in 1486 decasyllabic, assonanced verses, the extant poem's composition can be dated by linguistic evidence to the mid-twelfth century, with many arguing for a date in the first quarter of that century.⁷⁸ Because the poem is ultimately concerned with vassalage, and feudal dependence during a king's minority, Tony Hunt has argued that the extant poem was composed in the late 1130s, during the early reign of Louis VII of France, in the same *milieu* as the *Couronnement*.⁷⁹

Like the *Couronnement*, the general suggestion has been that the extant *Charroi* was composed in its entirety in the twelfth century, and there is no obvious prehistory.⁸⁰ There is strong evidence for earlier versions of the same material, based mainly upon the known concordances between the *Couronnement* and the *Charroi*, which do not seem to belong originally to one or the other.⁸¹ These reminiscences, vague in tone, seem to appertain to summaries of sung material, but this is unproveable and the most cautious commentators have supported the idea that the *Charroi* was summarizing material from the extant *Couronnement*.⁸²

⁷⁶ Madeleine Tyssens, *La Geste de Guillaume d'Orange dans les manuscrits cycliques* (Paris: Belles-lettres, 1967).

⁷⁷ *Charroi*, 14-26.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 39; Gaston Paris, *Manuel d'ancien Français: la Littérature française au Moyen Âge, X^e-XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1890), 67; Lot, "Études sur les légendes épiques françaises," 472.

⁷⁹ Tony Hunt, "L'Inspiration idéologique du *Charroi de Nîmes*," *RBPH* 56, no. 3 (1978).

⁸⁰ Although Ferdinand Lot claimed roots in 'folklore': Ferdinand Lot, "*Le Charroi de Nîmes*," *Romania* 26 (1897).

⁸¹ Tyssens, *Geste de Guillaume*, 89-100, 116-123.

⁸² Reluctant on the point is *Charroi*, 44-49. However, see Ernest Langlois, "À propos du *Coronement Loois*," *Romania* XLVI (1920): 374.

LA PRISE D'ORANGE

The third of the prequels to *Aliscans/Guillaume* included in this study, *La Prise d'Orange* recounts the capture of another city by William. William, in disguise, visits the castle of his pagan opponent, Tedbald, in order to woo the beautiful pagan princess, Orable, the latter's wife. Revealed as Christians, William and his men conduct a valiant attempted takeover of the city, before being captured, escaping death by burning, then imprisoned, and subsequently freed by an impressed Orable. In the end, William wins both city and Orable, who converts, changes her name to Guiborc, and marries William. Consisting of around 1,900 decasyllabic lines, the extant text dates from the late twelfth century.⁸³ The manuscript corpus includes the same eight cyclical manuscripts mentioned above, but with the addition of one acephalous manuscript, Berne Bourgeoisie 296.⁸⁴

More than any other cyclical William poem, the prehistory of the *Prise d'Orange* has been the subject of intense discussion.⁸⁵ The *Vita Willelmi Sancti* (c.1122-1125) attests to a tradition of William fighting within the city of Orange against a pagan Tedbald.⁸⁶ The fifteenth-century *I Nerbonesi*, a compilation of *chanson* material, has been argued to provide evidence for an earlier version of the *Prise d'Orange*, and admittedly corrects many glaring plot inconsistencies.⁸⁷ The most important of these is the impending arrival of Tedbald, who is set to come and face William in battle, but never does in the extant version. The argument of Raymond Weeks, that material once part of *Prise* migrated to the developing *Aliscans*, leaving the extra material to coalesce into the 'stupid and impossible' *Prise*, is untenable.⁸⁸ However, his argument that as early as 1050 a range of different poems on the subject of William were extant is viable, and is easily synthesized with the more considered opinion of Madeleine Tyssens, and that of Joseph Bédier, both of whom saw underlying, preceding traditions.⁸⁹

⁸³ *Prise*, 90.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁵ Alfred Jeanroy, "Études sur le cycle de Guillaume au court nez, II, *Les Enfances Guillaume, Le Charroi de Nîmes, La Prise d'Orange*," *Romania* 26 (1897).

⁸⁶ *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, vol. 6 (1688), 812; Charles-Joules Révillout, *Étude historique et littéraire sur l'ouvrage latin intitulé Vie de Saint Guillaume* (Montpellier: Martel, 1876).

⁸⁷ Jeanroy, "Études II," 5-6.

⁸⁸ Raymond Weeks, "The Primitive *Prise d'Orange*," *PMLA* 16 (1901).

⁸⁹ Madeleine Tyssens, "Le Siège d'Orange perdu," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 31 (1966); *LÉI*, 325.

This argument is supported by the fragment of a related work, normally called the *Siège d'Orange*, which has a problematic relationship to the main text.⁹⁰

LE PÈLERINAGE DE CHARLEMAGNE

In the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, the eponymous Frankish king hears of the splendour of the Emperor of Constantinople, Hugh. Setting off with his men on a journey (there is some controversy over whether this constitutes a pilgrimage or more of a 'voyage') to Jerusalem, returning via Constantinople, Charlemagne seeks to prove his realm's superiority to that of Hugh. Getting drunk one night, the travellers boast of outrageous deeds which they could accomplish in this realm: martial, sexual, and heroic. Overheard by an imperial spy, in the morning, they are forced to fulfil their drunken boasts, which they promptly do in a series of unbelievable feats. Having proven their superiority, the heroes return home, in an air of goodwill. The narrative is clearly underlaid by Charlemagne in the East traditions, which have additional concordances with the crusade texts and are discussed below (p.123).

Recorded in one thirteenth-century manuscript, lost since 1879, and lambasted by Gaston Paris as being scribed by a man barely able to write French,⁹¹ the *Pèlerinage* is an unlikely choice for one of the more significant *chansons de geste*. Yet interest in the text has been high, mostly because textual evidence suggests an earlier date of composition, perhaps predating the First Crusade. Estimates based on the linguistic and stylistic evidence have ranged from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, the later estimates relying on perceived deliberate archaism on the part of the composer.⁹² The most in-depth study of the text, that conducted by Jules Coulet in 1907, considered the date of composition to necessarily be after the First Crusade, probably 1130-1150,⁹³ but the erudite datings of Gaston Paris and Eduard Koschwitz to the pre-crusade period still hold weight.⁹⁴ Aebischer, reviewing the wide range of dates, suggests a mid-point of around 1112 for the composition,

⁹⁰ Tyssens, *Geste de Guillaume*, 142-145.

⁹¹ Gaston Paris, "La Chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne," *Romania* 9 (1880): 1.

⁹² Louis Moland, *Origines littéraires de la France* (Paris: Didier, 1866), 102.

⁹³ Jules Coulet, *Études sur l'ancien poème français du Voyage du Charlemagne en Orient* (Montpellier: Coulet, 1907), 69-70.

⁹⁴ Paris, *Littérature française*, 246; Eduard Koschwitz, ed. *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Reissland, 1900), xxv.

although, with a lost manuscript, certainty is problematic.⁹⁵ Given that the text is now inconsultable, all editions are based on that of Koschwitz, although they vary in correcting the dialect and versification. The best, with facing-page English translation, is that of Glyn Burgess, which is used for this thesis.⁹⁶

ASPREMONT

La Chanson d'Aspremont is one of the longest of the early *chansons*, at a little over 11,000 lines. The narrative recounts the expedition of Charlemagne, his nephew Roland, and his treacherous ally Girard, to Calabria to fight off an invasion by Agolant, the pagan king, and his son Iaumont. After some tense diplomatic scenes, and a papal exhortation reminiscent of crusade preaching, Iaumont is defeated by Roland (still a child) in battle. Another battle follows, where Agolant is defeated with the help of Girard's men, but civil strife follows Charlemagne's victory. It is possible that the narrative has some relation to the Saracen invasion of Sicily and Calabria, 901-902, but there is little positive evidence to suggest a tradition much prior to the Third Crusade.⁹⁷ The text exists in nine manuscripts and some fragments. The edition used for this thesis is that by François Suard, based on the thirteenth-century BnF 25529.⁹⁸

The manuscripts are written in various twelfth-century dialects of Old French, and the dating is further constrained by the assumed use of the text by Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte* (1194-1199), and the use of a reference to Prester John, a tradition started in the west in c.1165.⁹⁹ Ambroise seems to have heard it on crusade in Sicily, which suggests a date of composition before 1191. It was likely that the text was composed, redacted, or the underlying tradition originated in Sicily or southern Italy.¹⁰⁰ It is for this reason, alongside its relatively early date and comprehensive treatment of themes,

⁹⁵ Paul Aebischer, ed. *Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople* (Geneva: Droz, 1965), 29.

⁹⁶ Koschwitz, *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel; Pélerinage*.

⁹⁷ Historiography is divided on whether *Aspremont*'s roots are tenth or twelfth century. For twelfth, see above and Roelof Van Waard, *Études sur l'origine et la formation de la Chanson d'Aspremont* (Grönigen: Wolters, 1937). For tenth, see Siegfried Szogs, *Entwicklungsgeschichte und Stellung innerhalb der Karlsgeste* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1931). Suard tacitly approves the latter: Suard, *Guide*, 35.

⁹⁸ *Aspremont*. See also *NDCGEIII* and *NDCGEIV*.

⁹⁹ Van Waard, *Études sur l'origine*, 171-172, 216-260, esp. 235; *NDCGEIII*, 2; Wolfgang Georg Van Emden, "La 'Chanson d'Aspremont' and the Third Crusade," *RMS* 18 (1992); Marianne J. Ailes and Malcolm Barber, eds., *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la guerre sainte*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 20-23 for dating.

¹⁰⁰ Van Waard, *Études sur l'origine*, 19; Van Emden, "La 'Chanson d'Aspremont' " 58.

that it has been included here: the *chansons* were evidently popular across the Francophone world, and a representative sample of the genre includes a wide geographic range.

RAOUL DE CAMBRAI

The first of two *chansons* included here of the cycle ‘of the barons in revolt’, *Raoul de Cambrai* follows the attempts of Raoul, a nephew of King Louis, to gain his patrimony.¹⁰¹ When Raoul was a child, Louis gave away his fief to another vassal. When Raoul matures, he is offered instead the Vermandois, which he accepts against the advice of his friend, Bernier, and mother, Alice. When Raoul occupies the region, he burns down a nunnery with the nuns inside, one of whom is Bernier’s mother. Bernier and his vassals fight Raoul, killing him. So begins a bitter feud, resulting in the burning of Paris, adventures among the Saracens, and repeated violent conflict between kinsmen of Raoul and Bernier.

Sarah Kay’s edition (used for this thesis), is a complex reconstruction based on defective manuscripts.¹⁰² The main manuscript has *lacunae*, resolved only with the help of two fragments and a sixteenth-century antiquarian’s note. The poem was composed in at least three stages: the first, entitled *Raoul*, is no longer evident in the manuscript but would have been an early twelfth-century assonanced version of the narrative up to Raoul’s death. The two later stages in the development of the extant text are late-twelfth/early-thirteenth century.¹⁰³ Of all the *chansons*, *Raoul* is the most historically grounded.¹⁰⁴ The Raoul of the *chanson* is a ‘composite of at least four historical Raouls’.¹⁰⁵ The closest to the literary figure is that discussed by Flodoard (943), during his discussion of a war of inheritance in Vermandois.¹⁰⁶

The plot of *Raoul*, which deals extensively with exheredation, has been seen as a reflection of growing social concern with Capetian royal power in the mid-to-late twelfth century.¹⁰⁷ Others

¹⁰¹ For its partial membership of the cycle, and the cycle generally, see Marianne J. Ailes, "Observations on the Grouping of Epics of Revolt in Manuscripts and Compilations," *RMS* 10 (1984).

¹⁰² *Raoul*, ix-lxxiii.

¹⁰³ See Rouche’s introduction in Roger Berger, Michel Rouche, and François Suard, eds., *Histoire de Raoul de Cambrai et de Bernier, le bon chevalier* (Troisnes: Corps 9, 1986).

¹⁰⁴ *LEII*, 375-396.

¹⁰⁵ Catherine M. Jones, *An Introduction to the Chansons de geste* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014), 101.

¹⁰⁶ Philippe Lauer, ed. *Les Annales de Flodoard* (Paris: Picard, 1905), 87.

¹⁰⁷ Pauline M. Matarasso, *Recherches historiques et littéraires sur Raoul de Cambrai* (Paris: Nizet, 1962), 105-58; Sarah Kay, "La Composition de *Raoul de Cambrai*," *RBPB* 62 (1984).

have argued for a more archaic root, stretching back into the tenth century.¹⁰⁸ The existence of earlier versions of *Raoul* is corroborated by the mid-twelfth century Waulsort Chronicle, which comprises a narrative similar to the extant text in Latin.¹⁰⁹ An Occitan troubadour poem, *Cabra Juglar* (1150-1168) also references the narrative briefly.¹¹⁰

GIRART DE ROUSSILLON

Part of the cycle of rebellious barons, *La Chanson de Girart de Roussillon* is the story, in 10,000 monorhymed verses, of Girart of 'Roussillon', or 'Fraite'. When the king, Charles Martel, leads an attempt to protect Rome from Saracen invasion, assisted by Girart and his father Drogo, the latter two are escorted to Constantinople and richly rewarded by the emperor. The emperor grants his two daughters, Elissent and Berta, to Girart, on the expectation that one will be wed to Girart, and the other to Charles. Girart falls madly in love with the younger, Elissent, only to have the king demand her restitution since he, too, chose Elissent. So begins a bitter civil war, resulting in exile (twice), Girart and Berta living the life of commoners in Germany for twenty-two years, and the murder of Girart's son by a partisan of Charles, before a final battle and reconciliation.

Girart de Roussillon was a historical figure, had a wife named Berta, was involved in civil strife, and founded the monasteries which he is said to in the course of the narrative. However, the rest of the plot is entirely fictive: jumbled recollections of a series of historical and contemporary events.¹¹¹ Again, earlier versions may underlie the extant text, as suggested by the slightly different account in the *Histoire de Charles Martel* (1448). It is also possible that the *Vita Gerardi comitis*, a late twelfth-century Latin life, has some connection to a lost version, although it also used the extant *chanson* as a source for information.¹¹² An opinion that the *Vita* is late eleventh-century, proposed by

¹⁰⁸ E.g. Robert Eisner, "Raoul de Cambrai ou le tragédie du désordre," *French Review* 45, no. Special Issue 3 (1971).

¹⁰⁹ Daniel Misonne, ed. *Eilbert de Florennes: Histoire et Légende. La Geste de Raoul de Cambrai* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain, 1967), 45 and passim.

¹¹⁰ François Pirot, ed. *Guiraut de Cabrera - Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans des XII^e et XIII^e siècles: les 'sirventes - ensenhamens' de Guerau de Cabrera, Guiraut de Calanson et Bertrand de Paris* (Barcelona: Réal Academia de Buenas Letras, 1972), 196.

¹¹¹ *Girart*: III, 473-477.

¹¹² René Louis, *De l'histoire à la légende: Girart, Comte de Vienne, dans les Chansons de geste. Girart de Vienne, Girart de Fraite, Girart de Roussillon*, 3 vols. (Auxerre: Bureaux de l'Imprimerie moderne, 1947), III, Chapter VI and VII; Paul Meyer, *Girart de Roussillon, Chanson de geste* (Paris: Champion, 1884), lxxxix-clxxi.

Paul Meyer, has been dismissed by Bédier and René Louis, but on rather flimsy evidence: if true, then this has evident implications for understanding of *Girart* material.¹¹³

The extant text is twelfth-century in composition, and estimates have ranged from c.1136-1180, the evidence for *termini* provided by references to and in other literature. Most opinions converge on c.1150.¹¹⁴ The language, a puzzling dialect halfway between *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc*, supports a mid twelfth-century dating.¹¹⁵ It is due to its puzzling language, and unique postulated provenance from a region between two literary spheres (Provençal with Poitevin dialect), that it has been included in this thesis, which seeks to take a representative sample of the early *chansons*.

FIERABRAS

Attested in both long and short versions, in both *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc*, *Fierabras* concerns the legendary expedition to Spain of Charlemagne for the express purpose of liberating relics stolen from Rome. In the narrative world of the poem, and its counterpart *La Destruction de Rome*, the city had been sacked by the pagan king Balan and his gigantic son Fierabras, the latter of whom had martyred the pope. Christ's relics had been stolen. Charlemagne, accompanied by Oliver, defeats Fierabras in battle, and the pagan converts, becoming a great help to the Christians. Through the aid of a beautiful Saracen princess, the Christians triumph, and order is restored. This story is told in rhymed, rather than assonanced lines, and these are typically alexandrines. The long version consists of around 6,400 verses. The dialect varies across manuscripts, but is typically Picard, or Norman-Picard. The most recent edition, used here, is that of Marc Le Person, who consulted the twelve manuscripts of the long, *langue d'oïl* version.¹¹⁶

The extant text can be dated with some certainty, as shown by Marianne Ailes, to c.1190-1195.¹¹⁷ Many earlier suggestions were based implicitly or explicitly on Bédier, who believed the extant work to be a composite amalgamation of two texts: one ancient and 'lay', and another composed in

¹¹³ "Le Légende de Girart de Roussillon," *Romania* 7 (1878); *LÉII*, 41-43, n.2; Louis, *De l'Histoire à la légende*, III, 89-153.

¹¹⁴ *LÉII*, 3; Louis, *De l'Histoire à la légende*, II, 317.

¹¹⁵ *Girart*, 3, 479-480.

¹¹⁶ *Fierabras*.

¹¹⁷ Marianne J. Ailes, "The Date of the *Chanson de geste Fierabras*," *Olifant* 19, no. 3/4 (1995). Modified slightly by *Fierabras*, 144.

the 1170s, under the auspices of the Abbey of St. Denis.¹¹⁸ As with similar works, there has been a presumption of an earlier tradition to which the *Fierabras* is testament due to unexplained inconsistencies in the surviving narrative. This may have taken the form of an earlier *Chanson de Balan*, hypothesized by Gaston Paris, from which both *Fierabras* and *Destruction* would derive. The plot of this *Balan*, *selon* Paris, is evident in a summary included in the thirteenth-century rhymed chronicle of Phillipe Mousket (c.1260).¹¹⁹ This opinion still has supporters: the most recent edition considers favourably the position that there were four separate stages in the creation of the text before the extant *Fierabras*.¹²⁰ The 'historic' root of the *chanson* has been thought to have been based on various historical sieges of Rome, understood synchronically: that by 'Saracens' in 846, by Normans in 1083-1084, by Emperor Henry IV in 1084, or even the Eastern Roman Empire in 537.¹²¹

DEVELOPMENT

This section will deal with four interrelated facets of the genesis of the *chansons de geste*. When can we definitively say that the *chansons de geste* had emerged by, and at what point before that is there strong evidence for a similar tradition? Secondly, were these texts spontaneous outpourings of folk memory later sacralized in texts, or distinct literary creations of the High Middle Ages? Thirdly, what influenced the 'holy war' themes of the *chansons*? Finally, were these texts orally composed, textually composed and then orally transmitted, or both composed and transmitted textually?

The earliest extant manuscript containing a *chanson de geste* is that of the Oxford *Roland*: MS Digby 23. Dating of the manuscript varies considerably, estimates ranging between 1119 and 1170.¹²² It is therefore impossible to know anything about the contents and style of *chansons de geste* before c.1119, but much can be induced or reasonably surmised from surviving evidence. Firstly, surviving manuscripts are nearly exclusively copies, evident from errors and rhyme variants. This means that

¹¹⁸ Joseph Bédier, "La Composition de *La Chanson de Fierabras*," *Romania* 16 (1888).

¹¹⁹ Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Bouillon, 1905), 251.

¹²⁰ *Fierabras*, 144-152. Also, Johann H. Speich, ed. *La Destruction de Rome* (Bern: Europäische Hochschulschriften, 1988), 11-15.

¹²¹ Mario Roques, "L'Élément historique dans *Fierabras* et dans la branche II du *Couronnement Loois*," *Romania* 30 (1901); Gordon A. Knott, "The Historical Sources of *Fierabras*," *Modern Language Review* 52 (1957).

¹²² See, among others, Short, "The Oxford Manuscript."; Charles Samaran, "Sur la date approximative de *Roland* d'Oxford," *Romania* 94 (1973); Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Date of the Oxford Manuscript of *La Chanson de Roland* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 23)," *Medioevo Romanzo* 10 (1985). These argue for c.1170, 1130-1150, and 1119-1149 respectively.

substantially the same poems must have existed earlier. It is possible to date the composition of a text significantly earlier than its manuscript tradition, by virtue of linguistic evidence, textual parallels with other datable works, and through perceived historical relevance to external political and cultural situations. *Roland*, *Guillaume*, and *Gormont* are routinely considered to have existed in substantially the same form as now attested before c.1100.

Furthermore, scattered evidence suggests that elements of the narratives of extant *chansons* were circulating in the eleventh century, and often earlier.¹²³ Again, it is impossible to say whether these narratives were contained in poems of the form known today as the *chansons*, but it seems likely. There are also oblique references to eleventh-century and earlier sung performances which resemble those of *chansons de geste*. Some examples follow.

Without provoking a prolonged and poorly-evidenced discussion of Merovingian and Carolingian traditions of epic song, a few points will illustrate that epic recital is assumed to have been a continuous process, whether in Latin or nascent French, for several hundred years before 1095. The *Vita Karoli Magni* (c.817-833) describes Charlemagne himself as either composing or redacting epic vernacular poetry: ‘*barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, scripsit memoriae mandavit.*’ It is evident from context that these songs are in Frankish; the text continues with how Charlemagne also began a grammar of his native language.¹²⁴ The *Vita Hludovici*, attributed to Hilduin, was written 840-841, and includes evidence that the story of the ambush at Roncesvalles found in the *Roland* was widespread by that date. We can have no idea of the language or nature of any accounts, but the words that the author uses to describe his omission of the names of the leaders are intriguing: ‘*Quorum, quia vulgata sunt, nomina dicere supersedi.*’¹²⁵ That the names of the leaders should be described as such attests pervasive popular knowledge; an early *Chanson de Roland* may have been already popular by that date. However, proximity to the events themselves prohibit firm conclusions. In 869, Hildegard, Bishop of Meaux referred to a ‘*carmen publicum iuxta rusticorum*’ still being sung about King Clothar’s (r. 613-629) victory over the Saxons, quoting the first four and last four lines, which are evidently epic, but in Latin.¹²⁶ The *Poeta Saxo*, writing at

¹²³ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 289; Suard, *Guide*, 33-45.

^{124*} G. Waitz, ed. *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni* (Hannover: Hahn, 1911), 33.

^{125*} Ernst Tremp, ed. *Thegan: Die Taten Kaiser Ludwigs, Astronomus: Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs* (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), 288.

^{126*} Ferdinand Lot, "Encore la cantilène de Saint Faron," *Modern Philology* 37 (1941); Ernst Robert Curtius, "Über der altfranzösische Epik V," *ZRP* 68, no. 3-4 (1952): 177-179.

the end of the ninth century, discussed the '*vulgaria carmina*' celebrating Carolingian rulers who preceded Charlemagne.¹²⁷

The Hague Fragment, a Latin text of c.170 lines, found by Georg Pertz in MS. 921 of the Bibliothèque Royale of The Hague in 1839, provides early evidence of the circulation of *chanson* material. The fragment describes Christian warriors fighting Saracens outside an unidentified town, and is clearly linked with the cycle of William of Orange, more precisely the *chanson Les Narbonnais*.¹²⁸ The dating of the fragment varies, but the most respected opinion is still that of Louis Demaison, who dated it to the first half of the eleventh century.¹²⁹ Since the text is in Latin hexameters, the relationship to Old French literature has been questioned: Suchier's assertion that it was likely a student exercise in composition of translated material has been combatted independently by Schumann and Aebischer.¹³⁰ Whether the underlying material to which this text attests was in Latin or Old French remains obscure, but stylistically and topically, it is related to the existing *chansons*, perhaps constituting an 'intermediary stage' in the genre's development.¹³¹

The *Nota Emilianense*, discovered 1953, provided new evidence for the antiquity of the subject matter of the *chansons*. A short fragment of a Latin summary of *chanson* material, it references the names of several heroes of existing *chansons*: Roland, Ogier the Dane (known as *Oggero spata curta*, Ogier short-sword), William of Orange (known as *Ghigelmo alcorbitanas*, William short-nose, the same epithet he is referred to in the *Guillaume*), Oliver, and the warrior-bishop Turpin.¹³² The text, written in corrupt Latin, is almost certainly a translation of Old French, and can be dated to c.1025-1075.¹³³ It presents evidence for early-to-mid eleventh-century Old French *chansons* material, with epithets related to those in extant works.

The chronicle of Hariulf of St. Riquier (1088, revised 1104-5) specifies that it was using sung oral material as a source, before describing a narrative closely related to *Gormont et Isembart*, at points

^{127*} Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed. *Annales et chronica aevi Carolini* (Hannover: Hahn, 1826), 268-269.

¹²⁸ Hermann Suchier, ed. *Les Narbonnais: Chanson de geste*, 2 vols. (Paris: Didot, 1898), I, 167-92.

¹²⁹ Louis Demaison, *Aymeri de Narbonne: Chanson de geste* (Paris: Didot, 1887), Vol. 1, 131. Dating ranges from the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh centuries: see Siciliano, *Les Chansons de geste et l'épopée*, 270-272.

¹³⁰ Suchier, *Les Narbonnais*, I, lxxviii; Otto Schumann, "Über des Haager Fragment," *ZRP* 67 (1951): 131, 133-135; Paul Aebischer, "Le Fragment de la Haye. Les Problèmes qu'il pose et les enseignements qu'il donne," *ZRP* 73 (1957): 20 sqq.

¹³¹ "Le Fragment de la Haye," 36-37.

¹³² Text reproduced in Frappier, *Chansons de geste*, I, 76.

¹³³ Dámaso Alonso, "La primitiva épica francesa a la luz de una nota emilianense," *Revista de filología española* 37 (1953): 42-43; Frappier, *Chansons de geste*, I, 79; Ramón Menéndez-Pidal and René Louis, *La Chanson de Roland et la tradition épique des Francs*, trans. Irénée-Marcel Cluzel (Paris: Picard, 1960), 387.

almost textually identical.¹³⁴ Rita Lejeune has argued convincingly that the *Passio Agilolfi*, a Latin hagiography of Agilulfus of Cologne (†750), was utilizing material from *chansons de geste*, specifically on the *enfances*, or childhood, of Charlemagne.¹³⁵ The dating of the *Passio* is again disputed, but likely between 1020 and 1071; no date has been proposed later than 1100.¹³⁶

A powerful attestation to the existence of the *Roland* material before the First Crusade is the naming of pairs of brothers Roland and Oliver, after the *chanson*'s heroes, in St. Aubin d'Angers (c.1082) and St. Pé de Générès (1096), among other locations further into the twelfth century, including Stainton in Lincolnshire.¹³⁷ These figures are invariably adults, providing evidence that these names, associated in pairs, were culturally contemporaneous in the mid- to late-eleventh century.

The donation of Fulrad, a forged will dated to 778 but written in the late ninth century, contains the name 'Rotlandus comes' as an attempt at verification. This suggests that the name was known at this date, although whether from a widespread vernacular tradition, or merely from Einhard's works, cannot be proven.¹³⁸ We have evidence of another eight forged charters using the names of Roland, Oliver, or Turpin to verify their claims before the fourteenth century, and one additional epic truth-*topos*, which can be dated to c.1090. This diploma from Saint-Yrieix-de-la-Perche calls upon: 'Domno Turpione, Otgerio palatino ac Guillelmo Curbinaso', all conventional figures from the cycle of *Garin de Monglane* and the *Cycle de Roi*.¹³⁹ Ogier the Dane, one of Charlemagne's twelve peers, is also referenced in a document, c.1080, of the monastery of St. Faron at Meaux.¹⁴⁰

Although there are few eleventh-century references to a sung *Roland*, there are twelfth-century examples which postulate the existence of such a performance in the eleventh century. Before the battle of Hastings, supposedly, songs were sung to encourage great deeds to the Normans.

¹³⁴ Lot, *Hariulf*, 141.

¹³⁵ Rita Lejeune, *Recherches sur le thème: Les Chansons de geste et l'histoire* (Liège: Faculté de philosophie et lettres, 1948), 18-30.

¹³⁶ *LEIII*, 35; Wilhelm Levison, "Bischof Agilolf von Köln und seine Passio," *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 115 (1929); Ellen Fenzel Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 18, 168, 213-219.

¹³⁷ Paul Aebischer, "Les Trois Mentions plus anciennes du couple "Roland et Olivier"," *RBPH* 30 (1952); Douglas, "Song of Roland," 107. More generally, Joseph J. Duggan, *A Guide to Studies on the Chanson de Roland* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1976), 100-104.

^{138*} Michael Tangl, "Das Testament Fulrads von Saint-Denis," *Neues Archiv für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 32 (1907); Rita Lejeune, "Le Légende de Roland et la fausse donation de Fulrad," *Le Moyen Âge* 81 (1975).

¹³⁹ Menéndez-Pidal and Louis, *La Chanson de Roland*, 403; *LEIV*, 420-423.

¹⁴⁰ Lejeune, *Recherches sur le thème*, 55-64.

William of Malmesbury (writing 1125-1127) and Wace (1160-1174) record a ‘*cantilena Rolandi*’ and portray Taillefer, a minstrel, ‘*chantant de Karlemaigne et de Rollant // e d’Oliver e des vassals // Qui morurent en Rencevals*’ respectively.¹⁴¹ Twelfth-century writers and audiences evidently expected their eleventh-century predecessors to have been singing *chansons de geste*. Orderic Vitalis (writing c.1127) included a story about Gerald of Avranches, a Norman chaplain, reciting tales of ‘*sancto athleta Willelmus*’, clearly William of Orange, in the court of Earl Hugh of Chester shortly after Hastings.¹⁴² Although writing somewhat later, Orderic clearly thought it plausible that such an event could have taken place.¹⁴³

The final piece of significant evidence for a pre-1100 existence of the *chansons* is found in the extant *Guillaume*, where a character discusses William’s favourite *jongleur*, who sung of Clovis, Flovent, Pepin, Charlemagne, Roland, Girart de Vienne, and Oliver.¹⁴⁴ Although the dating of the text is problematic (p.31), that such a developed tradition can be referred to so early in the textual tradition of the genre is telling. It is possible also that the *chansons de geste* were underwritten by an earlier Occitan tradition, but this theory, lacking firm evidence, bases itself on toponymical evidence and perceived ‘southern’ subject matter, alongside the existence of early (but later than the *Roland*) texts such as the *Canso d’Antioca*, Occitan versions of *Fierabras* and the mixed dialect of *Girart de Rousillon*, alongside a few scattered references.¹⁴⁵

It has occasionally been thought possible to determine the date of the *chansons*’ composition through reference to their cultural ‘*mentalités*’. The most recent example of this approach concluded that although elements of the *chansons* could be considered Carolingian in tone, others are clearly more Capetian.¹⁴⁶ The work of Dominique Boutet and Florence Goyet in particular has considered the *chansons* in the context of social and cultural change in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.¹⁴⁷ Aligning the ‘spirit’ of the texts with history provided, however, the basis for the most controversial

¹⁴¹* *WM*, 454; William Sayers, "The *jongleur* Taillefer at Hastings: Antecedents and Literary Fate," *Viator* 14 (1983); Glyn Sheridan Burgess, Anthony John Holden, and Elisabeth van Houts, eds., *Wace: The 'Roman de Rou'* (St. Helier: Société Jersiaise, 2002), 270; Françoise Hazel Marie Le Saux, *A Companion to Wace* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 156, 241.

¹⁴²* Marjorie Chibnall, ed. *Orderici Vitalis Historia Ecclesiastica. The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, vol. 3: Books 5 and 6* (Oxford: OUP, 1972), 216.

¹⁴³ Douglas, "Song of Roland," 100.

¹⁴⁴ *Guillaume*, 95.

¹⁴⁵ Robert Lafont, "Pour rendre à l'Oc et aux Normands leur dû: Genèse et premier développement de l'art épique gallo-roman," *CCM* 42 (1999). For an opposing view, Delbouille, *Sur la genèse*, 98-136.

¹⁴⁶ Marielle Lignereux and Jean-Pierre Martin, *La Chanson de Roland* (Neuilly: Atlande, 2003).

¹⁴⁷ Dominique Boutet, *Formes littéraires et conscience historique aux origines de la littérature française 1100-1250* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999); Florence Goyet, *Penser sans concepts: Fonction de l'épopée guerrière* (Paris: Champion, 2006).

debate on the *chansons*, varying opinions on which still inform and warp discourse: traditionalism/individualism.¹⁴⁸

After the 'rediscovery' of the *chansons* with Francisque Michel's 1835 unearthing of the *Roland* manuscript, scholars set to work positioning the genesis of the genre in literary-historiographical context. Absence of evidence, as ever, led to scholars reverting to ideological standpoints, which viewed the *chansons* as important stages in their own national or Romantic story. The earliest scholars, led by Gaston Paris, Pio Ranja, and Léon Gautier, saw the *chansons* as springing collectively from the people involved in events in the 'epic' past, transmitted orally: an act of developing tradition. The poet, the individual with authorial intent, was subservient to the poem, which existed throughout time. At the turn of the century, Achille Luchaire, contributing to a Whig history of France, summarized the traditional point of view: '*Après tout, qu'importe le poète? Nous avons le poème...*'¹⁴⁹

Bédier, writing his first editions 1908-1912, changed the study of the *chansons de geste* significantly in his four-volume *Les Légendes épiques*. Instead of being based on cultural memory from the mythic Carolingian past, the *chansons*, Bédier argued, were fundamentally works of the eleventh/twelfth centuries, inspired and informed by contemporary cultural concerns. In this context, he convincingly linked the *Roland* to locations on the pilgrimage route towards Compostella: Vézelay, Saint Romain-de-Blaye, Saint Seurin-de-Bordeaux, and Roncesvalles (although Bloch's objection that St. James is rarely mentioned is still striking).¹⁵⁰ In so doing, he resurrected the idea of a poet of genius, with authorial intent, insisting that the texts as now witnessed are discrete acts of individual creation. In essence, the controversy that then arose is whether the writing of these texts constituted literary *composition* or *memorialization*.

Both the 'traditionalists' (those led by Gautier and Paris) and the 'individualists' (or *Bédieristes*), were fundamentally shaped by the tension between 'Germanic', *qua* 'Romantic', oral traditions; and 'French' exceptionalism.¹⁵¹ For example, Gaston Paris gave a lecture on the 'French'

¹⁴⁸ For this historiography, and references to all generic works which follow, see both Charles Ridoux, *Évolution des études médiévales en France de 1860 à 1914* (Paris: Champion, 2001), 613-694, 1001-1022; Suard, *Guide*, 39-45.

^{149*} Achille Luchaire, *Les Premiers Capétiens, 987-1137* (Paris: Hachette, 1901), 393.

¹⁵⁰ Bloch, *Société féodale*, I, 153.

¹⁵¹ See Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "'Un Souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé': Friedrich Diez, Gaston Paris, und die Genese der Nationalphilologie," *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 14, no. 53/54 (1984); Ralph Howard Bloch, "The First Document and the Birth of Medieval Studies," in *A New History of French Literature*, ed. Denis Hollier (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989), 10-13; Joseph J. Duggan, "Franco-German Conflict and the History of French Scholarship on the *Chanson de Roland*," in *Hermeneutics*

epic tradition of Roland in 1870 to his students, while Paris was besieged by the Prussians.¹⁵² Even in 1923, Prosper Boissonade asserted how the *Roland's* place in the western literary canon '*peut s'enorgueillir l'esprit français*'.¹⁵³ This is of great relevance to this thesis because these concerns shaped scholarship on the *chansons* as they did on the crusades, viewed for much of the nineteenth century by French scholarship as a mirror for colonialism, French exceptionalism, national historic pride, and imperialism.¹⁵⁴

An additional concern accompanied this new reading. If the inspiration for the *chansons* were not the Carolingian wars of the eighth century, what conflicts did serve as their theoretical underpinning? All could recognize a focus on sacralized warfare in the *chansons*, leaving two schools of thought. For Bédier and his followers, asserting the importance of the pilgrimage routes, the wars which inspired or informed the *Roland*, and the genre more widely, were the Christian-Muslim holy wars of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁵⁵ This idea had been proposed already, by Luchaire, but was developed by Bédier.¹⁵⁶ The opposing opinion, that the *chansons* were influenced and inspired by the crusades after 1095 to the Holy Land, was hampered by the absence of direct crusading references in the *chansons*. This is not entirely universal. *Renaut de Montauban* features its eponymous hero reclaiming Jerusalem from a Saracen emir,¹⁵⁷ and *Simon de Pouille* contains limited crusading themes.¹⁵⁸ But the central corpus of *chansons* is almost entirely devoid of these narrative features: Spain is the pagan land; the Mediterranean the battlefield.

Even before Bédier's theories had profoundly changed the consideration of the *chansons*, scholars disagreed on the relationship between the poems and crusading. Gaston Paris, as part of a historiographical movement which saw both as glorious 'French' achievement, stated: '*La croisade*

and Medieval Culture, ed. Helen Damico and Patrick J. Gallacher (Albany, New York: State University of New York, 1989); Michelle Warren, *Creole Medievalism: Colonial France and Joseph Bédier's Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

¹⁵² Ursula Baehler, "Entre science, patrie et foi. Lectures du Moyen Âge en France," *Equinox* 16 (1996).

¹⁵³* P. Boissonnade, *Du nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland: la Genèse historique, le cadre géographique, le milieu, les personnages, la date, et l'auteur du poème* (Paris: Champion, 1923), 2.

¹⁵⁴ Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 133-152 and passim.

¹⁵⁵ *LEIII*, 361-385.

¹⁵⁶ Luchaire, *Premiers Capétiens*, 392. Bédier was also anticipated in many regards by Philipp August Becker, *Grundriss der altfranzösischen Literatur* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1907).

¹⁵⁷ Jacques Thomas, ed. '*Renaut de Montauban*', *édition critique du manuscrit Douce* (Geneva: Droz, 1989), vv. 15146-16458.

¹⁵⁸ See David A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100-1300)* (Geneva: Droz, 1987), 78.

*n'aurait pas eu lieu sans la Chanson de Roland.*¹⁵⁹ His contemporary, Gautier, argued the inverse.¹⁶⁰ Carl Erdmann cited both, but left the question unaddressed, testament to the problematic nature of the question of influence.¹⁶¹

A quadripartite argument over the influences on the *chansons* depiction of holy war continues. The crusades to the Levant, the expeditions in Spain, Norman wars in the south of Italy and Byzantium, and the Carolingian wars of conversion, are variously attributed with important roles.

The dominant influence has been considered to be the Spanish expeditions: Boissonade identified twenty expeditions of French knightly forces into Spain 1017-1120, the period which he considered to be that of the genesis of the *Roland*.¹⁶² Paul Bancourt noted that both *Roland* and *Guillaume*, two early texts, barely mention 'Turks', the main opponents of the First Crusade, when compared with 'Saracens' and 'Arabs' (both appropriate terms for enemies in Spain), unlike later *chansons*.¹⁶³ Ramón Menéndez-Pidal asserted the Spanish roots of *chansons de geste*.¹⁶⁴

For others, the religious context of the warfare could only mean 'crusade' in a post-1095 sense.¹⁶⁵ Anour Hatem saw the heroes of the *chansons* as crusaders.¹⁶⁶ Beatrice Lees, in her edition of the *Gesta Francorum*, made reference to *Roland* and *Pèlerinage* as analogues to the crusading movement. For her, the *chansons* were popular reactions to the themes of the First Crusade.¹⁶⁷ T. Atkinson Jenkins went so far as to suggest the *Roland* was composed especially for the crusade.¹⁶⁸ As recently as 2014, Laura Ashe asserted that the *Roland* had so explicit a crusading context of sacralized warfare that the extant text as composed cannot date from before 1100.¹⁶⁹ This seems uncertain: questions of dating

¹⁵⁹* Gaston Paris, "Review of A. Marignan, 'La tapisserie de Bayeux: étude archéologique et critique'," *Romania* 31 (1902).

¹⁶⁰ Léon Gautier, *Les Épopées françaises*, vol. 3 (Paris: Société Général de Libraire Catholique, 1880).

¹⁶¹ Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall White Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 284-285.

¹⁶² Boissonade, *Du nouveau*, 5.

¹⁶³ Paul Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste du cycle du roi*, 2 vols. (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1982), Vol. 1, 11. For the absence of knowledge of the Turks prior to the First Crusade in the West, see Nicholas Morton, "Encountering the Turks: The First Crusaders' Foreknowledge of their Enemy; Some Preliminary Findings," in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*, ed. Simon John and Nicholas Morton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

¹⁶⁴ Menéndez-Pidal and Louis, *La Chanson de Roland*, 243.

¹⁶⁵ Hans-Wilhelm Klein, "Der Kreuzzugsgedanke im Rolandslied und die neuere Rolandsforschung," *Die Neueren Sprachen*, nova series 5 (1956).

¹⁶⁶ Anour Hatem, *Les Poèmes épiques des croisades: Genèse - Historicité - Localisation: Essai sur l'activité littéraire dans les colonies franques de Syrie au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Geuthner, 1932), 32.

¹⁶⁷ Beatrice A. Lees, ed. *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* (Oxford: OUP, 1924), xix.

¹⁶⁸ T. Atkinson Jenkins, ed. *La Chanson de Roland: Oxford Version* (Boston: Heath, 1924), v.

¹⁶⁹ Laura Ashe, "The Ideal of Knighthood in English and French Writing, 1100-1230: Crusade, Piety, Chivalry and Patriotism," in *WEC*, 157.

based on 'ideology' can rarely be so clear-cut, and 'Holy War' ideology had long been a feature of the western European intellectual tradition.¹⁷⁰

Worthy of note is the attempt to link the *Roland* in particular with Norman experiences in the south, particularly in Byzantium, c.1081, an avenue of investigation only partially developed in modern scholarship.¹⁷¹ David Trotter argued that the *chansons* 'indirectly invoke' the themes of the crusading movement without ever making them explicit, but many of the more thematic similarities between the two genres are non-specific and representative of twelfth-century literature as a whole. His work carefully delineates 'holy war' and 'crusade', and draws attention to Carolingian holy wars in which mass baptism and forced conversion were paramount, as evidence that references to sacralized warfare cannot be used successfully to reconstruct a date for the genesis of many *chansons*.¹⁷² This cautious approach argued for a synthesis of these different influences, as had already been championed by Pierre Le Gentil and would be refined by Jean Flori.¹⁷³

Throughout these discussions, the debate between traditionalism and individualism continued. For the first half of the twentieth century, Bédier's view was dominant, although Ferdinand Lot, René Louis, and Lejeune insisted on tenth century, even Carolingian roots to the *chansons de geste*.¹⁷⁴ The field changed with Menéndez-Pidal's *La Chanson de Roland y el neotradicionalismo* (1959), which hypothesized a continuous poetic tradition from the events described to the time of redaction, which started as *cantos noticieros* (news-bearing songs), and underwent a long process of oral

¹⁷⁰ See Jean Flori, "Guerre sainte et rétributions spirituelles dans la 2^e moitié du XI^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* LXXXV (1990); John France, "Holy War and Holy Men: Erdmann and the Lives of the Saints," in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume One: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: CUP, 2003).

¹⁷¹ Henri Grégoire, "De Marsile à Andernas ou l'Islam et Byzance dans l'épopée française," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati 3 (Letteratura e Storia Bizantina)* (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1946); Henri Grégoire and Robert deKeyser, "La Chanson de Roland et Byzance; ou De l'utilité du Grec pour les Romanistes," *Byzantion* 14 (1939).

¹⁷² Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades*, 28 and passim. The same conclusion is reached in Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters: Studien zu ihrer Geschichtlichen und Dicterischen Wirklichkeit* (Berlin: Gruyter, 1960), 77.

¹⁷³ Pierre Le Gentil, *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris: Hatier, 1967); Flori, "Guerre sainte et rétributions spirituelles."

¹⁷⁴ Robert Bossuat and Ferdinand Lot, *Études sur les légendes épiques françaises* (Paris: Champion, 1970), a reprint of Lot's articles; Lejeune, *Recherches sur le thème*; René Louis, "L'Épopée française est carolingienne," in *Coloquios de Roncesvalles, agosto 1955* (Zaragoza: Zaragoza Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1956). See the concise summary in Bloch, *Société féodale*, I, 157. For Bédier's dominance, see Edmond Faral, *La Chanson de Roland: Étude et analyse* (Paris: Mellottée, 1934).

reworking, ultimately being recorded in the extant texts by clerics.¹⁷⁵ Bédier's views fell from favour, although elements informed new approaches in the latter twentieth century.¹⁷⁶

The other serious debate surrounding the *chansons de geste* concerns the issue of orality. Jean Rychner's 1955 work was situated, as demonstrated, in a re-opening of the debate on the genesis of the *chansons*. This allowed once again for the idea of a long oral tradition, perhaps from the Carolingian past. Rychner investigated the 'oral' nature of the *chansons*' composition, concluding that not only were the *chansons* composed, but also probably transmitted, orally.¹⁷⁷ Based in the work of Parry and Lord on oral composition in Homeric epic, influenced by the work of Gregoire and deKeyser in the earlier twentieth century on oral traditions in the Balkans, Rychner reinvigorated the study of 'motifs'.¹⁷⁸ This new focus complemented a reassertion of the musicality and cadence of the *chansons* as sung works, demonstrated to be formulaic and suited to oral recitation and composition shortly before Rychner's study by the musicologist Jacques Chailley.¹⁷⁹ The addition of the letters *AOI* to many of the *laissez* in *Roland* has created speculation that these are in some way related to oral performance or accompanying music, but their precise meaning remains obscure.¹⁸⁰

Motifs and their connection with oral memory, composition, and performance dominated the field of late twentieth-century *chansons* scholarship, with Duggan and Boutet the two most eloquent apologists.¹⁸¹ Duggan has even remarked that formulaic language and oral composition are inextricably linked.¹⁸² This, too, has not been without detractors. Italo Siciliano reasserted textuality, individual authorial intent, diachronicity, and the importance of redaction as a starting point for the poem, rather than an interpretive moment.¹⁸³ Segre and Speroni have argued that although the

¹⁷⁵ Menéndez-Pidal, *La Chanson de Roland y el neotradicionalismo*; Menéndez-Pidal and Louis, *La Chanson de Roland*, 456-465.

¹⁷⁶ See Urban Tigner Holmes Jr, "The Post-Bédier Theories on the Origins of the *Chansons de Geste*," *Speculum* 30, no. 1 (1955); Kurt Kloocke, *Bédiers Theorie über den Ursprung der Chansons de Geste und die daran anschließende Diskussion zwischen 1908 und 1968* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1972).

¹⁷⁷ Rychner, *Essai*, 35.

¹⁷⁸ Grégoire and deKeyser, "La *Chanson de Roland* et Byzance," 267; Milman Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I. Homer and Homeric Style," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41 (1930); Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964).

¹⁷⁹ Jacques Chailley, "Études musicales sur la chanson de geste et ses origines," *Revue de Musicologie* 30 (1948).

¹⁸⁰ Gustav Adolf, "Aoi und kein Ende?," *ZRP* 124 (2008). For a summary of different positions, Duggan, *Guide to Studies*, 69-70.

¹⁸¹ Dominique Boutet, *La Chanson de geste: Forme et signification d'une écriture du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1993).

¹⁸² Joseph J. Duggan, *The Song of Roland: Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 16.

¹⁸³ Siciliano, *Les Chansons de geste et l'épopée*, 284.

chansons were orally performed, they had a written composition and process of revision.¹⁸⁴ Many works highlighted the 'Latinity' of the *chansons*, reasserting that influence flowed not purely from the *chansons* to Latin texts, but also the other way, demonstrating the *chansons'* engagement within Latin historiography.¹⁸⁵

With both debates, of individualism/traditionalism/neo-traditionalism and orality/textuality, a synthesis of the two is possible. In this model, oral traditions stem from the events themselves, or shortly after, persisting until the thirteenth century, but the texts that we possess are in manuscripts, and so must be treated as qualitatively different, and as literary artefacts of a later period. This, with occasional modification of emphasis, is today the most prevalent view.¹⁸⁶

Throughout the transformation of the *chansons* from oral to written, two general tendencies of change are evident. Firstly, the versification shifts from assonanced to rhymed, from 'heard' to 'observed': in some cases, this process of change can be seen through comparison with earlier fragments.¹⁸⁷ Secondly, both individual *laissez* and the poems themselves get longer, often dramatically. Neither observation is universal; some assonanced poems are later than rhymed ones, and some later works have shorter *laissez* and are less extensive. But both observations are concordant with a broad move from 'oral' to 'written' literature.¹⁸⁸

AUDIENCE AND MOTIVATIONS

One question which remains problematic is that of identification of the audience for which the genre was intended. What function did the *chanson* play? Duggan outlined five 'Functions of the Epic', all of which varied with time, place, language, and the audience's social class.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Cesare Segre and Gian Battista Speroni, "Filologia testuale e letteratura italiana del Medioevo," *Romance Philology* 45 (1991-2): 63.

¹⁸⁵ Guiseppe Chiri, *L'epica latina medioevale e La Chanson de Roland* (Geneva: Orfini, 1936); Maurice Delbouille, "D'où venait la chanson de geste?," *CCM* 15 (1972): 220; Douglas D. R. Owen, "The Epic and History: *Chanson de Roland* and *Carmen de Hastingae proelio*," *Medium aevum* 51 (1982).

¹⁸⁶ In this regard, a precedent was set by Wolfgang Georg Van Emden, "*La Bataille est aduree endementres*: Traditionalism and Individualism in *Chanson de Geste* Studies" *Nottingham Medieval Studies* XIII (1969). For synthesis, see Dominique Boutet, "The *Chanson de geste* and Orality," in *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. Karl Reichl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

¹⁸⁷ E.g. Gweneth Hutchings, "Les Narbonnais (Fragments of an Assonanced Version)," in *Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature: Presented to Professor Mildred K. Pope by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939).

¹⁸⁸ Delbouille, "D'où venait la chanson de geste?," 212.

¹⁸⁹ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 285-288.

1. Entertainment. This is evidenced by the performance of *chansons de geste* at social events, such as weddings, fairs, and gatherings.
2. Sanction of conduct. This constitutes a double-edged motivation: to curse and denigrate unfaithfulness or treachery; and to praise heroism, loyalty, piety, and valour.
3. Spreading the news of current events. Following the work of Menéndez-Pidal, Duggan believed that some, but not all of the *chansons*, derived from contemporary songs which formed a verbal news distribution system. Menéndez-Pidal referred to this epic skeleton of a later *chanson* as a '*canto noticiero*'.¹⁹⁰ This theory owed much to Paris' theory for the formation of the *chansons de geste*, the oral *cantilènes* with eighth-century origins.¹⁹¹
4. Preserving awareness of the past. In a period dominated by lineage, shared cultural memory played an important role. Audiences understood the *chansons* to be accurate representations of 'history'. In Duggan's own words: 'Epic is a confirmation of values coupled with a remembrance of past heroes whose actions preserved the social group.'¹⁹² On this aspect, Lejeune's (1948) argument that clerics were reworking, into Latin texts, *chanson* material which pre-dated the latter texts' composition, for example, the *Passio Agilolphi* (1020-1048) and the *Chronicon sive Chronographia* of Sigebert of Gembloux (before 1112), has been significant.¹⁹³ The exchange could be mutual, with material switching between vernacular and Latin texts with ease.¹⁹⁴
5. Providing models for imitation. Among other evidence, this is suggested by Wace's depiction of the Normans who fought at Hastings hearing a song of Roland before the combat.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ Menéndez-Pidal and Louis, *La Chanson de Roland*, 3-50, 254, 481.

¹⁹¹ On this theory, generally associated with Gaston Paris but fully defined only in opposition, see *LÉIII*, 230-249.

¹⁹² Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 285, 304, 306, 311. For the argument that the impulse to write history and to write epic were the same in the twelfth century, see Robert M. Stein, *Reality Fictions: Romance, History, and Governmental Authority 1025-1180* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), esp. 206.

¹⁹³ Lejeune, *Recherches sur le thème*, 20-31, 199-212.

¹⁹⁴ Edmond Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Âge*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Paris: Champion, 1926), 67, 278; Maurice Delbouille, "Les Chansons de geste et le livre," in *La Technique littéraire des chansons de geste: Actes du Colloque de Liège (septembre 1957)*, ed. Maurice Delbouille (Paris: Belles-lettres, 1959), 310; Léon Gautier, *Les Épopées françaises: Étude sur les origines et l'histoire de la littérature nationale* 2nd ed., 4 vols., vol. 1 (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1966), 119-21, 554; Marianne J. Ailes, "From Epic to Chronicle and Back: The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Chanson de geste Fierabras*," in *Thirty Years of Medieval Studies at the University of Reading, 1965-1995: A Celebration*, ed. Anne Curry (Reading: Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies, 1995).

¹⁹⁵ See Le Saux, *A Companion to Wace*, 241.

It is difficult to reconstruct the circumstances in which the *chansons* were performed. Few accounts of their recital of a relevant age survive. If we assume that the depictions in Peter the Chanter's *Summa de sacramentis* (c.1191) and Thomas Cobham's *Summa Confessorum* (c.1216) can apply to the singing of *jongleurs* in the late-eleventh/early-twelfth centuries, those who '*cantent de gestis*' do so '*ad recreationem vel forte ad informationem*' (Peter), or rather '*faciunt solatia hominibus*' (Thomas). Interestingly, in Cobham's account, the same minstrels both sing 'deeds of princes', but also 'lives of saints', attesting to a shared sung culture of hagiography and epic.¹⁹⁶ Both writers consider *jongleurs*, or '*ioculatores*', as semi-respectable, contrasted with mere entertainers.¹⁹⁷

Recitals of the *chansons* may have had a place on campaign and on the battlefield. The famous example of Taillefer at Hastings (p.45) is supplemented by evidence such as the murals in the Templar chapel at Cressac-Saint-Denis (c.1180), where a viol-playing figure accompanies knights riding out to the battle of al-Buqaia.¹⁹⁸ In a unique passage, the *Historia Belli Sacri* tells of the presence of all kinds of musicians accompanying knights on the First Crusade.¹⁹⁹ This concept was also current before the twelfth century: the *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* (in this case, written by Ralph Tortaire in the late-eleventh century) report a group of brigands who '*scurram se praecedere facerent, qui musico instrumento res fortiter gestas et priorum bella praecinere*'.²⁰⁰ The *Guillaume* contains a description of a jongleur beloved to the eponymous hero who fights in battle valiantly and sings brilliantly as well.²⁰¹ Edmond Faral described the recitations of *jongleurs* in war as a '*moyen d'exciter les vertus guerrières*'.²⁰² There is even evidence for the singing of similar material in the Latin texts for the First Crusade. Raymond of Aguilers, discussing the soldiers marching outside Antioch in 1098, says they '*cantus militares tam festive milites agerent*'.²⁰³ Although there is no confirmation that these are vernacular, or epic in tone, they should probably be

¹⁹⁶ See Suard, *Guide*, 24-26.

^{197*} Jean Albert Dugauquier, ed. *Pierre le chantré: Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis, III, Prologomena* (Louvain: Editions Nauwelaerts, 1961), 2a, 176-177; Rev. F. Broomfield, ed. *Thomae de Chobham: Summa confessorum* (Louvain: Editions Nauwelaerts, 1968), 292.

¹⁹⁸ Bernard Gitton, "De l'emploi des *chansons de geste* pour entraîner les guerriers au combat," in *La Chanson de geste et le mythe Carolingien. Mélanges René Louis, publiés par ses collègues, ses amis, et ses élèves à l'occasion de son 75^e anniversaire*, ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner, et al. (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay: Dépôt au Musée Archéologique Régional, 1982), 9, fig. 2, and passim.

¹⁹⁹ *HBS*, 13.

^{200*} Eugène de Certain, ed. *Les Miracles de Saint Benoît, écrits par Adrevald, Aimoin, André, Raoul Tortaire, et Hugues de Sainte Marie* (Paris: Renouard, 1858), 337.

²⁰¹ *Guillaume*, 95.

^{202*} Edmond Faral, "À propos de La Chanson de Roland: Genèse et signification du personnage du Turpin," in *La Technique littéraire des chansons de geste: Actes du Colloque de Liège (septembre 1957)*, ed. Maurice Delbouille (Paris: Belles-lettres, 1959), 279.

^{203*} *RA*, 57.

associated with the *chansons*. According to Orderic Vitalis, William IX of Poitiers performed songs of captivity, perhaps related to the *Chétifs*, returning from the Crusade of 1101 ‘*coram regibus et magnatis...rithmicis versibus cum facietis modulationibus*’.²⁰⁴

In conclusion, this chapter has outlined the nature of the *chansons de geste* and introduced the key texts which have been fully studied. It demonstrates also a discernible prehistory to the extant *chansons*, and that, in the absence of other evidence, the extant *chansons* can most likely be used to reconstruct the nature of the vernacular epic, as a spoken and written form, before the First Crusade begun.

^{204*} *OV*, 342, and n.5.

II: THE FIRST CRUSADE TEXTS

This chapter introduces the Latin First Crusade texts which are the subject of the analysis of this thesis.²⁰⁵ As in the previous chapter, the individual texts will be considered first, with particular focus on three areas of discussion: the narrative and its testimonies, including both manuscript tradition and a delineation of modern editions and translations; the question of authorship, and, where known, the author's life and works; and the approximate date and circumstances of composition. Following this, the texts are considered as a genre, outlining their often confusing relationship to each other, and the nature of their collective development – an intractable topic of considerable controversy in scholarship. The final section, as in the previous chapter, deals with the issue of the authors' motivations, and their intended audience. A coda discusses inconsistencies within the crusade text corpus.

TEXTS

GESTA FRANCORUM

The *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* is a Latin account of the First Crusade, recounting the events from the Council of Clermont to the battle of Ascalon. In part because of its perceived 'raw' style, it, with the related work of Peter Tudebode, is regarded as one of the most reliable narratives of the crusade.²⁰⁶ The best edition of the text remains that translated and introduced by Rosalind Hill: the edition itself was prepared by Roger Mynors.²⁰⁷ Also of note is Hagenmeyer's edition of 1890, with extensive notes, in places now outdated.²⁰⁸ A new edition is being prepared by

²⁰⁵ The best summaries are Rudolph Hiestand, "Il cronista medievale e il suo pubblico: Alcune osservazioni in margine alla storiografia delle crociate," *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Napoli* 27 (1984); Susan B. Edgington, "The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence," in *FCOI*; Bull, "Western Narratives."

²⁰⁶ E.g. Jean Flori, "Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L'Exemple de la première croisade," *CCM* 34 (1991): 128.

²⁰⁷ *GF*.

²⁰⁸ Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed. *Anonymi Gesta Francorum* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1890).

Bull, but is not yet in publication.²⁰⁹ There are seven surviving manuscripts, and one no longer extant, accessible only because it served as the exemplar for Bongars' 1611 edition, but which may not have been a manuscript of the *Gesta* but rather a now lost work.²¹⁰ Of the surviving manuscripts, the earliest is probably Vatican *Reginensis* Latin 572, dating from the early twelfth century.²¹¹ A bombastic epitaph to Bohemond, Prince of Taranto and later Antioch, follows the main text, suggesting Italo-Norman patronage.²¹² There is considerable variance among the manuscripts. One, Corpus Christi Cambridge 281, was once considered a separate work (the *Expeditio contra Turcos circa anno domini* 1094), but is now treated as an abbreviated form of the extant text.²¹³ Hill suggests that there are around a hundred minor substitutions of one word for another with a similar meaning between the two earliest manuscripts, which she linked to a desire to elevate Robert of Normandy's position.²¹⁴

A related text, attested by the manuscript St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, 3, has recently come to light. Upon examination of the thirteenth-century manuscript, the decision has been taken not to consider this as an independent work for this thesis, as its narrative is almost identical to those of the *Gesta* and the *Historia* of Peter Tudebode.²¹⁵ However, a few textual variants are recorded, either cited from Marcus Bull's study of the text or from my own investigation, referred to in the footnotes as '*Peregrinatio Antiochie*'.²¹⁶ The manuscript has been bound, in the Middle Ages, with a Latin text on Alexander and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, and possibly came from Ramsey Abbey. Samu Niskanen is working on an edition, and has published an article regarding its relationship to the *Gesta* and Peter Tudebode.²¹⁷ Niskanen disagrees with Bull in asserting that the *Peregrinatio* may represent an older testament to the *Gesta* tradition than the modern established text of the latter.²¹⁸

²⁰⁹ I thank Professor Bull for assuring me that the edition of Mynors was satisfactory, with only a few minor changes to the Latin text necessary to his forthcoming publication.

²¹⁰ *GF*, xlii.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, xxxix-xl. Bréhier disagrees, arguing that Vatican *Reginensis* 641 is the earliest. Louis Bréhier, *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade* (Paris: Champion, 1924), xxiv-xxv.

²¹² Abel-François Villemain, "Sur les manuscrits relatifs à l'histoire de France et à la littérature française conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Italie," in *Dissertations sur quelques points curieux de l'histoire de France et de l'histoire littéraire*, ed. P. L. Jacob (Paris: Techener, 1839), 21.

²¹³ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, I: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: CUP, 1951), 330; Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, 90-92.

²¹⁴ *GF*, xxxix. See also Bréhier, *Histoire anonyme*, xxvii.

²¹⁵ See Neil R. Ker, "From 'Above Top Line' to 'Below Top Line': a Change in Scribal Practice," *Celtica* 5 (1960).

²¹⁶ Bull, "Relationship."

²¹⁷ Samu Niskanen, "The Origins of the *Gesta Francorum* and Two Related Texts: Their Textual and Literary Character," *Sacris Erudiri* 51 (2012): 289.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 296.

Despite an attempt by Paul Riant to identify the author of the *Gesta* with Alexander, scribe of Stephen of Blois, we have no real evidence to determine the author's identity.²¹⁹ Nirmal Dass, in a recent translation and study of the *Gesta*, believes that four names inscribed on one of the earliest manuscripts suggest that the work was originally composed by four individuals working in a *scriptorium*, a suggestion which has not received academic support.²²⁰ All we know about the author has been extrapolated from the text itself, none of it certain. The author was probably from the Italian-Norman realms in the south of Italy, as he refers to France as '*ultra montanas*',²²¹ and utilizes vocabulary likely Italian in origin.²²² A perceived anti-Byzantine stance is in concordance with allegiance to their arch-rivals,²²³ the southern-Italian Normans, and the author exhibits familiarity with Bohemond's contingent and the geography of Southern Italy.²²⁴

Beyond that, things are on sketchier grounds. Two lines of argumentation have suggested that the *Gesta* is a multi-authored text. Louis Bréhier, following the earlier dissertation of Otto Heerman,²²⁵ unable to reconcile the more fantastical elements of the story with the traditional (he divided the book into four stylistic types), hypothesized that some elements were later additions by a clerical collaborator to a knightly original writer.²²⁶ This is also the position of May Duke, who completed a doctorate on the topic of the authorship of the *Gesta*: she postulated that the original source was now lost.²²⁷ For thirty years, Bréhier's argument was accepted, until convincingly challenged by Hans-Joachim Witzel in 1955, who demonstrated on stylistic grounds that the extant

²¹⁹ Paul Édouard Didier Riant, ed. *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, vol. 1 (Paris: Leroux, 1881), 144-145. He based his identification, tenuously, on a reference in François de Belleforest, ed. *Les Grandes Annales et histoire générale de France* (Paris: Buon, 1579), 448.

²²⁰ Hagenmeyer noticed these, but did not consider them authors. Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, 94; Nirmal Dass, *The Deeds of the Franks and Other Jerusalem-Bound Pilgrims: The Earliest Chronicle of the First Crusades* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), 6, 148.

^{221*} GF, 1.

²²² Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, 2, 8; John Joseph Gavigan, "The Syntax of the *Gesta Francorum*," *Language* 19, no. 3 (1943): 10; Hans-Joachim Witzel, "Le Problème de l'auteur des *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*," *Le Moyen Âge* 61 (1955): 328.

²²³ E.g. Lees, *Gesta Francorum*, xxii. Carrier has recently demonstrated that it is better described as anti-Alexios, rather than anti-Greek: Marc Carrier, "Pour en finir avec le *Gesta Francorum*. Une réflexion historiographique sur l'état des rapports entre Grec et Latins au début de XII^e siècle et sur l'apport nouveau d'Albert d'Aix," *Crusades* 7 (2008).

²²⁴ GF, xii; Evelyn Jamison, "Some Notes on the Anonymi *Gesta Francorum*, with Special Reference to the Norman Contingent from South Italy and Sicily in the First Crusade," in *Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature: Presented to Professor Mildred K. Pope by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939).

²²⁵ Otto Heerman, "Die Gefechtsführung abendländischer Heere im Orient in der Epoche des ersten Kreuzzuges" (Marburg, 1887).

²²⁶ Bréhier, *Histoire anonyme*, v-viii.

²²⁷ May Graham Matthews Duke, "A Study of the Problems of Authorship and Style of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*" (University of Houston, 1967), 110-114.

text was composed by one author, an objection upheld by Hill, and then Oehler.²²⁸ A separate tradition of the idea of dual authorship was proposed in 1928 by August Krey, who believed that the extant *Gesta* was reworked from an earlier text to serve as propaganda in Bohemond's recruitment campaign in 1105.²²⁹ For some years, this view was also highly regarded, before being contradicted by Peter Charanis, who on linguistic grounds argued for the authenticity of the passage Krey dismissed as a later interpolation.²³⁰ The idea of propagandistic reworking has been taken up by Flori, who has argued for an additional stage of textual development, with a first recension of the *Gesta* composed in the Holy Land, a second amended for Bohemond's tour, and a final retouching after Bohemond's 1107-1108 crusade.²³¹ Flori has, at points, argued for up to five recensions.²³² While these arguments remain uncertain, it seems likely, prompted in part by the discussions on primacy, inconsistencies, and 'lost sources' to be discussed below, that the extant *Gesta* does not represent the earliest stage in the text's development.²³³

Generally considered an eyewitness account because of the author's consistent use of the first-person plurals 'nos' and 'nostr', and his knowledge of certain events, all editors of the text have used this evidence to reconstruct his journey on crusade.²³⁴ Their conclusion is that he was in Bohemond's retinue from Durazzo to Antioch, and then switched to Raymond of St. Gilles' contingent for the march to Jerusalem.²³⁵ Lees, without evidence, believed that the author had personal information from the Peasants' Crusade, derived from the stories of 'compatriots'.²³⁶ This reconstruction has been shown to be problematic: Morris has amply demonstrated that the use of 'nos' and 'nostr' can merely imply passive identification with groups of crusaders, and cannot be used as evidence to suggest the Anonymous' status on the crusade, or presence in particular retinues; an

²²⁸ Witzel, "Problème," 319-328; *GF*, xv-xvi; Hans Oehler, "Studien zu den *Gesta Francorum*," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 6 (1970).

²²⁹ August C. Krey, "A Neglected Passage in the *Gesta* and its Bearing on the Literature of the First Crusade," in *COHE*, 57-78. This view is supported by Gavigan, "Syntax," 13, n.38; Niskanen, "Origins."

²³⁰ Peter Charanis, "Aims of the Medieval Crusades and How They Were Viewed by Byzantium," *Church History* 21 (1952): 129. For the orthodoxy of Krey: John L. LaMonte, "Some Problems in Crusading Historiography," *Speculum* 15, no. 1 (1940): 61.

²³¹ Jean Flori, "De l'Anonyme normand à Tudebode et aux *Gesta Francorum*: l'impact de la propagande de Bohémond sur la critique textuelle des sources de la première croisade," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 102 (2007): especially 739-745.

²³² *Chroniqueurs*, 167-169.

²³³ See especially Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?" A state-of-the-field summation by Jean Flori in the introduction to D'Angelo's 2009 edition of the *HBS* confirms that 'il semble aujourd'hui établi', 'it now seems well established', that the *Gesta* does not survive in its original form. *HBS*, viii.

²³⁴ See especially Gavigan, "Syntax," 11.

²³⁵ *GF*, xiii.

²³⁶ Lees, *Gesta Francorum*, xxii.

argument supported, broadly, by Flori and Yuval Harari.²³⁷ Likewise, Rubenstein has also questioned the orthodoxy that the *Gesta* author was a knight of Bohemond's *mouvance*, considering the author's subject matter insufficient evidence upon which to base historic presence.²³⁸

Nonetheless, because the author describes groups of mounted knights in the first-person plural, combined with his relatively basic Latin and lack of rhetorical flair,²³⁹ the editors, following Heinrich Von Sybel, have all considered our author to be a mounted knight, a layman, and a warrior, in the words of Lees, a 'straightforward anonymous soldier-chronicler'.²⁴⁰ In more recent years, this traditional view of an ill-educated lay writer has been challenged, but not completely overturned, by Oehler, Wolf, Levine, Morris, and Rubenstein, who see in his simplicity a genuine rhetorical élan, with Morris asserting that the author was a cleric and not a knight.²⁴¹ Yet it remains common to assert his knightly background in more general works: France refers to him 'without doubt' as 'an ordinary knight and ill-informed'.²⁴²

Opinions on the dating of the text are more cohesive. A *terminus post quem* is provided by the Battle of Ascalon in August 1099, and if it is believed that the *libellus* which was seen by Ekkehard of Aura in Jerusalem (p.69) was the *Gesta*, the latter must have been completed by September 1101.²⁴³ Based upon his conception of 'propagandistic' interpolations in the text, and a perceived anti-Greek tone, Krey dated the extant text to 1105, but admitted the existence of an earlier form of the same narrative from around 1100 onwards.²⁴⁴ The opinion that chapters were written contemporaneously to the events they described has now disappeared from academic work on the subject, due to the proleptic statements which occur within the *Gesta*.²⁴⁵

²³⁷ Morris, "Gesta Francorum as Narrative History," 67-68; Jean Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la première croisade* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 36-37; Harari, "Eyewitnessing," 87 and passim.

²³⁸ Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?" 185.

²³⁹ *GF*, xiv.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv; Lees, *Gesta Francorum*, xxv, xxviii; Heinrich Von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1881), 31; *ibid.*; Félicien de Saulcy, "Tancrede," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* IV (1842); August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), 5-7. Bréhier considers there to be two authors, one knightly and one clerical. Bréhier, *Histoire anonyme*, v-viii.

²⁴¹ Oehler, "Studien," esp. 60-66; Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "Crusade and Narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*," *JMH* 17 (1991): 208; Levine, "Pious Traitor," 61-62; Morris, "Gesta Francorum as Narrative History," 55-71; Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?" 187-188. An innovative dissenting voice is Conor Kostick, "A Further Discussion on the Authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*," *RMS* 35 (2009).

²⁴² France, *Victory*, 377. France reversed his opinion in "Use," 32-35; "The Fall of Antioch during the First Crusade," in *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001), 14.

²⁴³ See Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, 17; Bréhier, *Histoire anonyme*, viii-ix; *GF*, ix.

²⁴⁴ Krey, "Neglected Passage," 77.

²⁴⁵ Emily Albu, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth, and Subversion* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), 151.

PETER TUDEBODE

First published by Besly,²⁴⁶ the best edition of the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode is that of John and Laurita Hill, published in 1977, shortly after their translation in 1974.²⁴⁷ This edition, although defective, superseded that of the *Receuil*.²⁴⁸ There are four extant manuscripts of the *Historia* of Peter Tudebode. These are:

- A) MS Latin 5135 A, BnF, twelfth-century.
- B) MS Latin 4892 BnF, twelfth-century.
- C) MS Harley Latin 3904, British Museum, twelfth-century.
- D) MS Latin 142, Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier, thirteenth-century.

Textually, the *Historia* provides a similar narrative to the *Gesta*, omitting some details and adding others, but with close textual links: both texts are identical in their wording for certain, often long, sections: Flori's 2007 article highlights the narrative differences between the text, albeit with an unexplained numbered apparatus.²⁴⁹

The author identifies himself as *Petrus Tudebodus* in MS Latin 4892, BnF, (Tudebovis in the other manuscripts) and writes '*Sirracensis*', probably referring to Civray in Poitou. We know little about the author beyond his name. We do not know if the *Arvedus* and *Arnaldus Tudebodus* whom he inserts into his story are his brothers, but it is often assumed so.²⁵⁰ Although frequently considered the author of the whole work, this also need not be the case. The pertinent passage refers to him thus: '*Credendus est qui primus hoc scripsit, quia... oculis carnalibus vidit, videlicet, Petrus Tudebodus.*' '*Primus*' does somewhat suggest that it has since been rewritten, necessitating the need to delineate the original author.²⁵¹ '*Hoc*' also need not refer to the work as a whole – this assertion comes in the middle of a unique passage absent from the *Gesta* or Raymond's account. 'Tudebode' may be a written source only for the procession around Jerusalem.²⁵² There is insufficient information to hypothesize further.

²⁴⁶ Jean Besly, "Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere," in *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, ed. A. Duchesne (Paris: Cramoisy, 1641). Bongars possibly used a manuscript of Tudebode when collating the first entry in his *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

²⁴⁷ The title used by the Hills has been shown to be problematic, but is used for convenience: Niskanen, "Origins," 299, n.34.

²⁴⁸ *PT*; *Peter Tudebode: Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974).

²⁴⁹ Flori, "De l'Anonyme."

²⁵⁰ *PT*, 13, 97, 116.

²⁵¹* *Ibid.*, 138. See Charles Thurot, "Études critiques sur les historiens de la première croisade," *Revue historique* 1 (1876): 74.

²⁵² The position of Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?", 202.

The dating of the *Historia*, and in what circumstances it was composed, rely heavily upon the debate surrounding the primacy either of this work or the *Gesta*. There was a longstanding tendency to consider the *Gesta* as a derivative work of the *Historia*, making Tudebode the closest eyewitness source, a presumption inverted by Von Sybel and Hagenmeyer in the nineteenth century. Since then, academic consensus has broadly fallen either on the primacy of the *Gesta*, or the use of lost sources (p.89-98). Therefore we can know little about its date or circumstances of composition, although a date in the first years of the twelfth century would be concordant with evidence.²⁵³

Note: in the analytical chapters which follow, much of the text in the *Gesta* is also to be found in the *Historia*. It would be superfluous to include dual references for every footnote. However, I have done in some cases, to emphasize the shared material and remarkably similar style, even when not directly analogous, of the two works; a fact yet to be fully comprehended by the academic community. A *Gesta* footnote without a Tudebode reference is not an indication that the same passage is not found in the latter; the inverse does imply that.

HISTORIA BELLI SACRI

The *Historia Belli Sacri*, also the *Hystoria de via et recuperatione Antiochie et Ierusalem* (Edoardo d'Angelo), or *Tudebodus imitatus et continuatus* (*Recueil*), is a compilation of other crusade texts, with some unique material. It was almost certainly produced at the Abbey of Montecassino in Italy. More than half of the narrative is directly replicated in the *Gesta*, Tudebode's *Historia*, and the *Tancredus* of Ralph of Caen. D'Angelo breaks this down in the introduction to his edition of the *Historia*, used for this thesis: 22.1% is paralleled in the *Tancredus*; 1% in Raymond of Aguilers; 4.9 % in uniquely the *Gesta*; 4.7% uniquely in Tudebode; and 57.2% from both sources in total. 19.7 % of the text is unique.²⁵⁴ Only one complete manuscript of the *Historia Belli Sacri* survives: Montecassino, *Archivio della Badia*, MS 300. The text is written in a thirteenth-century hand, although elements of the manuscript are eleventh-century.²⁵⁵ Additionally, there is a fragment of the *Historia Belli Sacri* contained in the fourteenth-century manuscript compilation of BnF Latin 6041. This is a further

²⁵³ *GF*, x.

²⁵⁴ *HBS*, xiii, xxx-xxxvii, xliii.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv.

composite work (of an already composite *Historia*), consisting of elements of Raymond of Aguilers' text, the *Gesta*, and the *Historia Belli Sacri*.²⁵⁶

Since the text is a monastic composition, it is hard to identify a specific author. The *Historia Belli Sacri* is unusual among the texts in that it was probably written in Italy, possibly by an author of Italian background, perhaps Peter the Deacon.²⁵⁷ An Italo-Norman allegiance is supported by the author's positive view on Bohemond.²⁵⁸

The work can only be dated securely to between 1130 and 1153, due to references to Bohemond II's (†1130) death, and the comment that Ascalon, at the time of writing, remained in Saracen hands. Within this, Flori has suggested a date c.1131.²⁵⁹ D'Angelo has used internal copyist errors in the manuscripts to assert that the extant manuscripts are copies of a lost original.²⁶⁰ A possibility which has not been picked up since is raised by Evelyn Jamison: that the *Historia* was mostly composed before 1118, but with additions after 1131, and as such the *Historia* constitutes a reworked text.²⁶¹ Runciman, acknowledging that the *Historia Belli Sacri* was substantially derivative, described its unique passages as coming from 'current legendary traditions'.²⁶² Dismissed as 'Comparatively late, romantic and literary' by Lees in terms of its original contribution to our knowledge, and even described by Rubenstein as containing 'fanciful' unique passages, the judgement on the *Historia Belli Sacri* has not been kind concerning historical information.²⁶³ However, the unique passages provide an additional testament to the investigation here.

As with Tudebode, lack of quotation in the footnotes does not imply that a motif present in the *Gesta* and Tudebode is absent, but where *Historia Belli Sacri* is cited uniquely, the motif is absent in the other two texts.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., xiv.

²⁵⁷ "Historia peregrinorum euntium Jerusalemam seu Tudebodis imitatus et continuatus," in *RHC Occ.* 3, xvi; Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, 90, n.145; Jamison, "Some Notes," 184, n.1; *HBS*, xiii.

²⁵⁸ Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?", 182.

²⁵⁹ Jean Flori, "Faut-il réhabiliter Pierre l'Ermite? (Une réévaluation des sources de la première croisade)," *CCM* 38 (1995): 51; *HBS*, xvi.

²⁶⁰ *HBS*, xix.

²⁶¹ Jamison, "Some Notes," 184, n.1.

²⁶² Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, I, 330.

²⁶³ Lees, *Gesta Francorum*, 99; Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?", 181.

THE MONTECASSINO CHRONICLE

The *Historia Belli Sacri* is not the only crusade text to come out of the Benedictine abbey of Montecassino. The multi-authored chronicle of the institution, authored successively by Leo of Ostia, a writer named Guy, and Peter the Deacon, it contains a related but not identical narrative to the *Historia Belli Sacri*. Since revision is evident, it is difficult to know who the author is at any one time.²⁶⁴ Begun by Leo of Ostia around 1075, it is not known when it was completed, although it would have been before Peter's death in c.1153. The text was edited by Hoffman in 1980, and this is the edition used here.²⁶⁵

RAYMOND OF AGUILERS

The *Hystoria Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* covers the same narrative period as the *Gesta*, from Clermont to Ascalon. Both the most recent translation, and edition, have been carried out by John and Laurita Hill, in 1968 and 1969 respectively.²⁶⁶ Both are marred by misleading footnotes and flawed analysis, but the edition provides a satisfactory text.²⁶⁷ The translation is excessively loose and represents more what the Hills wished Raymond to have said than what he actually did. The careful thesis of France in 1967 preceded these, and reconstructed an archetypal edition, but was never published – for the reason of its unavailability, it has not been referenced here.²⁶⁸ There are seven complete or nearly complete extant manuscripts of Raymond's text:

- A) BnF Latin 14378, twelfth-century, the basis for the Hills' edition and translation.
- B) BnF Latin 5511A, thirteenth-century, in which the above title is found.
- C) BnF Latin 5131, twelfth-century.
- D) Arsenal Latin 1102, twelfth/thirteenth-century.

²⁶⁴ See Luigi Russo, "The Monte Cassino Tradition of the First Crusade: From the *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* to the *Hystoria de via et recuperatione Antiochiaae atque Ierusalem*," in *WEC*.

²⁶⁵ Hartmut Hoffmann, ed. *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* (Hannover: Hahn, 1980).

²⁶⁶ John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill, *Raymond d'Aguilers: Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968); *RA*.

²⁶⁷ This insight, in opposition to that of Huygens, is owed to Dr Thomas Lecaque, who has examined many of the manuscripts. Cf. Robert B. C. Huygens, Hans Eberhard Mayer, and Gerhard Rösch, eds., *Guillaume de Tyr: Chronique*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 95.

²⁶⁸ It has been consulted, however. John France, "A Critical Edition of the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers" (University of Nottingham, 1967).

- E) Clermont-Ferrand Bibliothèque de la ville, Latin 262, fourteenth-century.
- F) Berne Burgerbibliothek Latin 261, twelfth/thirteenth-century.
- G) British Museum Latin Add. 8927, thirteenth-century.

In all of these except manuscript B, Raymond's text is included alongside Fulcher of Chartres', and Walter the Chancellor's *Bella Antiochena*.²⁶⁹ In addition, there are three late compilations or fragmented MSS, all from the BnF: Latin 5131, Latin 5132, Latin 6041.²⁷⁰

On his own attestation, Raymond of Aguilers was a canon of Le Puy, probably from nearby Aguilhe, Chaplain of Raymond of St. Gilles, who was promoted to priesthood on the course of the crusade itself.²⁷¹ Details about Raymond of St. Gilles' contingent are provided more readily than in other sources, and a more favourable view is taken of the discovery of the Holy Lance in 1098. He claims to have borne the Holy Lance in battle outside Antioch in June of that year.²⁷² He was accompanied by his knightly co-author, Pons of Balazun.²⁷³ After Pons died at Arqah, Raymond carried on his work alone (although there is little independent evidence for Pons' existence). The style seems more ecclesiastical and less military after Arqah, although whether this is due to any change in authorship or the growing eschatological and liturgical importance of Jerusalem is hard to ascertain.²⁷⁴

Little can be said with any certainty about the date of composition. Probably written after the crusade was completed, the Hills assert that it must have been before Raymond of St. Gilles' death, *ex silentio*.²⁷⁵ France goes further, arguing that it must have been composed before Raymond's participation in the 1101 expedition, because of his stated desire to return to France.²⁷⁶ However, in the absence of any other evidence, a date in the early years of the twelfth century seems sensible – Krey postulated 1102.²⁷⁷

²⁶⁹ Hill and Hill, *Raymond d'Aguilers*, 8-9.

²⁷⁰ RA, 20-22.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 10; *NDCGEVI*, 199.

²⁷² RA, 82.

²⁷³ Ibid., 35, 72, 75, 107, 108.

²⁷⁴ I am grateful to Dr Lecaque for the observation on Raymond's shifting style.

²⁷⁵ RA, 7.

²⁷⁶ France, "Critical Edition," 354, also cxxxviii-cxxxix.

²⁷⁷ Krey, *First Crusade*, 11.

FULCHER OF CHARTRES

The *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Fulcher of Chartres covers the events of the First Crusade and the early settlement of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, from before Clermont to 1127. It therefore contains a full narrative of the First Crusade. There are fourteen extant manuscripts of Fulcher's work, ranging in date from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Codex L, Cambridge University Library MS. KK, VI, contains a variant of Fulcher, with closer links to Bartolf, but does not start to deviate significantly until after the First Crusade. For this reason, it has not been consulted separately here. The best edition, and that consulted here, was published by Hagenmeyer in 1913, edited with extensive footnotes, comprehensive but in many places outdated, speculative, or misinformed.²⁷⁸ Modern understanding of Fulcher's work is based primarily on the in-depth study by Verena Epp, and on the translation into English by Frances Rita Ryan, edited and introduced by Harold Fink, in 1969.²⁷⁹ An earlier, but less accessible, translation was produced in 1941 by Martha McGinty.²⁸⁰

Fulcher (1058/9-c.1127) was a participant on the First Crusade, travelling first with Stephen of Blois, then with Baldwin of Boulogne, accompanying him to Jerusalem in 1100. Commentators have, like the *Gesta*, seen his work as low-brow: Krey suggested he was a 'simple French curé', and McGinty discussed his 'rustic style'.²⁸¹ An eyewitness, he wrote with the intention of demonstrating the truthfulness of his account through credible sources, including his own testament – it is likely that he conducted enquiries and corrected incorrect information of his original work in later versions.²⁸² He was almost certainly a priest, perhaps the same cited in a Jerusalemite charter as Prior of the Mount of Olives in 1112.²⁸³ There is no reason to disbelieve that he was an inhabitant of the area around Chartres.²⁸⁴

The mainstream opinion, postulated by Hagenmeyer on admittedly thin evidence, is that Fulcher began to write in 1100-1101, and added to it over several years, completing his first book

²⁷⁸ FC, for manuscripts, see 114.

²⁷⁹ Verena Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1990); Harold S. Fink and Frances Rita Ryan, *Fulcher of Chartres: A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969).

²⁸⁰ Martha Evelyn McGinty, *Fulcher of Chartres: Chronicle of the First Crusade (Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana)* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941).

²⁸¹ Krey, *First Crusade*, 10; McGinty, *Fulcher*, 4-7.

²⁸² Epp, *Fulcher*, 144-145; Harari, "Eyewitnessing," 79-82.

²⁸³ Epp, *Fulcher*, 31.

²⁸⁴ Reinhold Röhrich, ed. *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI)* (Oeniponti: Libreria academica Wagneriana, 1893), No. 68; Fink and Ryan, *Fulcher*, 6-7; Bull, "Fulcher," in *CMR*, 401.

around 1106. He returned to writing, with his second book, in c.1109-1115, adding a third from 1118 onwards, and revising his whole work finally between 1124 and 1127. It is from this final stage that all extant manuscripts derive. The manuscripts broadly fall into two categories, rather arbitrarily established by Hagenmeyer, a first and second redaction, both of which stem from this period.²⁸⁵ The close relationship between Fulcher's account, that of Bartolf of Nangis, and that of Guibert of Nogent, has led to the general conclusion that an earlier version of Fulcher's work circulated in the early years of the twelfth century, and that what we have now established as Fulcher's text had its earlier stages revised at the same time as the writing of the latter stages, that is, 1124-1127.²⁸⁶

BARTOLF OF NANGIS

Traditionally considered a copy of little independent importance, in part because the author himself acknowledges that he was using the *libellum* of Fulcher, closer investigation necessitates a cautious rehabilitation of Bartolf's work.²⁸⁷ It is clear, even in his confession of source materials where he claims to '*textum diligenter transformare*', 'diligently rework the text', using the '*aliorum narratu*', 'narration of others', that this is not a simple abridgement of Fulcher's *Historia*. Despite this, Bartolf follows much of Fulcher's text, with some deviations, but ends after Fulcher's abortive summing up in Book II, Chapter XXXIV, which includes the words '*atque finis hic est*'. (As such, Bartolf's narrative covers the period 1095-1105).²⁸⁸ But the vocabulary in the two works is frequently different, and there are long unique passages. Therefore, the question of whether to treat Bartolf's account as an independent source is problematic. It is likely that the account normally attributed to Bartolf, and published in the *Receuil* as '*Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*', instead represents an earlier stage of composition of Fulcher's *Historia*, with some changes and material from elsewhere.²⁸⁹ This matter is complicated

²⁸⁵ Kaspar Von Barth, "Ad Bartholphi peregrini de Nangeio historiam Palaestinam animadversiones," in *Reliquiae manuscriptorum omnis aevi, diplomatum ac monumentorum, ineditorum adhuc*, 3, ed. Johann Peter Ludewig (Frankfurt & Leipzig: (unknown-not marked), 1720), 500; *FC*, 46-47, et passim; Epp, *Fulcher*, 24-35. Fink's assertion that Fulcher must have started writing after 1101-1102 because of his treatment of the 1101 expedition is unconvincing because we know Fulcher revised his history. Fink and Ryan, *Fulcher*, 19-20.

²⁸⁶ Jay Rubenstein, "Guibert of Nogent, Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres: Three Crusade Chronicles Intersect," in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission, and Memory*, ed. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014).

²⁸⁷ Von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 56; *BN*, 492.

^{288*} *FC*, 504-505; *BN*, 541.

²⁸⁹ Fink and Ryan, *Fulcher*, 5; Susan B. Edgington, "The *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* of "Bartolf of Nangis"," *Crusades* 13 (2014): 22. I am grateful to Dr Edgington for allowing me to see this article ahead of publication.

by the fact that, since Fulcher was later revised, we cannot truly observe which elements are Bartolf's and what are Fulcher's, now lost. The texts as established in editions are separate enough to warrant individual treatment in this thesis.

The only 'modern' edition is that in the *Recueil*, based on all extant testimonies, although probably ill-advised in its choice of base manuscript.²⁹⁰ There are four extant manuscripts: St. Omer MS 776 (1100-1125); Douai MS 882 (1125-1150 - the base for the *Recueil*), Copenhagen MS 2159 (thirteenth-century) and Montpellier MS 139 (fourteenth-century).

Kaspar Von Barth, in 1720, suggested that the text was written by the 'German' Bartolf of Nangis. This is the first attestation to his name, and Von Barth left no trace of his evidence. Nothing is known about the author. Von Barth's suggestion that he was German rests on thin evidence, but he highlighted certain turns of phrase as Germanic in formulation.²⁹¹ None are philologically sound, but there is no reason to dismiss his opinion in favour of an absent alternative. It is convenient, however, to adopt his ascribed name, even though it may as well be fabrication.

A *terminus ante quem* is suggested by Bartolf's supposition that Tripoli may fall in the future, which suggests a date pre-1109.²⁹² The fact that Bartolf admits to using Fulcher's work, and refers to him as '*frater*', that is, brother, has been suggested as implying that Bartolf and Fulcher worked alongside each other in the Holy Land, but Susan Edgington has recently demonstrated this need not be the case, since manuscripts of the first book of Fulcher were circulating in Western Europe by 1109. '*Frater*' would be the normal form of address from one monk to another.²⁹³

The work must have been finished by c.1120, when Lambert of St. Omer incorporated his text into the *Liber floridus*, an encyclopaedia with substantial links with the crusading movement.²⁹⁴ The two texts are not identical. Having examined this manuscript, the text included within, ascribed to Fulcher of Chartres, but with the title *Gesta Francorum Hierurasalem* (sic) *expugnantium*, seems to

²⁹⁰ "The *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium* of "Bartolf of Nangis"," 24-25.

²⁹¹ Von Barth, "Ad Bartholphi peregrini de Nangeio historiam Palaestinam animadversiones," 500, et passim.

²⁹² BN, 539.

²⁹³ Fink and Ryan, *Fulcher*, 21; Edgington, "The *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium* of "Bartolf of Nangis?."

²⁹⁴ Penelope C. Mayo, "The Crusaders under the Palm: Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the *Liber floridus*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 46; Jay Rubenstein, "Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade," in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012).

constitute an abridged version of the extant redaction of 'Bartolf's' text, rather than any more complex relationship, such as being a copy of an earlier version.²⁹⁵

EKKEHARD OF AURA

Ekkehard of Aura's *Hierosolymita* originally comprised part of a larger chronicle written by Ekkehard known as the *Chronica*. Initially only part of the narrative, the crusade section was subject to revision at a later date and became an independent work, although it is normally copied into manuscripts after the *Chronica* itself, duplicating material.²⁹⁶ There are nineteen extant manuscripts of the *Chronica*, with several twelfth-century copies. The earliest, according to the editors of the *Recueil*, is Berlin Staatsbibliothek 295. It may be an autograph. I have been unable to establish the continued existence of this manuscript after the Second World War, when much of the library's holdings were lost. An illustrated autograph manuscript of the third redaction (c.1113) survives, Cambridge Corpus Christi 373.²⁹⁷

The editions used for this thesis are the *Recueil* edition for the separate *Hierosolymita*, and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* edition for the *Chronica*.²⁹⁸ Although best understood as differing stages in the composition of one work, both texts have been investigated as differing testaments on the First Crusade. An English translation and commentary on the text was carried out by Wilfrid Canning in 1964 at the University of Austin, Texas, but I have been unable to consult it.

Describing himself as the abbot of the monastery of Aura in Bavaria, Ekkehard was possibly a canon at Worms previously, and a monk at Saint-Michel of Bamberg. Ekkehard, by his own admission, was a participant in the expedition of 1101, and so was involved in crusading himself and had visited the East. He visited Rome in 1102 and was linked to the papal party in Henry IV's excommunication.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ Albert Derolez and Egied Strubbe, eds., *Lambert, Liber Floridus: Codex Autographus Bibliotheca Universitatis Gandavensis* (Ghent: In Aedibus Story-Scientia, 1968).

²⁹⁶ *EA*, i-xii.

²⁹⁷ *Chronica et annales aevi Salici* (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), 8-16.

²⁹⁸ *EA*, 11-26; *MGH SS 6*, 208-211. I was also not able to consult the new translation of the work before submission, which proffers a revised understanding of authorship: 'The 1106 Continuation of Frutolf's Chronicle (1096–1106)', trans. by T. J. H. McCarthy, in *Chronicles of the Investiture Contest: Frutolf of Michelsberg and his Continuator*, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 138–86.

²⁹⁹ *EA*, ii-iii.

Ekkehard frequently amended and reworked his text. He based his work upon an unknown book he found in Jerusalem, which has been considered a version of the *Gesta*.³⁰⁰ The editors of the *Recueil* argued for a compositional date before 1101, and then revised subsequently in 1102-6, and then 1107-1113 (as part of a pro-imperial project). At this point, Ekkehard extracted his crusade material from the chronicle and formed it into a separate *Hierosolymita*. Of this text, there were two different reworkings, the latter completed between 1114 and 1117. At this point, another continuator took over the texts.³⁰¹ It has not been noted before that one passage of Ekkehard's account seems to summarize a story found in the Charleville Poet's additions to Gilo of Paris' work: where Christian knights are taken to the Egyptian court and impress the inhabitants with feats of arms and their general prowess.³⁰²

BALDRIC OF BOURGUEIL

The *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Baldric of Bourgueil also concerns the same narrative period as the *Gesta*: from Clermont to Ascalon. Steven Biddlecombe has recently produced a new edition, based on twenty-four manuscript attestations, ranging from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries, of which eight are twelfth-century in date.³⁰³ This has been the only edition produced since that of the *Recueil*, shown to be seriously problematic in that it is only based on seven of the extant manuscripts, and inconsistent in its editorial approach.³⁰⁴ The G Manuscript of Baldric is markedly different from the others, enough to be considered an anonymous adaptation by some commentators – readings are provided in Biddlecombe's footnotes and are demarcated in this thesis' text.³⁰⁵ The *Historia* positions itself as an improvement and reworking of an anonymous '*libellum... nimis rusticanum*', normally assumed to be the *Gesta*. Although he does not claim first-hand authority itself, Baldric does claim that he is inserting the testimony of eyewitnesses.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 21.

³⁰¹ Ibid., v-vii.

³⁰² Ibid., 24; *GP*, 150-160.

³⁰³ *BB*.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., lxxiv-lxxv.

³⁰⁵ Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant," in *Muslims Under Latin Rule, 1100-1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 145. Paul has seen the text as a regional reworking of a base text for commemorative purposes; Nicholas Paul, "Crusade, Memory, and Regional Politics in Twelfth-Century Amboise," *JMH* 31 (2005).

^{306*} *BB*, 4.

Also known as Baldric of Dol, the author (1046?-1130) was prior, then abbot, of the Benedictine monastery of Bourgueil (1077?-1107), until he became archbishop of Dol in Brittany (1107-1130). Baldric, sometimes called Baudri, was also a writer of poems, letters, and hagiographical texts, and deeply involved with the high clergy of France, probably having been present at Clermont.³⁰⁷ Perhaps the most profoundly educated of our writers, Baldric had access to libraries with many ancient and medieval texts, and often made classical allusions in his work.³⁰⁸

Krey argued (as a revision of his previous work, where he argued for a later date), based on Baldric's own assertion that he was nearly sixty when he started to write, that this work was written around 1106, as a reworking of the *Gesta*.³⁰⁹ Biddlecombe has broadly agreed, considering a first draft in 1105 more likely, followed by a revision after 1107. Evidence for this is based upon many manuscripts, but not the earliest, containing narrative additions including the names of Breton and Norman nobles. The widespread nature of these additions suggests, according to Biddlecombe, that an amended version was circulating at an early date, possibly after Baldric had moved to the Breton/Norman area of influence when he became archbishop of Dol. This, however plausible, is only circumstantial evidence, and there is nothing firm to suggest this reworking was carried out by Baldric.³¹⁰ Jonathan Riley-Smith dated the text in the *Recueil*, which Biddlecombe considers the reworked version (the Dol recension) to 1108, which tallies with Biddlecombe's analysis.³¹¹

GUIBERT OF NOGENT

Guibert of Nogent's *Dei Gesta per Francos*, often misrepresented as *Gesta Dei per Francos* (unattested in the manuscripts), is another conscious reworking of the material of an earlier source, almost certainly the *Gesta*, of which Guibert criticized the style.³¹² Its seven books cover the period from Clermont to the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, although the first and most of the last book are devoted

³⁰⁷ For Baldric, see Henri Pasquier, *Un poète latin du XII^e siècle: Baudri, abbé de Bourgueil, archevêque de Dol, 1046-1130* (Paris: Thorin, 1878). The best analysis in English, presenting several new arguments, is in *BB*, xi-xxiv.

³⁰⁸ Gerald A. Bond, "Iocus Amoris: The Poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil and the Formation of the Ovidian Subculture," *Traditio* 42 (1986); Blänsdorf Jürgen, "Ancient Genres in the Poem of a Medieval Humanist: Intertextual Aspects of the "De sufficientia votorum suorum" (c. 126H.) of Baudri of Bourgueil (1046-1130)," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 2 (1995).

³⁰⁹ Krey, "Neglected Passage," 72-73.

³¹⁰ *BB*, xxiv-xxx.

³¹¹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd ed. (London: Continuum, 2009), 136.

³¹² For the name, see *GN*, 7-8, n.1. For his criticism of the *Gesta*, see *ibid.*, 78.

to stories outside the crusade's main narrative, including a version of the life of Mohammed. When he came to possess Fulcher's work, he incorporated several stories from it as a postscript, criticizing, like that of the *Gesta*, its style.³¹³ He writes in complex and often obscure prose (employing internal rhyme and *cursus*), with certain verse sections. As such, his work is prosimetric (p.76).³¹⁴ The text was edited comprehensively by Huygens in 1996, replacing the defective *Recueil* edition.³¹⁵ There are eight extant manuscripts, with the addition of a few fragments.³¹⁶ All except one are twelfth-century in date, and the earliest manuscript is probably BnF Lat. 18416 (c.1137-1180), not, incidentally, used as the base for Huygens edition, as it represents a deviant branch of the tradition.³¹⁷

Guibert was a Benedictine theologian, poet, and historian. He wrote many works, including one of the earliest and most intriguing medieval autobiographies, *Monodiae*.³¹⁸ He was born 1053-1064, probably surviving into the 1120s.³¹⁹ Although not an eyewitness, nor present at the council of Clermont, he was probably able to consult eyewitnesses, as he claims.³²⁰

The date of composition for the *Dei Gesta* can be determined with unusual precision due to extensive internal evidence. The work was dedicated to Lisiard of Soissons, who became bishop of that city in 1108. Robert of Normandy is described as incarcerated, which means that the second book must have been composed after 1106, where he was imprisoned by his brother following the battle of Tinchebrai. Guibert tells us not only that Mannasses of Reims (†1106) died two years before he was writing, but also makes reference to the recent usurpation (1105-1107) of Patriarch Ebremer of Jerusalem. It is explicitly written within Tancred's (†1112) lifetime and Baldwin I's reign (1100-1118). Selected comments in certain later manuscripts suggest further additions to the text, but these need not be by Guibert himself. Huygens has therefore argued for a date in 1109, with later additions by other redactors.³²¹ On the other hand, Rubenstein has proposed a date of initial composition before 1109, either in 1107 or more likely 1108, while Guibert was exiled from his monastery, which

³¹³ Ibid., 329.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 13-14.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 24.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 24-50, especially 44-46; *La Tradition manuscrite de Guibert de Nogent* (Steenbrugge: Nijhoff, 1991).

³¹⁸ For Guibert's life, Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

³¹⁹ Ibid., 16-17.

³²⁰ *GN*, 13, 82.

³²¹ Ibid., 51-56, 133, 194, 265, 287, 293.

would have given him the time to write.³²² More recently, Rubenstein has gone further, asserting authorial revisions, incorporating elements of Fulcher's text and possibly oral sources shared with Albert of Aachen, as well as 'theological refinements', until c.1120.³²³

ROBERT THE MONK

The *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Robert the Monk constitutes a third reworking of the same material covered by the *Gesta*, with the council of Clermont, portrayed in greater detail. The only modern edition, superseding the arbitrarily-reconstructed version of the *Recueil*, is edited by Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf.³²⁴ Due to the large number of manuscripts, variants are not systematically listed, with perhaps the earliest manuscript (BnF Lat 5129, dating 1146-1153) having been chosen and presented, with only egregious errors corrected through consultation of other twelfth-century testimonies. A good translation and study exists, although based on the old edition of the *Recueil*, by Carol Sweetenham.³²⁵ Along with Baldric and Guibert, it is an example of the 'theological refinement', in the words of Riley-Smith, which took place in the first decades of the twelfth century.³²⁶ Strictly prosimetric, only around ninety lines of the text are verse, the vast majority composed in elegant but not obscure Latin prose.³²⁷

Extant in eighty-four manuscripts, ranging from the twelfth (there are thirty-five manuscripts, partial or complete, dating from this century) to the sixteenth centuries, Robert's account was the most popular of the Latin First Crusade texts. It had especial popularity in linguistically 'German' areas.³²⁸ The marginalia, misidentified by the editors of the *Recueil* as additional headings for chapters, present in some of the earliest twelfth-century manuscripts, have occasionally been cited throughout this thesis. Although they are unlikely to be Robert's own, they are present in manuscripts dating from before 1145, and thus fall within the limits of study outlined above.³²⁹

Beyond the details, which Robert himself reports, of his name and place of writing (*'claustrum cuiusdam celle Sancti Remigii constitute in episcopate Remensi'*), we know very little for sure about Robert 'the

³²² Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind*, 94-96.

³²³ "Three Crusade Chronicles Intersect."

³²⁴ *RM*.

³²⁵ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*.

³²⁶ Riley-Smith, *First Crusade and the Idea*, 135-152.

³²⁷ *RM*, xv.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, lxxv-lxxiv.

³²⁹ On the marginalia, see *ibid.*, lii; "Roberti Monachi Historia Iherosolimitana," in *RHC Occ.* 3, 718 and *passim*.

Monk' (an appellation found only in later manuscripts).³³⁰ He claims to have been present at Clermont, suggesting relative standing among the clergy.³³¹ He may have visited the Holy Land, but again this is uncertain.³³² Unlike Guibert or Baldric, Robert wrote no other works which have survived. Although it is possible that the author was onetime (1095-1098) abbot of St. Remi in Rheims, (as some thirteenth-century and later manuscripts attest), positive evidence for this is thin on the ground. The conclusion of Bull and Kempf is a cautious approval of this identification ('likely' but 'inconclusive'). Stylistically and rhetorically, his writing fits with Robert's postulated status in the first decade of the twelfth century, that is, exiled and bowed (or at least feigning submission), writing his work out of obedience.³³³

Robert reveals in his introduction to the text that he was shown an unsatisfactory history of the crusade (probably the *Gesta*), and was compelled to write his own work, by the command of an Abbot B., about whom only the initial is recorded.³³⁴ Identification of this figure is key to both the dating of the text and the identification of Robert. However, the *Recueil's* identification of Abbot Bernard of Marmoutier, or the other possibility of Buchard of St. Remi, have been shown to be improbable or impossible.³³⁵ It is more likely that B. was Baldric of Bourgueil, seemingly a personal friend of the abbot Robert, and who we know was familiar with the *Gesta*.³³⁶ This, in turn, supports the cautious speculative alignment of Robert the author with Robert the abbot.³³⁷

Once considered to date to c.1106-1107, partly because of association with the assumed propaganda campaign of Bohemond, and partly because of a perceived relationship with the *Magdeburger Aufruf*, a text traditionally dated to 1107-8, this thinking has been shown to be fundamentally flawed.³³⁸ Nicholas Paul and Marc Carrier have demonstrated that the 'propaganda'

^{330*} RM, xiii, 3. The priory may have been Sénuc. See Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 1.

³³¹ RM, 3.

³³² See *ibid.*, xviii.

³³³ For a full discussion, see *ibid.*, xix-xxxiii.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, xxvi-xxviii.

³³⁶ See the intercessory letter in Karlheinz Hilbert, ed. *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1979), 258-261.

³³⁷ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 2-4.

³³⁸ Krey, "Neglected Passage," 72-74; Peter Knoch, "Kreuzzug und Siedlung: Studien zum Aufruf der Magdeburger Kirche von 1108," *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands*, 23 23 (1974): 6-21; Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Handschriftliches," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 7 (1882). For dating of the Magdeburg charter, see Giles Constable, "Early Crusading in Eastern Germany: The Magdeburg Charter of 1107/8," in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008). For dates of 1106-1107, see Riley-Smith, *First Crusade and the Idea*, 136; Flori, *Chroniqueurs*, 129-130.

campaign has been taken as read when its very existence should be called into question, and Bull and Kempf have reconsidered the relationship with the Magdeburger text, and the dating of Robert's text itself.³³⁹ The preferred date by Bull and Kempf is closer to 1110, and James Naus has provided compelling arguments linking it to the period following the coronation of Louis VI in 1108.³⁴⁰ Sweetenham suggested in the introduction to her translation that the text may have been a royal commission, but this is uncertain, and Naus considers it more an attempt by the clergy of Reims to regain royal status and favour.³⁴¹ A phrase of Robert's suggests that Philip I of France was recently dead by the time of composition, which would situate the text 1108 onwards.³⁴² There is no *terminus ad quem* for the work except the composition of Gilo of Paris' *Historia*, which must have happened before c.1120, if we believe that Gilo was, as is likely, using Robert's work directly. Traditions of German scholarship generally prefer a later date, c.1112-1118.³⁴³ Despite this, a date of c.1110 seems most likely.

GILO OF PARIS

The *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* is an early twelfth-century rendering of the narrative of the First Crusade in Latin verse, the only surviving full poetic version. Probably a compilation of various accounts, the 'gappy' narrative of the *Historia Vie Hierosolymitae* has been noted by Bull, who described Gilo's work as 'mostly an anthology of battle and siege set pieces, a sort of edited highlights...'.³⁴⁴ The only modern edition, with facing page translation, was assembled by Chris Grocock and Elizabeth Siberry as an extension of Grocock's thesis.³⁴⁵ The full text will be referred to as *Gilo of Paris*, for convenience, despite the fact that, in one manuscript, the work was multi-authored (see

³³⁹ Carrier, "Pour en finir," 22-31; Nicholas Paul, "A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade," *Speculum* 85, no. 3 (2010); RM, xxxv-xxxviii.

³⁴⁰ James Naus, "The *Historia Hierosolimitana* of Robert the Monk and the Coronation of Louis VI," in *WEC*.

³⁴¹ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 6; Naus, "Robert the Monk and the Coronation," 114.

³⁴² Georg Marquardt, *Die Historia Hierosolymitana des Robertus Monachus. Ein quellenkritischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (Königsberg: Liedtke, 1892), 45-46.

³⁴³ Peter Christian Jacobsen, "Die Admonter Versifikation der Kreuzzugsgeschichte Roberts von St-Remi," in *Literatur und Sprache im Europäischen Mittelalter: Festschrift für Karl Langosch zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Önnersfors, J. Rathofer, and F. Wagner (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973), 167; Thomas Martin Buck, "Von der Kreuzzugsgeschichte zum Reisebuch Zur *Historia Hierosolymitana* des Robertus Monachus," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 76 (2002): 333 and n. 57.

³⁴⁴ Marcus Bull, "Robert the Monk and his Source(s)," in *WEC*, 136.

³⁴⁵ Christopher W. Grocock, "A Critical Edition of the 12th Century Latin Epic Poem *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* by Gilo of Paris and a Second Anonymous Poet" (Royal Holloway, University of London, 1982); *GP*.

below). Where the other poet is responsible for the passage in question, it will be indicated in the body text.

There are seven extant manuscripts of the *Historia*, one of which is seventeenth-century; a *codex eliminatus* for the editors. The remaining six are:

- A) Paris BnF Lat. 12945, thirteenth-century.
- B) Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 882, twelfth-century.
- C) Paris BnF Lat. 5129, twelfth-century.
- D) Brussels Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er} MS 10615-10729, twelfth-century.
- E) Rome, Vallicelliana MS B.33, twelfth-century.
- F) Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 97, twelfth-century. This is the only manuscript which contains the additions of the Charleville Poet.³⁴⁶

The *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* is a multi-authored work. The two authors have traditionally been called Fulco and Gilo of Paris, although the former now seems unfounded, and Grocock and Siberry refer instead to the ‘Charleville Poet’. Gilo was a Cluniac monk from Toucy in Auxerre, later cardinal-bishop of Tusculum.³⁴⁷ There is only one solid piece of evidence for the dating of the text of Gilo: his own statement that he was resident in the city of Paris.³⁴⁸ Gilo himself can only be placed in Paris until at the latest 1119, after which he was at Cluny. The additions made by the ‘Charleville Poet’, on the other hand, must date from after 1118, since he was aware of the succession of Baldwin II.³⁴⁹ There is no *terminus post quem* for Gilo’s work, but an early date is likely since the author expresses hope that Godfrey will survive into old age; anyone writing much after must have realised that he did not achieve this.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁶ *GP*, xxxviii-xlii.

³⁴⁷ Rudolf Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms, 1049-1130* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977), 142-143.

³⁴⁸ *GP*, 252.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 138.

³⁵⁰ Christopher W. Grocock, "L'Aventure épique: le Traitement poétique de la première croisade par Gilon de Paris et son continuateur," in *APC*, 18.

RALPH OF CAEN

The *Tancredus*, or *Gesta Tancredi*, of Ralph of Caen, a prosimetric quasi-biography of Tancred, covers the period from the departure of the Italo-Norman contingents to the siege of Apamea (1106), encompassing a full narrative of the crusade. It ends abruptly, without concluding remarks, suggesting that either Ralph failed to complete his project, or the manuscripts preserve an incomplete recension of a full work.³⁵¹ The most recent and full edition, from 2011, was produced by D'Angelo, replacing that of the *Recueil*.³⁵² A modern English translation by Bachrach and Bachrach, with short study, was published in 2005.³⁵³ Of the text, just over a thousand verses are in verse, mostly hexameter, or 18.1% of the text. These sections are particularly focused around the battles at Dorylaeum, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and rarely mention Tancred as a figure of particular importance.³⁵⁴ Ralph's work is part of a longer Norman tradition of prosimetric works, including Dudo of St. Quentin and Geoffrey Malaterra,³⁵⁵ and it is possible that Ralph's prosimetry uses verse sections to indicate more dubious information.³⁵⁶ The text only exists in one manuscript, more famed for its eleventh-century rendering of Ovid's *Fasti*: Brussels Bibliothèque Royale 5373.

The dating for the *Tancredus* text is particularly vexed, with codicological evidence suggesting the thirteenth century. The editors of the 1842 catalogue, however, believed it to be an autograph due to '*surcharges et de ratures, ce qui prouve que cet exemplaire est la minute de l'auteur*'.³⁵⁷ The manuscript is fragmentary, bound out of order with revisions of various sections, erasures, corrections, and inserted folios: constituting diverse emendations in at least two definable redactions. All emendations are without doubt twelfth-century, and there may be two hands – there are certainly different inks. It is most likely the product of a prolonged programme of reworking, a 'work-in-progress', between 1113

³⁵¹ For the death thesis, see Raoul Manselli, "Raoul di Caen storico di Tancredi," in *Italia e Italiani alla prima crociata* (Rome: Jouvence, 1983), 142.

³⁵² *Tancredus*; "Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana - Auctore Radulfo Cadomensis ejus familiari," in *RHC Occ. 3*.

³⁵³ Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: a History of the Normans on the First Crusade* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005).

³⁵⁴ *Tancredus*, xviii-xix.

³⁵⁵ *Storiografi e cronologi latini del Mezzogiorno normannosvevo* (Naples: Liguori, 2003), 7-52. See also Bernhardt Pabst, *Prosimetrum: Tradition und Wandel einer Literaturform zwischen Spätantike und Spätmittelalter*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 857, et passim.

³⁵⁶ Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach, "Ralph of Caen as a Military Historian," in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*, ed. Simon John and Nicholas Morton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 92-93.

^{357*} Joseph Marchal, ed. *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale des ducs de Bourgogne*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Brussels and Leipzig: Muquardt, 1842), 417.

and c.1130. D'Angelo has reasonably suggested that Arnulf of Choques is behind the emendations (or served as their inspiration), which refer mainly to the Jerusalemite political scene, aggrandize Arnulf's importance on the crusade and the early years of settlement, and praise Baldwin I.³⁵⁸

Ralph, or Raoul, was born in Caen, probably around 1080. His age can be tentatively ascertained by his own observation that he witnessed the comet, observable to the crusaders, in October 1097, while he was an 'adolescent' at his parental home in Caen.³⁵⁹ His social status is uncertain: he may have been a cleric, or an educated knight – he writes about the obligation on him to 'battle', '*militare*', and an occasion where he was, or had previously been, hunting.³⁶⁰ If, as proposed, he was a cleric, and the rules were followed, this provides further evidence for his birth date. Twenty-five years was the minimum age for ordination, and so, if Ralph became Bohemond's chaplain in 1106, as is likely, he must have been born before 1081.³⁶¹ Ralph was not present on the First Crusade, and it seems evident that he travelled to the Levant only after 1106, when he joined Bohemond's crusade against the Byzantine Emperor Alexios, before probably making his way to the Holy Land after the former's death in March 1111. There, by his own account, he had a close alliance with Tancred, although further details on this relationship are elusive. He was an ex-student of Arnulf of Choques, dedicating his work to him, and perhaps, if they are by his own hand, including additions and amendments to his text positive about Arnulf, most likely in an attempt to gain favour during the latter's tenure as Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem (1112-1118). D'Angelo believes that Ralph may have returned to the West.³⁶²

The majority of the text, or certainly the prologue, was composed between 1112 and 1118. This is clear from internal evidence: Ralph specifically states that he is writing after the death of Tancred (†December 1112) and before the death of Arnulf (†April 1118) to whom he dedicates his work and sends it for proof-reading. He had waited until after the death of his patrons in order to avoid charges of bias due to benefaction.³⁶³ However, additions or modifications to the text were being made after 1130, evident from a proleptic statement about the death of Bohemond the Younger

³⁵⁸ *Tancredus*, XXIII-XXXVII.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 55-56.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, v, 3, 89.

³⁶¹ Luigi Russo, "Tancredi e i Bizantini. Sui *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana* di Rodolfo di Caen," *Medioevo Greco* 3 (2002): 194.

³⁶² *Tancredus*, x.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 3-5.

(†1130). It is possible that Ralph was writing continuously, or intermittently, throughout this period; or that he later revised his work; or even that another writer introduced new material before the text reached the stage attested in our extant manuscript. That Ralph may have been a canon of the Holy Sepulchre, which would have given him the time and materials to write, seems to be unfounded in medieval evidence - an interpretation of the Bachrachs.³⁶⁴ The text was complete in time to be incorporated, in part, by the *Historia Belli Sacri* (1130-1153). Ralph explicitly claims to be using eyewitness material, and to have known Bohemond, Tancred and Arnulf well enough to gain information from them through ‘*sermo cotidianus*’, ‘daily interviews’.³⁶⁵ A detailed study of Ralph’s motives and predilections led D’Angelo to argue that the ideological underpinning of the text was Jerusalemite-Norman hostility to the Antiochene ruling classes, 1113-1118.³⁶⁶

ALBERT OF AACHEN

The *Historia* of Albert of Aachen, the longest of the early First Crusade narratives, covers the progress of the First Crusade, the expedition to Edessa, and the first twenty years of Christian settlement in the Levant. The only satisfactory edition of Albert is that by Edgington, with facing-page English translation.³⁶⁷ There are thirteen extant manuscripts of Albert’s *Historia*, of which seven are twelfth-century. Of these, the earliest is Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und-Hochschulbibliothek, Hs. 102, dating from the second quarter of the twelfth century - various sections are in a later hand.³⁶⁸ This manuscript has a stated provenance of Liège.³⁶⁹

The name of the author, Adalbert, or Albert, is known only from thirteenth-century additions to the manuscripts, and cannot be demonstrably linked with the narrative at its earliest stage. It is clear from local knowledge exhibited within that Albert was from the area around Aachen, and probably from the cathedral church of St. Mary’s. ‘Albert’s were attested as canons, in 1134 and 1158, of St Mary’s at Aachen, and while this need not necessarily have been the author, the name was

³⁶⁴Bachrach and Bachrach, *Gesta Tancredi*, 4.

³⁶⁵ *Tancredus*, 3, 52, 55, 84, 90, 129. See also Bachrach and Bachrach, "Ralph of Caen as a Military Historian," 90-93.

³⁶⁶ *Tancredus*, liii-lxiii.

³⁶⁷ *AA*.

³⁶⁸ See Bernhard Kugler, *Die Deutschen Codices Albert's von Aachen* (Tübingen: Armbruster & Riecker, 1894).

³⁶⁹ Susan B. Edgington, "The *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen: A Critical Edition" (Royal Holloway, University of London, 1991), 42-84; *AA*, xli.

evidently popular in the region.³⁷⁰ Although of appropriate age to have departed on crusade in 1096, he was prevented by *impedimenta*, 'restrictions', presumably because superiors denied him this privilege. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for his birth of c.1080.³⁷¹ Edgington has shown on stylistic grounds that the *Historia* must be considered the work of one author.³⁷²

It has been proposed that the first six books and the latter six were composed separately, and even that they were circulated separately – some of the manuscripts clearly separate the two halves, and William of Tyre's account has been considered to have close similarities with the first half, and very little in common with the latter half.³⁷³ The first half, which comprises the crusade narrative, was composed after 1102, evidenced by references to the death of Stabelo the Chamberlain († May 1102), but probably not long after, since Albert does not mention in his prologue the subsequent settlement of the Holy Land and the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as might be expected if he were writing significantly later.³⁷⁴ The second half was probably finished c.1119, where the narrative ends.³⁷⁵ All books must have been complete by c.1128-1130, when a manuscript of the work in Egmond, Netherlands, was catalogued.³⁷⁶ Since Albert is known not to be an eyewitness on the crusade, the question of his sources of information has been much debated. Albert himself ascribes his knowledge to the '*auditu et relatione nota fierent*' of those who had been present.³⁷⁷ It does not seem as if Albert used any extant Latin source, although he may have used lost written sources; a strong resemblance is evident between the *Historia* and the extant *Antioche* (p.93-109).³⁷⁸

ORDERIC VITALIS

Orderic Vitalis, one of the great monastic writers of the twelfth century, was engaged in a much larger project, the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which had transmuted from a general history of his monastery into a

³⁷⁰ Knoch, *Studien*, 65.

³⁷¹ *AA*, xxiii-xxiv.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, xxviii-xxix.

³⁷³ "Critical Edition," 8-9, 21-22.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁷⁵ *AA*, xxiv-xxv.

³⁷⁶ Maxmillian Manitius, ed. *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Munich: Beck, 1931), 426.

^{377*} *AA*, 2.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, xxvi-xxviii; "Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons*." Generally accepted: see Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 21.

complete history of the church and world history. The *Historia* has been edited and translated by Marjorie Chibnall, and the crusade section appears in Volume V.³⁷⁹ In the ninth of thirteen constituent books, Orderic included a full-length narrative of the First Crusade, largely lifted from, and attributed by Orderic to, Baldric of Bourgueil, whom he appears to have known and considered a friend, but adds further information, which he claims is from eyewitnesses.³⁸⁰ Although he names Fulcher in his preface, Orderic did not use his *Historia* as a source for any of his narrative.³⁸¹ Orderic probably used a version of Baldric's work closer to that of the variant manuscript G, on the basis of certain information included regarding the capture of Edessa.³⁸² Only one medieval manuscript of this section survives, Orderic's autograph (BnF Lat. 10913): it seems as if the length of the work as a whole discouraged copying.³⁸³

Orderic Vitalis was an English-born monk, who lived and wrote in the monastery of St. Évroul in Normandy. After occupying a relatively significant role in the monastery's *scriptorium*, copying and emending the work of others, he embarked upon his *magnum opus* the *Historia Ecclesiastica* probably around 1113. Well-informed by other monastic writers, as well as local secular sources, he was in a good position to have gained knowledge about the crusade from eyewitnesses, probably from the Anglo-Norman entourage of Robert of Normandy.³⁸⁴ Orderic seems to have had a close connection to the epic in his other work, and was content to include stories of a semi-legendary nature into his text.³⁸⁵

The *Historia Ecclesiastica* was completed around 1141, with the crusade section probably written in 1135-6 and revised in 1139.³⁸⁶ This can be gleaned from Orderic's assertion that the Kingdom of Jerusalem was founded '~~xxxxii~~ .xli.' years ago in the autograph manuscript, with the previous date struck through.³⁸⁷

³⁷⁹ *OV*.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, xiii, 188.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, xiv.

³⁸³ For a full discussion on manuscripts, see Léopold Delisle, *Notice sur Orderic Vital* (Paris: Lahure, 1855), xciii-xcviii.

³⁸⁴ For Orderic's life, context, and use of sources, see Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford: OUP, 1984).

³⁸⁵ Cf. Frederick M. Warren, "The Battle of Fraga and Larchamp in Orderic Vital," *Modern Philology* 11, no. 3 (1914); "The enamoured Moslem princess in Orderic Vital and the French Epic," *PMLAA* 29 (1914).

³⁸⁶ *OV*, 11-12.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 186, n.1.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON

The *Historia Anglorum* written by Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, another gargantuan work of Anglo-Norman historiography, contains a relatively brief history of the First Crusade in its seventh book of ten. The text has been comprehensively edited, with study, by Diana Greenaway, which is the edition used for this thesis.³⁸⁸ Greenaway's thinking, widely accepted, is that the *Historia Anglorum* evolved through six different 'versions', written between the years 1123-1154. The crusade text was written as part of the first, copied c.1130-1135, and seems to have remained largely unchanged throughout these emendations.³⁸⁹ There are forty-five extant manuscripts, ranging in date from twelfth to fifteenth century.³⁹⁰

Born c.1088, Henry was the archdeacon of Huntingdon (1110-c.1156), a role inherited from his father. An English secular clerk, integrated into the local petty aristocracy, he was educated at Lincoln by Albinus of Angers, but possibly also at Chartres and Norwich. He had as patron and master Bishop Robert Bloet, who was Chancellor to King William II 'Rufus'. He was involved in administrative duties, witnessing charters throughout his life, mainly episcopal, and accompanying his ecclesiastical superiors to synods.³⁹¹ He wrote a selection of other works, including the *Anglicanus ortus*, a verse herbal, and *De contemptu mundi*, a eulogy for Walter of Leicester, alongside much poetry.³⁹²

It is unlikely, given his relatively late date of writing (probably c.1131 for the relevant section) and geographical distance from the main corpus of First Crusaders, that he was able to interrogate eye-witnesses for his account of the crusade; more likely, he worked from extant texts. His version of the crusade narrative has strong affinities with a text of the *Gesta* tradition, but contains many concordances with the works of Baldric, Ralph, and William of Malmesbury. Some information is not paralleled in any extant source.³⁹³ The integration of the narrative into the larger work is abrupt and poorly integrated.³⁹⁴ It has been suggested that Henry utilized French vernacular literature as source material, particularly for his account of Hastings.³⁹⁵

³⁸⁸ *HH*; for the crusade, see 422-442.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, lxvi-lxxvii.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, cxvii-cxlv.

³⁹¹ For chronological summary of Henry's life: *ibid.*, clxvi-clxxii.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, xxiii-lvii.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, xcvi-xcix.

³⁹⁴ Nancy Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 203.

³⁹⁵ *HH*, cvi-cvii.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY

The *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, is, in the same tradition as Orderic and Henry, a lengthy historical text of the Anglo-Norman cultural sphere. It, too, contains a full-length narrative of the First Crusade, derived from extant textual sources but with unexplained additions. The text has been edited comprehensively in a Lachmannian style, and translated, with notes, by Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom.³⁹⁶ There are thirty-seven extant manuscripts of the work, which can be divided into four separate stages of composition. The initial text was written up to about 1126, with revisions in 1135 and onwards.³⁹⁷ The edition cited above takes as its model the later revisions, but the narrative of the crusade section does not seem to have been meaningfully changed throughout this process of revision.

William was a monastic author, residing at Malmesbury Abbey in Wiltshire. Although he does not make it explicit, he was likely of mixed Norman-English parentage: his father was of some means and probably a knight.³⁹⁸ He was born in the late eleventh century, although there is some controversy as to whether his claim to be forty in 1135 can be believed or not. A date of birth around c.1090 seems more likely.³⁹⁹ He was a learned and eloquent writer, producing an extensive corpus of Latin literature, which not only includes the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* but also the *Historia Novella* and the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*. He mentions Fulcher's *Historia* in his account of the First Crusade, and his narrative follows it closely, with many deviations and much added information.⁴⁰⁰ His crusade sources are discussed in an article by Rodney Thomson, who believes the *Gesta* was consulted alongside Fulcher and that William may have shared notes with Orderic.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁶ *WM*. The crusade section runs 592-654. An accompanying introduction and notes was published the following year, without Mynors(†): Rodney M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, *William of Malmesbury: Gesta regum Anglorum. The History of the English Kings. Vol. 2. General Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: OUP, 1999).

³⁹⁷ *WM*, xiii-xxvi.

³⁹⁸ Michael Winterbottom, "William of Malmesbury and the Normans," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 20 (2010).

³⁹⁹ See Rodney M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 199-201.

⁴⁰⁰ *WM*, 660.

⁴⁰¹ Rodney M. Thomson, "William of Malmesbury, Historian of Crusade," *RMS* 23 (1997). Reprinted, and slightly modified, in *William of Malmesbury*, 178-188.

THE LETTERS

Three sets of letters, supposedly written either during or shortly after the crusade, have a bearing on this investigation. Although not the direct subject of this thesis, which focuses on traditionally ‘narrative’ accounts, their nature and contents provoke deep questions about authenticity.

The first set are two letters of Stephen of Blois to his wife Adela.⁴⁰² No firm evidence exists, apart from their own assertion, that their compositional date precedes 1100. There is only one manuscript of the first, included in a twelfth-century compilation. Likely from the Cartulary of the Library of Notre-Dame in Chartres, it is now MS. Vatican. Reg. Christ. 1283. The second letter also has one extant twelfth-century manuscript, Paris BnF Lat. 14192. This manuscript is a collection of letters, and Stephen’s is prefaced, on the same folio, by a musical setting for *Loquebantur variis linguis*, a *missa brevis* – a curiously liturgical context for *reportage*.

Jean Bernier, in 1682, stated that: ‘*au sentiment des savants cette lettre [the first] soit fausse quant au style*’, an opinion probably inherited from François Du Chesne, who had lent him a now-lost manuscript.⁴⁰³ Dana Munro, while concluding the letter was *bona fide*, acknowledged that it had ‘been regarded with great suspicion’.⁴⁰⁴ There is a debate about this first letter’s veracity in Hagenmeyer’s notes, which he concludes on the grounds of stylistic similarity to the second letter that the first is genuine.⁴⁰⁵ There has been no discussion of the possibility that the second letter is not genuine. Hagenmeyer believed both the *Gesta* and Fulcher to be using the letters of Stephen of Blois, even commenting ‘*Daß Fulcher diesen Brief gekannt hat, ist außer Zweifel*’;⁴⁰⁶ enough evidence for him to consider the age of the letters to be confirmed.⁴⁰⁷ Edgington agreed.⁴⁰⁸ Fink suggests, following Hagenmeyer, that Fulcher had seen a copy of Stephen’s letter in a library in Jerusalem, supporting his argument that Fulcher used library texts by citing the author’s later assertion that he took material from a library: ‘*ut in bibliotheca legimus*’. However, this statement, in only one manuscript, in a different

⁴⁰² There may have once been two additional letters (one sent from Constantinople, one regarding Dorylaeum) but evidence for these is solely based on dubious interpretations of the contents of the texts themselves; see Riant, *Archives de l’Orient Latin*, 143-144, 169.

^{403*} Jean Bernier, *Histoire de Blois* (Paris: Muguet, 1682), 293; Riant, *Archives de l’Orient Latin*, 150.

⁴⁰⁴ Dana Carleton Munro, ed. *Letters of the Crusaders*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1902).

⁴⁰⁵ Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed. *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacrae spectantes: Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901), 54.

^{406*} *FC*, 219, n.23; 226, n.9.

⁴⁰⁷ *Epistulae*, 76.

⁴⁰⁸ Edgington, "Romance," 38.

book of Fulcher's work, is inserted into a discussion of completely separate geographical information.⁴⁰⁹ This argument, then, is unconvincing, even without addressing the thorny issue of why a library in Jerusalem would have a copy of a letter supposedly sent to the West many years previously. John Pryor has defended the veracity of the letters, stating: 'There is nothing in the protocols, eschatocols, forms of address, etc. to suggest that the letters were later fabrications.'⁴¹⁰ These justifications do not answer the possibility that they were composed in the same literary milieu in which the other crusade texts were composed, whatever its nature was.

It is the opinion of this thesis that these letters are not certainly epistolary in nature; they may not be authentically from the hand, or scribe, of Stephen of Blois. Evidence for this rests upon two key points. Firstly, there are direct textual parallels between the letters and the First Crusade texts - it seems unlikely that First Crusade historians used copies of the letters in composition. Secondly, internal textual evidence suggests that the letters are written with the benefit of hindsight, from a different perspective to that likely witnessed by Stephen.

Foremost among the close textual links evident between Stephen's letters and the crusade texts are various conventional scenes delineated in this study: Turks immediately turning in flight without fighting, (p.195), similarity in using ablatives of gerunds (p.252), pagans shedding their equipment in flight to the Euphrates (p.195), lengthy lists of pagan races defending Antioch (p.192), and the sending of a pagan prince, Sensadolus, on a mission to Jerusalem, Aleppo, Damascus, Arabia, and significantly, Coroscane (p.228).⁴¹¹ Then there are identical or similar phrases or details, mostly relating to the *Gesta*, Bartolf, and Fulcher. The phrase '*regiam urbem Antiochiam*' is found in the same context as '*regalem urbem Antiochiam*' in the *Gesta*.⁴¹² It uses precisely the same vocabulary, in the same narrative location, as Bartolf for fleeing Saracens deserting their equipment: '*sarcinis dimissis*'.⁴¹³ The phrasing '*inimici nostri et Dei*', found in both Stephen of Blois' letter and throughout mainstream crusade texts is formulaic; to some degree confirmed by an offhand comment in the *Peregrinatio Antiochie*: '*inimici nostri et Dei, scilicet, Turci*'.⁴¹⁴ Details, too, are identical: the pagan leaders Bolianuth

⁴⁰⁹* *FC*, 67, 598, n. g; Fink and Ryan, *Fulcher*, 44.

⁴¹⁰ John H. Pryor, "Stephen of Blois: Sensitive New Age Crusader or Victim of History," *Arts: Journal of the Sydney University Arts Association* 20 (1998): 66.

⁴¹¹ *Epistulae*, 139, 150-151. Cf. *FC*, 219, n.23; 226, n.9.

⁴¹²* *GF*, 52; *Epistulae*, 150.

⁴¹³* *BN*, 505; *Epistulae*, 150.

⁴¹⁴* *Epistulae*, 150. Cf. *GF*, 18, 40; *PT*, 51, 75. The latter of each is in the same location as the letter of Stephen, before the Bridge battle. *PA*, in *MS*, *St. Catharine's College, Cambridge* 3, 55v.

and Hamelnuth, are also found in Bartolf.⁴¹⁵ A specified number of emirs, twelve, are killed in a battle outside Antioch.⁴¹⁶

Two proleptic hints are contained within the letters. At the end of his first, Stephen dictates: *'dico tibi, mi dilecta, quia de saepedicta Nicaea usque Hierusalem V septimanas, perueniemus, nisi Antiochia obstiterit nobis.'*⁴¹⁷ 'Unless Antioch holds us up' sounds suspiciously like it is written with the benefit of hindsight. Similarly, the sentiment expressed at the end of the last letter is cryptic, and again proleptic of the near future: *'Pauca certe sunt, carissima, quae tibi de multis scribo, et quia tibi exprimere non ualeo quae sunt animo meo, carissima... citius potero me certe uidebis.'*⁴¹⁸ Hagenmeyer considered this cryptic sentence confirmation that Stephen had it in mind to desert two months before he did.⁴¹⁹ But why reveal this in a form patently public and unsafe – the letter is addressed to all his followers. The indication that Stephen himself has taken over from his scribe is, to my knowledge, unparalleled in other medieval letters. A puzzling reference in the first letter suggests concern that his letters are not reaching home. The text asserts that he has sent a previous letter on the subject of *'vitae meae ac peregrinationis seriem a Constantinopoli'*, but he makes it clear that he is rewriting it *'ne legato illi aliquod infortunium contigerit'*.⁴²⁰ This is not in fact, what is done, carrying on from where he would have left off after Constantinople. Why write this? Perhaps Stephen was genuinely concerned about the safety of a messenger from Constantinople back to his homeland, but why was he more confident about the messenger back from Nicaea, where he wrote his first extant letter? Why is no similar sentiment expressed in the second letter? Stephen describes himself as keen to relay the story of what happened during Lent: we then learn of a series of conflicts, firstly of an ambush of the Christian supply lines, which then culminates in the capture of a pagan outpost. Nowhere in this does Stephen mention his own actions, referring instead to Raymond and Bohemond as the *principes*, and ascribing the adjective *egregium* to Bohemond. For a personal letter, we never hear of his own adventures, and barely any information not included in the narrative accounts. If Stephen were truly *dominus et gubernator*, lord and governor, over the army, why does he allow these two lesser generals to be ascribed leadership?

⁴¹⁵ BN, 497; *Epistulae*, 151.

⁴¹⁶ *Epistulae*, 152. Cf. GF, 41; PT, 76; HBS, 55; AA, 246; GN, 192; HH, 434.

⁴¹⁷* *Epistulae*, 140.

⁴¹⁸* Ibid., 152.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 52.

⁴²⁰* Ibid., 138.

Daimbert of Pisa's first letter, traditionally dated to 1099, contains similar concordances with the crusade texts. Daimbert idiosyncratically uses *in interiora Hispaniae*, or 'Spain' in an identical context to how the word is used by Raymond to mean southern Syria.⁴²¹ Daimbert includes a formulaic expression of inability to fully describe the happenings at Antioch, as do nearly all the narrative sources (*longum est enarrare miseras*).⁴²² Thirdly, the detail recorded by Daimbert that blood in the Temple of Jerusalem reached the ankles (or other body part) of the crusaders is paralleled in nearly all extant texts.⁴²³ Finally, his assertion that Al-Afdal, the pagan leader at Ascalon, was exclusively looking to reduce the Christians to captivity is dealt with below (p.200) as a commonplace of the crusade texts.⁴²⁴ The Hills have noted the similarities between the letter and Ekkehard's account, and Rubenstein has suggested that the concordances with crusade texts could perhaps be resolved with reference to the lost *Jerusalem History*.⁴²⁵

The letters of Anselm of Ribemont are equally oddly similar to the Latin Crusade accounts. After a brief introduction, the letter dated July 1098 slips into fundamentally a summary of the *Gesta Francorum*, with many similar details. A few examples will suffice: the embassy to Kerbogha is portrayed in nearly identical terms, with reported speech and Kerbogha drawing his sword in response to the Christian threat, as in Bartolf- the phrasing is similar in that, in Anselm, Kerbogha disavows the Christian threat by '*thronum suum*' and Bartolf '*per thronum...Soltan?*'⁴²⁶ The list of leaders in Anselm's letter at the final battle of Antioch is recounted in a list format formulaic in the Latin accounts (p.167).⁴²⁷ Immediately before the betrayal of Antioch, the letter of Anselm includes a formulaic '*quid enim enumerare multimodas tribulationes...*' various locutions of which are inserted into the entire *Gesta* family of texts at exactly the same point.⁴²⁸ The added detail of the death of Cassian, the historical Yaghi-Siyan, at the hands of local inhabitants acts as a coda to the capture of the city, as it does in nearly every crusade text (p.208).⁴²⁹

⁴²¹ RA, 50, 53, 89, 101.

^{422*} Cf. GF, 44; GN, 200; AA, 336.

⁴²³ Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades," *Crusades* 3 (2004).

⁴²⁴ For all the above, *Epistulae*, 169-171. See also the formulaic '*relictis sarcinis*' on 171.

⁴²⁵ PT, 23; Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum?*," 203.

^{426*} BN, 503; *Epistulae*, 160.

⁴²⁷ *Epistulae*, 160.

^{428*} Ibid., 159; GF, 44; GN, 200; AA, 336.

⁴²⁹ *Epistulae*, 160.

Rather than being epistolary in nature, Stephen's, Anselm's, and Daimbert's letters all engage, to some extent, with the established structure of First Crusade narrative, and their concordances with these texts prohibit them from being seen as external bearers of 'reality' to the more 'fictive' texts. They ought to be considered as part of the same historiographical tradition.

MINOR WORKS

The Ripoll manuscript, BNF Latin 5132, contains a fragmentary anonymous account of the capture of Jerusalem, edited and published by France in *English Historical Review*. He contends the text is early twelfth-century in terms of composition, Provençal in origin, and linked to liturgical commemoration of Jerusalem's capture. Although its early date, grounds for inclusion in this thesis, cannot be proven, it seems likely.⁴³⁰ The text was certainly composed with reference to Raymond, but also to a 'now lost eyewitness narrative'; the similarities with other works France ascribes to material from the postulated lost source.⁴³¹ Some unique narrative on the capture of Jerusalem is provided in the text.

Similarly, there are a few other minor accounts, which provide little or no unique information but have nonetheless been included in the primary investigation. These are the sections in the larger works of Sigebert of Gembloux (-c.1112),⁴³² and the anonymous *Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsesso Dyrrachio* (1110-1114): an adaptation of the *Gesta* or possibly letters, oral material, or a proto-*Gesta*.⁴³³

EXTERNAL TEXTS WITH SOME RELATIONSHIP TO THE LATIN SOURCES

It is important that two external narratives, excluded from this thesis because their language is not Latin, are dismissed as external referents of 'truth', independent of the Latin texts: Anna Komnene's (c.1138-1148) Ἀλεξιάδης (*Alexiad*) and Matthew of Edessa's (c.1113-1140) Ժամանակագրություն (Chronicle). Anna's intriguing text is written in Greek.⁴³⁴ Her narrative is, after Nicaea at least, sparse, but similar to the Latin accounts: she places emphasis on the betrayal of Antioch by Firuz, in a version

⁴³⁰ John France, "An Unknown Account of the Capture of Jerusalem," *EHR* 87 (1972); "The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem in the Ripoll Manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale (Latin) 5132," *EHR* 103 (1988).

⁴³¹ "Unknown Account," 780-783.

⁴³² Pertz and Waitz, *MGH SS* 6, 367-368.

⁴³³ "Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsesso Dyrrachio," in *RHC Oec.* 5 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1895). For sources, see *ibid.*, xcii; France, "Use," 35.

⁴³⁴ Peter Frankopan and Elizabeth R.A. Sewter, *Anna Komnene, The Alexiad*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 2009).

of the tale close to Ralph's. The constant reassertion of reinforcements from 'Coroscane' (p.228) is found in the same narrative location as in nearly all the First Crusade texts. Ekkehard's account has close resemblances to Anna's, not easily explained by a process of direct textual transmission.⁴³⁵ The question of Anna's sources for the later expedition has not been dealt with thoroughly, and requires further study, but many have suggested in different contexts that she used Latin sources throughout her work.⁴³⁶

Matthew's Chronicle is more concerned with the details of events on Crusade than other contemporary non-Western accounts, and contains many similarities to the *Gesta*. Matthew is informed about the deal with Alexios to hand back all previously Byzantine possessions. He is also well-informed about events at Antioch, exhibiting a number of the motifs discussed in this thesis: he discusses the lengthy lists of ethnonyms which make up the Christians' opponents at Antioch (p.192); adds what seems like a formulaic combat between Tughtigin and Godfrey outside the city (p.128); includes a description of the famine at Antioch at exactly the same narrative point as the *Gesta Francorum*;⁴³⁷ invokes Coroscane when discussing the relief force led by Kerbogha, as does Anna (p.228); portrays the troops as spread out over hills and fields (p.169); depicts the death of Cassian at the hands of peasants (p.208); and the mission of Sensadulus to Kerbogha (p.208); describes the crusader array in terms of who was leading the divisions, in battle array (p.167); in his account the Christians pursued the infidels for a whole day (p.195); and there are similarities in the description of the battle at Ascalon with Fulcher, particularly in the pursuit by the Christians.⁴³⁸ It is not inconceivable that Matthew was using a Frankish source for material, probably of the *Gesta* branch, in particular concerning the crusaders at Antioch and at Ascalon. Hagenmeyer suggested that he used the account of Fulcher.⁴³⁹ However, it does not seem as if any existing source provides the

⁴³⁵ *EA*, 21, n. c, d.

⁴³⁶ Peter Frankopan, "Turning Latin into Greek: Anna Komnene and the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*," *JMH* 38 (2013); "Understanding the Greek Sources for the First Crusade," in *WEC*. For the porous relationship between Latin and Greek historiography, Paul Brown, "The *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*: A 'Byzantine' History?," *JMH* 37 (2011).

⁴³⁷ Cf. *GF*, 35; *FC*, 223-228; *RA*, 36-50; *AA*, 216-220.

⁴³⁸ Cf. *FC*, 308-318.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

information exactly as he phrases it: the order of battle outside Antioch is entirely different.⁴⁴⁰ Because of this, the Chronicle does not constitute an ‘independent’ source for this thesis.

DEVELOPMENT

This section outlines the most important historiographical arguments on the development of the genre of the Latin crusade texts. The consistency of narrative evident across the genre has required explanation. For example, it is only in the notoriously eschatological Raymond of Aguilers that a higher percentage of the narrative is lavished on the siege and capture of Jerusalem than on that of the less theologically significant capture of Antioch.⁴⁴¹ Early approaches to the subject were concerned mostly with ‘primacy’: which texts were drawing upon the others for source material. Partly provoked by the profound intertextuality of the supposed eyewitness texts, it has become increasingly common to assert lost sources to explain the concordances difficult to explain through direct borrowing. Others still, prompted by the consideration of the *Antioche* as a reworked text with roots stretching back to the event of the crusade itself, have utilized a hypothesized ‘proto-*Antioche*’ to explain complex intertextualities. Another approach is to consider ‘oral’ influence, either crystallized into ‘songs’ or ‘camp-fire tales’ on one end of the spectrum, to, more prosaically, a presumption of interviews of surviving crusaders. All four approaches (primacy, lost sources, proto-*Antioche*, and oral) continue in various forms, and are dealt with in turn below.

THE ISSUE OF PRIMACY

The relationship between the two near-identical accounts of the *Gesta* and Tudebode’s *Historia* has been the greatest battlefield for questions of primacy, even though manuscript variance is great in both and the existence of intermediary works such as the *Peregrinatio Antiochie* brings into serious question the policy of treating them as two coherently different textual archetypes.⁴⁴² Most scholars

⁴⁴⁰ For above references, Ara Edmond Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades: Tenth to Twelfth Centuries. The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993), 164-173. See 12-13 on Matthew of Edessa's supposed sources.

⁴⁴¹ See percentages of narrative length presented in Appendix A.

⁴⁴² Jacques Bongars, ed. *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hannover: Wechel, 1611); Bull, "Relationship," 2, 16.

have applied themselves to the question of which one ‘copied’ the other, despite the anachronicity of the term and the developing concepts of fluidity in composition and memorialization.⁴⁴³

The account of Peter Tudebode was first published individually by the Poitevin man-of-letters Jean Besly in 1641 as the ‘original’ eye witness history of the First Crusade upon which the *Gesta Francorum*, already published by Bongars, had been based. Besly believed that Tudebode’s account has primacy and that the *Gesta* was little more than an expunged, propagandistic *remaniement*, with the author’s name removed and a pro-Bohemond slant added.⁴⁴⁴ This suggestion retained orthodoxy for two centuries. In 1841, Von Sybel instead cast Tudebode as plagiarizer, restoring the *Gesta* to its position as the primary eyewitness source.⁴⁴⁵ Notwithstanding, the editors of the *Recueil* edition of the *Gesta* insisted on maintaining Tudebode’s primacy, referring to the *Gesta* as *Tudebodus abbreviatus*.⁴⁴⁶ Hagenmeyer provided the most compelling arguments that the *Gesta* preceded Tudebode, and most commentators since have been either implicitly or explicitly against the supposition of Tudebode’s originality.⁴⁴⁷ Some have provided further evidence. John France and Conor Kostick have independently pointed to the probability that Tudebode relied on the *Gesta*, or a text similar to it, because of the consistent identification of a supposedly Poitevin observer with the Italo-Norman contingent and their route.⁴⁴⁸ Bull has argued the account of Tudebode to be a ‘twice removed’ reworking of the *Gesta*, a process in which the *Peregrinatio Antiochie* is the missing link.⁴⁴⁹

What then of the self-designated ‘eyewitness’ works of Raymond and Fulcher (and Bartolf’s, closely related to Fulcher’s), whose textual resemblances to the *Gesta*/Tudebode texts are too great to be coincidental? Besly resolved the similarities by awkwardly stating that Raymond and Tudebode were companions who had shared their memoirs – an unlikely proposition.⁴⁵⁰ Many analyses have failed to produce consensus, although the primacy of the *Gesta* has broadly been maintained. Raymond and Fulcher probably independently used the Anonymous’ work, to varying extents.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴³ See Kempf, "Textual Archaeology."

⁴⁴⁴ Besly, "Historia," 773-776.

⁴⁴⁵ Von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 17-18, 22-33.

^{446*} "Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum, seu Tudebodus abbreviatus," in *RHC Occ. 3* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866).

⁴⁴⁷ Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, 50-58. For two examples among many, *GF*, x; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 14.

⁴⁴⁸ France, "Use," 31; Kostick, "Further Discussion," 9.

⁴⁴⁹ Bull, "Relationship."

⁴⁵⁰ See Thurot, "Études critiques," 67-68.

⁴⁵¹ *GF*, x-xi; Edgington, "The First Crusade," 56-57; Bull, "Eyewitness Accounts," 34.

France asserted that Raymond was using the *Gesta* as an *aide mémoire*;⁴⁵² Hill that he was physically ‘using and emending’ a manuscript of the *Gesta* for some sections;⁴⁵³ and Edgington that he relied on a ‘critical’ usage of the *Gesta*.⁴⁵⁴ Clemens Klein, conversely, argued for a reassessment of the relationship between the *Historiae* of Raymond and Tudebode. In his view, Raymond provided the source material for Tudebode and the *Gesta*.⁴⁵⁵ Other commentators have argued instead that Tudebode must have used Raymond to some extent, but that the *Gesta* still has primacy.⁴⁵⁶ Fulcher probably used both the *Gesta* and Raymond, although whether both, only one which transmitted information from the other, or intermediary texts is uncertain.⁴⁵⁷ Many complexities persist, and inconsistencies abound - it is, in part, the difficulties of these questions which have provoked ideas of lost common sources.

The ‘second wave’ of texts explicitly produced more sophisticated versions of already existing histories. Ekkehard of Aura speaks about the ‘*Jherosolimae libellum*’ which he read and used as source material before discussing the crusade.⁴⁵⁸ Robert remarked that he was ordered by his abbot to re-write ‘*unam istoriam*’, which was displeasing to the abbot, partly because, ‘*quia initium suum, quod in Clari Montis concilio constitutum fuit, non habebat...*’⁴⁵⁹ Similarly, Baldric of Bourgueil described a ‘*libellum rusticanum...nescio quis compilator... nomine suppresso...*’ which he took upon himself to improve.⁴⁶⁰ Guibert, too, professes to rework an unsophisticated account.⁴⁶¹ The latter three stress the rusticity of their source material.⁴⁶² Some commentators have been content to align these alluded-to works with extant texts, most commonly the *Gesta Francorum*, while others have used the uncertainty provided by these vague references to assert that this *libellus*, or *libelli*, could now be lost (p.93).⁴⁶³

⁴⁵² France, *Victory*, 377.

⁴⁵³ *GF*, 13.

⁴⁵⁴ Edgington, "Romance," 38.

⁴⁵⁵ Clemens Klein, *Raimund von Aquilers: Quellenstudie zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Berlin: Mittler, 1892), passim, esp. 144-146. Cf. the useful diagram found at *HBS*, xxviii.

⁴⁵⁶ Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?", 189, esp. n.59.

⁴⁵⁷ Von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 56; Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, 50-58; *FC*, 69, 72; Fink and Ryan, *Fulcher*, 3; Epp, *Fulcher*, 145-146; Edgington, "Romance," 38.

^{458*} *EA*, 21.

^{459*} *RM*, 3.

^{460*} *BB*, 4.

⁴⁶¹ *GN*, 78.

⁴⁶² See Steven Biddlecombe, "Baldric of Bourgueil and the *Familia Christi*," in *WEC*, 10; Rubenstein, "Three Crusade Chronicles Intersect," 24; Kempf, "Textual Archaeology," 118.

⁴⁶³ Hagenmeyer was the first to convincingly argue for the *Gesta*, overruling Bresly's earlier assertion that it was Tudebode's text. Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, 39-92; Besly, "Historia," 773-815. Grocock and Siberry argued that Robert was using a verse account, based on a misreading of Robert's Latin. *GP*, lix-lx; Bull, "Robert the Monk and his Source(s)," 130-131.

Rubenstein has urged caution, asking instead for a 'text...in the tradition of the *Gesta Francorum*', which served as material for the trio. He particularly draws attention to the use by all three of a scene which appears in only one of the four manuscripts of Tudebode's work, and is absent in the extant *Gesta*: the bisection of a Turk by Godfrey.⁴⁶⁴

Whether these reworkings in the second wave of texts, which Riley-Smith termed 'theological refinement', constituted propaganda has already been introduced (p.74). Although suggested by Besly, Krey, musing on the propagandistic nature of the *Gesta*, proposed that the relative explosion of textual production about the crusade c.1106 was provoked by Bohemond's preaching, or crusade recruitment, tour of France in the same year: a view cautiously supported by many since.⁴⁶⁵ In Krey's opinion, since taken up by Flori and Russo, Baldric, Robert, and Guibert were writing in part as a planned 'refinement' of the *Gesta* in order to draw more support for the crusading cause.⁴⁶⁶ Wolf argued that the entire corpus of crusade texts gained from the *Gesta* an inaccurate emphasis on Antioch inserted by the *Gesta* author to whitewash Bohemond's contribution to the crusade.⁴⁶⁷ Recently, Paul and Carrier have urged caution on the consideration of these texts as propaganda; Biddlecombe has argued against viewing these texts as reactionary to Bohemond's tour;⁴⁶⁸ and Bull has criticized the desire to find propaganda in the Middle Ages as 'narrow and anachronistic'.⁴⁶⁹

The crusade texts, then, traditionally fall into two primary categories: the 'eyewitness' accounts, which exhibit an uncertain closeness to each other, but on which little can be said categorically; and the theological and 'propagandic' reworkings, which initially appear to possess a simple relationship of reworking. However, the reworkings often include unique material absent in their assumed source but also found in other works. These issues have been explained in scholarship through reference to lost sources, oral material, or intermediary *chansons de geste*, and will be dealt with below.

⁴⁶⁴ Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?", 188-189. France maintains that Ekkehard never actually uses the *Gesta*, and so the nature of the *libellus* cannot be ascertained with certainty. France, "Use," 35.

⁴⁶⁵ Besly, "Historia."; Krey, "Neglected Passage," 72-73; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 14-15; HBS, Flori's introduction; Riley-Smith, *First Crusade and the Idea*, 135-155.

⁴⁶⁶ Luigi Russo, "Il viaggio di Boemondo d'Altavilla nella storiografia normanna," *Archivio storico italiano* 603 (2005); Flori, *Chroniqueurs*.

⁴⁶⁷ Wolf, "Crusade and Narrative," 215-216.

⁴⁶⁸ Carrier, "Pour en finir."; Paul, "A Warlord's Wisdom."; BB, xxv-xxvi, lxxviii-lxix.

⁴⁶⁹ Bull, "Relationship," 4.

Four works in particular do not fit into this general pattern. The *Tancredus* was once thought to be drawing on the *Gesta* and Fulcher, but the more normal opinion now is that it drew upon neither of them without intermediary sources, although Emily Albu continues to maintain that Fulcher's work was consulted.⁴⁷⁰ Scholarly opinion has shifted from the supposition that Albert of Aachen used the *Gesta* and Fulcher, towards the opinion that he used none of the extant textual sources directly.⁴⁷¹ Both Ralph and Albert are instead considered to have direct routes to the events themselves through lost sources or oral material. The *Historia* of Gilo of Paris and the Charleville Poet is variously asserted to be based on Robert the Monk's text, or on a lost source, considered below.⁴⁷² The *Historia Belli Sacri*, related to many of the above texts, is evidently a compilation, but of which texts is still debated. Although D'Angelo only saw evidence of the *Gesta*, Tudebode, Raymond, and the *Tancredus*, France had added Robert and Guibert.⁴⁷³ Later texts, particularly in Anglo-Norman historiography, evidently used extant texts (William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis used Fulcher), but perhaps also lost material.⁴⁷⁴ The picture then, is more complex than can be explained fully by direct textual transmission; the sections below will outline some previous explanations.

LOST SOURCES

Hypothesized lost sources, excluding the proto-*Antioche*, can be broadly aligned with four non-discrete categories: the *Ur-Gesta*, or Jerusalem History, understood as a narrative source preceding the *Gesta* and Tudebode; the 'official history' or 'war diary', understood as a semi-official estimate of numbers, sponsored by the leadership to record events of the expedition; a 'Lost Lotharingian Chronicle', which presented a unique perspective of the Lotharingian/German contingent and which served as source material for Albert of Aachen's unique material; and a lost Latin poetic source which influenced Gilo of Paris and Robert the Monk.

⁴⁷⁰ FC, 74-75; Laetitia Boehm, "Die *Gesta Tancredi* des Radulph von Caen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung der Normannen um 1100," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 75 (1956): 51; Manselli, "Raoul di Caen," 143-144; Albu, *Normans*, 164; *Tancredus*, XLII; Barbara Packard, "Ralph of Caen," in *CMR*, 377.

⁴⁷¹ Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, 62-68; Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté Franque d'Antioche* (Paris: Geuthner, 1940), 12, n.5; Susan B. Edgington, "Albert of Aachen Reappraised," 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 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 57; *AA*, xxvi.

⁴⁷² *GP*, lviii-lx; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 29-35; Bull, "Robert the Monk and his Source(s)."

⁴⁷³ *HBS*, xxviii-xxx; France, "Use," 36-37. Cf. *GF*, x-xi; Packard, "Raymond of Aguilers," in *CMR*, 299.

⁴⁷⁴ Bull, "Fulcher," 405.

As an alternative to resolving the question of the relationship between the sources through methods of establishing primacy, scholars have long suggested earlier manifestations of extant texts. Krey hypothesized an earlier version of the *Gesta* which was the *libellus* mentioned by Ekkehard, but continued to support the view that Robert and Baldric's source texts were both the extant *Gesta*.⁴⁷⁵ The Hills' work on Tudebode and Raymond (1968-1977), flawed in some respects, but reliable in others, culminated in the proposition of a lost common source from which all the extant 'eyewitness' texts derived, including Albert of Aachen.⁴⁷⁶ This view is cautiously supported by the Hills' student, Duke, in her thesis.⁴⁷⁷ They associated it with an official history, even a liturgical text (p.96), and believed the supposed eyewitness texts were using the same account, read '*à haute voix*', an argument they believed explained a perceived similarity in punctuation, chapter divisions, and also doxologies at the end of chapters in the early accounts.⁴⁷⁸ The Hills included Albert in the writers to have used the lost source, due to 'a common list of kings and leaders' found in the aforementioned works and also Albert's *Historia*. However, as Edgington points out, this would depend on an 'uncharacteristically selective' use of the list by Albert.⁴⁷⁹

Combined with scattered other references in scholarship to lost sources, the Hills' thesis provoked two powerful responses from John France in 1998.⁴⁸⁰ France concluded that such theories were, at that stage, unprovable. He stated: "The *Gesta* is an eyewitness source which cannot be proved to depend on any other written source', while admitting that there are 'anomalies in the structure'.⁴⁸¹ But France's work did not silence the proposition. In both of the volumes in which France published, Edgington was simultaneously developing her argument that Albert used none of the extant texts directly and instead relied on lost sources, whether oral or written.⁴⁸² In the years which followed, she expanded this argumentation to hypothesize a common source(s) for the 'fantasy scenes' of the *Gesta*,

⁴⁷⁵ Krey, "Neglected Passage," 77.

⁴⁷⁶ *PT*, 5, 10-11, 22. The idea was first proposed in "The Convention of Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of Saint-Gilles," *American Historical Review* 58 (1953). For a note of support, see Colin Morris, "Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers," in *FCOI*, 24.

⁴⁷⁷ Duke, "Study of the Problems," 109, 113.

⁴⁷⁸ 'aloud', *PT*, 20.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 10-11, 22; *AA*, 260, n. 18.

⁴⁸⁰ France, "The Anonymous.," "Use." For lost sources, see Paul Meyvaert and Paul Devos, "Autour de Léon d'Ostie et de sa Translatio S. Clementis (Légende italique de ss. Cyrille et Méthode)," *Analecta Bollandiana. Société des Bollandistes* 74 (1956): 217-223; Russo, "Monte Cassino Tradition," 57.

⁴⁸¹ France, "The Anonymous," 59.

⁴⁸² Edgington, "Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons*.," "Albert of Aachen Reappraised."

Fulcher, Raymond, and Albert.⁴⁸³ In 2005, drawing on problematic inconsistencies as well as the Hills' and Edgington's work, Rubenstein extended this argument, naming the common source the 'Jerusalem History' and citing Tudebode's *Historia* as the closest extant relative, upon which the *Gesta* in turn was based. Rubenstein also uniquely suggested that this lost source was probably written in the vernacular, and should perhaps be viewed as a collection of sermons, rather than a unified history: 'an evolving textual archetype rather than a static book.'⁴⁸⁴ Immediately after having stated that it was probably vernacular, he mentions the *chansons de geste's* relationship with the Latin texts, before summarizing that it is a 'thorny question' and leaving it alone, with a footnote to Morris. Although not explicit, this seems to be an encouragement to reevaluate the hypothesized text's relationship to the genre, in turn implicitly suggesting links to the proto-*Antioche*.

Jean Flori has extended Rubenstein's and Krey's arguments on the earlier versions of the *Gesta*, to propose a series of now-lost sources, closest to Tudebode's extant work.⁴⁸⁵ D'Angelo also adds to Rubenstein's thesis, reconciling it with Flori's by proposing a series of two lost sources (CS and CS1), the former of which is the 'Jerusalem History' and the second is a revised, propagandistic version on which the *Gesta* and Tudebode's *Historia* are based.⁴⁸⁶ Niskanen has argued that the *Historia Belli Sacri* drew upon, instead of the *Gesta*, a text between Tudebode and the '*Peregrinatio Antiochie*'.⁴⁸⁷ The desire to introduce lost sources to explain complex relationships has produced some exasperation.⁴⁸⁸

Alongside theories of a primitive literary source, complementary considerations of a lost repository of source material in some way official or documentary in nature have also had their proponents. At the same time as Krey was developing his theories in 1928, the polymath and future Romanian Prime Minister Nicholas Iorga hypothesized a lost common source for the *Gesta* and Tudebode which he believed was written by a knight, and constituted a *journal de marche*, that is, a war diary.⁴⁸⁹ Iorga's view has found a recent echo in the work of D'Angelo, who, building upon Luigi Russo's work, has developed a theory of a lost source for the *Historia Belli Sacri*, which comprises '*una*

⁴⁸³ "Romance," 39.

⁴⁸⁴ Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?" 192-193, 197, 203 and passim.

⁴⁸⁵ Flori, "De l'Anonyme.;" *Chroniqueurs*, 25-28, 167-169.

⁴⁸⁶ See diagram and explanation in *HBS*, liii.

⁴⁸⁷ Niskanen, "Origins," 290.

⁴⁸⁸ Bull, "Relationship."

⁴⁸⁹ Nicholae Iorga, *Les Narrateurs de la première croisade* (Paris: Gamber, 1928), 63-64, and passim.

*sorta di diario di viaggio... magari a più mani?*⁴⁹⁰ When Iorga first made this observation, his argument was compatible with the contemporary consideration of the *Gesta* as essentially a knight's war diary, and exerted a powerful influence on the Hills, and Duke's, works on the issue. Particularly with Tudebode, however, the Hills aligned the usage of the words 'iter' and 'via' in the text, the author's use of lists and dating formulae, and 'apparatus', 'dispositif', with contemporary diplomatic, to support the argument that Tudebode's account represented, or was closely aligned with, an 'official history'.⁴⁹¹

This was not a new idea: Paulin Paris believed that Tudebode was an amalgamation of the proto-*Antioche* and an official report of the crusade.⁴⁹² Others have reached the same conclusions. Flori has argued that many First Crusade accounts drew both upon oral material and 'documents anterieures accessibles dans l'armée de la croisade'.⁴⁹³ John France, attempting to resolve the difficulties which attend the similarities in numbers between the account of Raymond and the letters of Simeon, Patriarch of Jerusalem, has proposed 'some sort of quasi-official estimate of numbers' circulating as early as the first stages of the crusade in Asia Minor.⁴⁹⁴ But such a consideration provokes questions about the purpose such a text would have served. Why did this 'official' text not profit in its distribution from the patronage one must hypothesize in order to account for its composition? Why is so much of the shared material so far-removed from what we would expect from a report, including scenes set among the pagans? Such questions, ungrounded in the textual reality of the expedition, are impossible to resolve.

There has also been suggestion of a now absent source, the 'Lost Lotharingian chronicle', which has found some support among general writers on the crusade.⁴⁹⁵ This is not entirely distinct from considerations of the proto-*Antioche*, since both are held to potentially have exerted an influence on the composition of Albert's *Historia*.⁴⁹⁶ Provoked in part by the inability of mainly Germanic

⁴⁹⁰* HBS, lii.

⁴⁹¹ PT, 13-14, 23. The Hills' attempts to linguistically align Tudebode's account with diplomatic is flawed by only using short phrases or particular general words as comparators.

⁴⁹² Paulin Paris, ed. *La Chanson d'Antioche, composée au commencement du xii^e siècle par le pelerin Richard, renouvelée sous le regne de Philippe Auguste par Graindor de Donai* (Paris: Techener, 1848), xxii-xl.

⁴⁹³* Flori, *Chroniqueurs*, 85. See also "Mort," 128, n. 26, where he refers to 'archives de route'.

⁴⁹⁴ France, *Victory*, 128.

⁴⁹⁵ Proposed by Kugler and developed by Krebs and Knoch, among others. Bernhard Kugler, *Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1885); Friedrich Krebs, *Zur Kritik Albert von Aachen* (Münster: Coppenrath, 1881); Knoch, *Studien*. See Colin Morris, "The Aims and Spirituality of the First Crusade as Seen through the Eyes of Albert of Aachen," *RMS* 16 (1990): 101; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204*, trans. J. C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings (Oxford: OUP, 1993).

⁴⁹⁶ See Ernest O. Blake and Colin Morris, "A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade," in *Monks, Hermits, and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W. J. Sheils (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), esp. 91-92.

scholars of the nineteenth century to reconcile ‘poetic’ with ‘reliable historic’ material, and also partly by William of Tyre’s later account having clear parallels with the first half of Albert’s *Historia*, which William almost certainly did not use directly, the suggestion lacks substantiated evidence. Edgington has demolished the theory, stressing the unified style of the two halves of Albert’s *Historia*, and highlighting the lack of clear evidence.⁴⁹⁷ It has also been suggested that ‘Lotharingian’ material was used by the Charleville continuator of Gilo, but without a better idea of what this Lotharingian source would have contained, this remains speculation upon speculation.⁴⁹⁸

One other postulated lost text is worthy of note: that which theoretically served as common source material for Robert the Monk and Gilo of Paris, and, perhaps, the latter’s continuator. As already noted, there are significant textual similarities between Gilo and Robert, and from the editors of the *Recueil* onwards, it has been usual to explain these with reference to a lost common source, most likely poetic Latin material.⁴⁹⁹ The main reason for this is that Robert’s work is prosimetric, and the poetic sections align closely with Gilo’s account, itself written in verse. In particular, one line, ‘*partim predati partimque fuere necati?*’, is the same in both works.⁵⁰⁰ Bull has urged caution regarding this interpretation, considering it instead more likely that Gilo selected elements of Robert’s already extant work.⁵⁰¹ His argument is part of a broader contestation that it was possible for ‘second generation’ writers to invent, expand, or add detail without the need for a written source. However, Gilo would not necessarily have had access to Robert’s work. The date of composition for Gilo’s text need only, at the latest, be before 1119; there is no ‘earliest date’.⁵⁰² There is no evidence to demonstrate that the work of Robert certainly preceded that of Gilo, and even less to demonstrate the direction of hypothesized copying – no manuscripts of Robert’s *Historia* date from before the mid-twelfth century.⁵⁰³ As in all four of the above circumstances, the existence of a lost written source cannot be proven, nor fully discounted.

⁴⁹⁷ Edgington, "Critical Edition," 17-25.

⁴⁹⁸ Kugler, *Albert*, 421-422; *GP*, lx-lxiii.

⁴⁹⁹ "Historia gestorum viæ nostri temporis Ierosolymitanae," in *RHC Occ. 5* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1895), cxliv; *Gilo of Paris*; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 34-35, 46; Flori, *Chroniqueurs*.

^{500*} *GP*, 100.

⁵⁰¹ Bull, "Robert the Monk and his Source(s)."

⁵⁰² *GP*, xxiv.

⁵⁰³ *RM*, xlii-xliii.

PROTO-ANTIOCHE

The *Chanson d'Antioche*, as it is now known to us through a series of cyclical thirteenth-century and later manuscripts, is a literary creation of the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth centuries. Apart from its own statement that it was based on the eyewitness testimony of 'Richard the Pilgrim', and then later reworked by 'Graindor of Douai', we know very little about its composition.⁵⁰⁴ The disruption of earlier scholarship which took the text at its word in this regard by Cook has been dealt with above (p.15).⁵⁰⁵ It may be that the extant text was composed taking all of its primary material exclusively from the Latin texts, and then adding extrapolations and fictional detail, although the sheer range of concordances with the histories would have required the author to possess an extensive library of relevant sources. To a large extent before Cook's contribution, and to a lesser but more qualified extent since, it has been more normal to consider that at least one earlier version of the *Antioche* was circulating at some point in the twelfth century, and that it is possible that (a) certain version(s) possessed eyewitness, or at least contemporary, authority on the expedition. This allows the hypothesized proto-*Antioche* to have been a potential influence on the Latin texts, and thereby hold the key to elucidating their inter-relationship and concordances. This section delineates where this has been the explanatory factor in previous scholarship, and assesses its tenability.

Paulin Paris was the first to seriously study the *Antioche* and its relationship with the Latin accounts. To him, the constructed compositional schema of the *Antioche* was believable (he later defended this view against Pigeonneau's scepticism in 1877-78). Therefore the Latin crusade texts were influenced by the *Antioche* rather than the inverse. For Paris, Tudebode and the *Gesta* were both using the proto-*Antioche* to spice up their 'semi-official sermons' or 'reports' on the expedition (p.95). The passages in the *Gesta* which he associated with the proto-*Antioche* were those surrounding Peter the Hermit's first expedition, Kerbogha and his mother, and Guy of Hauteville's emotion at Alexios' court.⁵⁰⁶ Albert of Aachen's text, which evidently contained close similarities to the *Antioche*, was also hypothesized to be using the proto-*Antioche's* material. Pigeonneau's attempt to counter Paris' thinking in this regard and postulate that the *Antioche* conversely used Albert was successfully combated by Paris' counter-argument: if the *Antioche* has all of Albert's narrative at its disposal, why

⁵⁰⁴ A thorough introduction is given in *Antioche*.

⁵⁰⁵ The key work is Cook, *Chanson d'Antioche*.

⁵⁰⁶ Paris, *La Chanson d'Antioche*, Vol. 1, xxxvi-xxxvii.

did it not include the more salacious and epic stories in the latter?⁵⁰⁷ For Paris, these borrowings had been concealed by clerical Latin writers of the crusade reluctant to admit vernacular sources since they wished their accounts to be ‘academically’ respected, an anachronistic concept nevertheless completely in line with nineteenth-century conceptions of the relationship between vernacular and Latin texts. Some observers, following Paris, saw such similarities between the extant *Antioche* and the Latin texts that they considered the latter to be versions of the *chanson*. Robert Derbyshire, in a study of the portrayal of Muslims in crusade texts, described Tudebode’s work as a ‘prose version’ of the *Antioche*.⁵⁰⁸

Theories on the development of the *Antioche* became more complex throughout the twentieth century. Hatem dismissed Paris’ understanding as incoherent and arbitrary, clearly delineating what he believed to be the sections by Graindor and those by Richard (whom he believed travelled with Robert of Flanders on Crusade, and who wrote before 1101). However, he maintained that Richard’s proto-*Antioche* had influenced the Latin crusade texts, which was the explanation for all concordance.⁵⁰⁹ His conceptions were broadly followed by Claude Cahen and Suzanne Duparc-Quioc: Duparc-Quioc in particular was fervent in her belief that Richard’s primitive *chanson*, which she attempted to reconstruct, was used extensively by Albert and the *Gesta*, in particular, and was responsible for the latter’s styling, perceived as ‘epic’ by Bréhier.⁵¹⁰ Debates about the proto-*Antioche*, in fact, became largely confined to the relationship with Albert’s work, which has no obvious extant textual sources, as the composition and nature of the *Gesta* and Tudebode became less certain and subject to debate in the mid-twentieth century.

But the ascendancy of the academic conception of a two-stage composition provoked another possibility: that the proto-*Antioche* influenced Albert, or the other Latin texts, which in turn influenced the extant *Antioche*. This ‘circular’ conception of influence underlay Duparc-Quioc’s work, and greatly complicated the potential relationship between Albert and the *Antioche*. The transmission was convoluted further when considered alongside a postulated lost Lotharingian source (p.96). Both

⁵⁰⁷ Pigeonneau also preceded Cook’s arguments in several regards. Pigeonneau, *Cycle*, 37; Paulin Paris, *Nouvelle étude sur la Chanson d'Antioche* (Paris: Techener, 1878), 35-36.

⁵⁰⁸ Robert Shelby Darbishire, "The Moslem Antagonist According to the Latin Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades," *Moslem World* 28 (1938): 259.

⁵⁰⁹ Hatem, *Les Poèmes épiques des croisades*, esp. 83, 161-169, 339.

⁵¹⁰ Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, "La Composition de la *Chanson d'Antioche*," *Romania* 83 (1962): 15, 231-237. The ideas were perfected and the reconstruction appears in *Chanson d'Antioche: Étude*.

Cahen and Duparc-Quioic proposed complex hierarchies of borrowing between a proto-Antioche, Albert's sources (possibly the Lotharingian chronicle), Albert, and the reworked *Antioche*; a 1985 contribution by Ernest Blake and Colin Morris entered into the surreal debate of which hypothetical source was copying from which other hypothetical source.⁵¹¹

Cook's 1980 article deconstructed the previous certainty of a two-stage compositional process of the extant *Antioche*, and provoked a more cautious approach to the evidence. Focusing on the late twelfth-century text of the extant *Antioche*, Cook proposed that it used Albert as a source, and an earlier version need not be postulated. Contributions to the question of the last thirty years have been more circumspect and less confident in discussing Richard the Pilgrim, although there are exceptions: Albert Foulet, and more recently Andrew Jotischky, reiterated the assertion that Richard had written his earlier *Antioche*, which could be reconstructed *à la* Duparc-Quioic, and exerted an influence on the Latin texts 'not long after the First Crusade'.⁵¹² Although scholars in the last few decades have reasserted the influence likely exerted on the Latin texts by an earlier version of the *Antioche*, they have not directly associated it with a text written by Richard, or even maintained its textuality as opposed to orality. It is now more common to consider a not-necessarily-physical text or tradition related to the *Antioche*, an embryonic manifestation of the same process at an earlier stage than our text evidences, as a crucial contributor to the tradition.

This more subtle argument has found its greatest champion in Susan Edgington.⁵¹³ Finding Cook's idea that the *Antioche* copied Albert unsatisfactory on the same grounds that Paris found Pigeonneau's thesis, Edgington proposed that Albert used a 'primitive form' of the *Antioche* in his composition, c.1102, although she stresses that this was probably oral in nature, from which he took 'detailed notes from a recitation or recitations'.⁵¹⁴ Much the same arguments, couched in vaguer terms, had been found in John France's work some years previously, although he stopped short of

⁵¹¹ Cahen, *Syrie*, 12-14; Duparc-Quioic, *Chanson d'Antioche: Étude*, 108-110, 148-150; Blake and Morris, "Hermit," 104-106.

⁵¹² Albert Foulet, "The Epic Cycle of the Crusades," in *A History of the Crusades, Volume VI: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. Kenneth Meyer Setton, Harry W. Hazard, and Norman P. Zacour (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 109; Andrew Jotischky, "The Christians of Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, and the Origins of the First Crusade," *Crusades* 7 (2008): 36.

⁵¹³ But see also the extensive introduction in Carol Sweetenham and Linda M. Paterson, eds., *The Canso d'Antiocha: An Occitan Epic Chronicle of the First Crusade* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003), esp. 58-63.

⁵¹⁴ Edgington, "Critical Edition," 15. Although broadly sensible, it is probably deceptive to imagine we know authors or redactors, their motivations and concerns, well enough to know what would have seemed to them appropriate to include in their stories. It is prudent, therefore, to insist that this problem has not been satisfactorily resolved. See the later treatment in *Antioche*, 11-12.

considering whether the common stories were vernacular or Latin in nature.⁵¹⁵ Some of what the *Antioche* specifically declares to have been recounted by the earlier song (presumably that by Richard) tallies closely and uniquely with Albert's *Historia*, in particular the story that accumulated bodies in the Bridge Battle outside Antioch reversed the flow of the river.⁵¹⁶ Furthermore, Edgington proposed that the extant *Antioche* is a reworking of the proto-*Antioche* with no new historical information added from the Latin texts – a dismissal of the 'circular' argument, and one profoundly based in the idea of a continually developing tradition suggested some years earlier by Hermann Kleber.⁵¹⁷ Three arguments are presented against the extant *Antioche* having used Latin sources: firstly, 'the romantic nature of the shared incidents'; the wealth of information not used by the *Chanson* should 'Graindor' be copying the Latin texts; and the favourable, hence markedly different, view on the Byzantines.⁵¹⁸

Others have also drawn similar links with reference to more diverse works. Chibnall described how Orderic's use of oral material for the crusade section of his *Historia* was 'conveyed with the trappings of heroic song'. After discussing the nascent *Antioche*, she further argues that 'pilgrims and knights returning from the Holy Land carried with them stories that were half-history and half-romance', before linking Orderic's oral sources with those of Albert. Although conventionally not explicit, she implicitly links Orderic and Albert's source material to the *Antioche* tradition. For Chibnall, this was through the intermediary of actual eyewitnesses who 'had probably heard the *chanson* in the camp'.⁵¹⁹ In the opinion of both Edgington and his most recent editors, Gilo also drew upon epic material, including the same proto-*Antioche* proposed in the debate over Albert's sources.⁵²⁰ Grocock and Siberry postulate that both Gilo and the Charleville Poet utilized as source material 'vernacular traditions', placing the words *Chanson d'Antioche* in brackets afterwards, outlining the common material shared with Albert, the *Antioche*, and other Latin writers.⁵²¹

It is possible also that an early *Antioche* tradition was exerting wide-reaching influences in the first few months after the crusade: observing epic material in the 1098 letter of Lucca, Edgington hypothesized that as soon as three weeks after the capture of Antioch, 'camp-fire stories' were

⁵¹⁵ France, *Victory*, 218, 379.

⁵¹⁶ Admittedly in only one manuscript. *Antioche*, 351.

⁵¹⁷ Edgington, "Romance," 41; Hermann Kleber, "Wer ist der Verfasser der *Chanson d'Antioche*? Revision einer Streitfrage," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 94 (1984).

⁵¹⁸ Edgington, "Romance," 45.

⁵¹⁹ *OV*, xvi-xvii.

⁵²⁰ Edgington, "Critical Edition," 16.

⁵²¹ *GP*, xvi, lx-lxiii.

circulating oral material which would become ‘rhymed recitals’, which would in turn become the *Antioche*.⁵²² The rhymed recitals, in her view, were available and used by the *Gesta*, Raymond, Fulcher, Albert, Guibert, and Robert.⁵²³

This vagueness is symptomatic of, and engendered by, Cook’s scepticism. But while material shared by the Latin texts suggests that some epic and/or oral material circulated shortly after the First Crusade, it is not possible to link it certainly with the proto-*Antioche*, a text itself hypothetical and *a priori* impossible to know anything about.

It is appropriate, finally, to include mention of the Occitan *Canso d’Antiocha*. In large part a lost text, the contents are understood only through two testaments. The first is the ‘Madrid Fragment’, 714 lines of Occitan verse on the battle of Antioch, breaking off abruptly, which has recently been edited and translated as the *Canso d’Antiocha*.⁵²⁴ It has not been dwelt on excessively in this thesis, since the manuscript is much later, and internal evidence of vocabulary and style suggests a compositional date of this recension in the late-twelfth century at the earliest.⁵²⁵ The second is the thirteenth-century Spanish-language medieval compilation the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, which contains preserved and translated elements of the Madrid fragment.⁵²⁶ The two share a common ancestor: another hypothesized epic tradition, perhaps stretching back to the early-twelfth century, and which may have had an impact on the Latin texts. In particular, Robert and Gilo show some resemblance, specifically in relation to the heroicization of the figure of Gouffier of Lastours.⁵²⁷ The common ancestor has traditionally and rationally been linked to the lost epic of Gregory Bechada, himself a vassal of the aforementioned Gouffier. This work is only explicitly discussed by one medieval writer, Geoffrey of Vigeois, who in the late-twelfth century wrote of Gregory as the author of a *magnum opus* in the vernacular, at the behest of Gouffier and Bishop Eustorge of Limoges and

⁵²² Again prefigured by France, *Victory*, 218, 379.

⁵²³ Edgington, "Romance," 45. Cf. Cahen, *Syrie*, 12.

⁵²⁴ Sweetenham and Paterson, *Canso d’Antiocha*.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, 26. Greenan’s dating of 1115 is highly unlikely: Edward J. Greenan, *The Canso d’Antiocha: A Critical Edition and Philological Study* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1976), 13-22.

⁵²⁶ George Tyler Northup, "La *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* and its Problems," *Hispanic Review* 2 (1934); Louis Cooper, ed. *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, 4 vols. (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1979); Sweetenham and Paterson, *Canso d’Antiocha*, 2.

⁵²⁷ *Canso d’Antiocha*, 10. It is possible that the putative lost Latin source of Gilo and Robert was related to the proto-*Canso*. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 36-37.

composed over twelve years.⁵²⁸ The figures named as patrons date his composition to 1106-1149. While it is possible to tentatively deduce much of what was within Gregory's work, as Sweetenham and Paterson do, this cannot be certain and the later texts may have borrowed from Latin ones - much weight is necessarily placed on Geoffrey's (significantly later) statements. The positive evidence supplied by the *Canso* is more useful as testament to the flexibility and cross-cultural transmission of the early First Crusade tradition, in Occitan, Latin and French. The situation here is analogous to that of the *Antioche* in that there is some internal and external evidence for earlier versions, but their nature and contents cannot precisely be reconstructed.

ORAL SOURCES, OTHER *CHANSONS DE GESTE*, AND VERNACULAR TEXTS

Removed from the loaded academic context of the hypothesized proto-*Antioche* of Richard, scholars have become increasingly content to align the source material responsible for concordances to poetic, oral, and probably vernacular material. Firstly, there is the generic link with 'camp-fire stories' or 'gossip', which, as discussed above, Edgington linked to the proto-*Antioche*. A particularly influential statement is that in the edition of the *Gesta*, where Hill links the more 'epic' tales of the *Gesta* to the influence of camp gossip.⁵²⁹ In this regard, she was agreeing with Beatrice Lees, the earlier translator of the *Gesta*, who talked of 'camp gossip and prisoner's tales' and how 'elements of myth, saga, and legend become prominent', in the battle of Antioch.⁵³⁰ 'Camp-fire stories' is a conventional method of ascribing oral roots to narratives without confirming association with the *chansons*. Morris had earlier argued that both Albert and the *Gesta* were influenced by them, and that Albert's positive treatment of Godfrey was derived from 'stories in epic tradition'.⁵³¹ Albert's use of such material would help to explain the 'curious and garbled affinity' that the *Historia* has with Orderic's account.⁵³² Albert himself states that he used eye-witness accounts, and, although this may be an honesty *topos*, it is not unreasonable to believe his statement.

⁵²⁸ "Chronica Gaufredi coenobitae monasterii D. Martialis Lemovicensis, ac prioris Vosiensis coenobii," in *Novae bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum tomus secundus: rerum aquitanicarum*, ed. Philippe Labbé (Paris: Cramoisy, 1657), I, 30.

⁵²⁹ *GF*, xvi, 49. A persistent opinion: John, "Historical Truth and the Miraculous Past," 269-270.

⁵³⁰ Lees, *Gesta Francorum*, xxviii.

⁵³¹ Morris, "Aims," 101, 110-111. For conventionality of 'camp-fire', see Bull, "Eyewitness Accounts," 30. See also Edgington's comments, asserting the actual presence of early *chansons*: Edgington, "Critical Edition," 29.

⁵³² James Lea Cate, "The Crusade of 1101," in *A History of the Crusades, vol. 1, The First Hundred Years*, ed. Marshall Whited Baldwin and Kenneth Meyer Setton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

Next, there is the opinion that lost oral source material must have been poetic in nature, but which stops short of understanding these hypothetical oral elements as sung. The Hills believed that alongside a common source which likely existed between the *Gesta* and Tudebode, ‘*Tudebode a eu recours à des éléments poétiques, certains en langue vulgaire, au moins partiellement... quelques-unes de ses sources doivent avoir été orales.*’⁵³³ Greenway, explaining the more flowery style of Henry of Huntingdon’s account of the siege of Nicaea than that used in the *Gesta*, wrote that ‘its style suggests that it may have been taken from a poem’.⁵³⁴

However, the increasingly dominant interpretation of the concordance is that sung material, probably epic, likely vernacular, and possibly linked to the *chansons*, constituted the common reservoir of stories which provided individual Latin authors with narrative, incorporated into diverse texts. Nearly all the early sources for the crusade have been considered to have been drawing on such traditions. The Hills believed that ‘interpolations’ of the *Gesta* ‘could have been contemporary stories or tags of *chansons* added to crusading tales to enliven them’.⁵³⁵ Discussing the clear analogues between the *Gesta* and vernacular poetic material, Sweetenham has stated the opinion that, ‘The *GF* would have derived some of its material from an earlier *chanson de geste* focused on events at Antioch’, yet is careful to add ‘there is no proof they come from a primitive form of the *Antioche*’.⁵³⁶ Grillo has noted that Fulcher may have had vernacular source material for his stories regarding Amirdalis (p.210), since the only concordance is found in an Old French text of the thirteenth century contained in the manuscript Hatton 77 in Oxford, a *chanson de geste* about the First Crusade.⁵³⁷

The same trend continues when discussing the later accounts, those explicitly used earlier extant texts as sources, supplemented by additional material. As early as 1885, Kugler believed the *Tancredus*’ unique material may have derived from ‘*Anekdoten und Liederstecken, die man in Antiochien*

⁵³³* *PT*, 14.

⁵³⁴ *HH*, 425, n.41.

⁵³⁵ Hill and Hill, *Peter Tudebode*, 35, n.12.

⁵³⁶ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 40-41.

⁵³⁷ Peter R. Grillo, "Vers une édition du texte française de l'*Historia Jerosolimitana* de Baudri de Dol," in *APC*, 14. The text, unedited in full, contained in Hatton 77 is beyond the remit of this thesis, but promises to provide much evidence for questions of First Crusade historiography. In the meantime, see Sweetenham and Paterson, *Canso d'Antiocha*, 71-76; Marco Prost, "Reinald Porchet, Pirrus, Garsion et sa fille: Autour de quelques particularités d'adaptation dans "*Le Siège d'Antioche avec la conquête de Jérusalem*" (inédit) tiré de Baudri de Bourgueil," in *Epic Connections/Rencontres épiques*, ed. Marianne J. Ailes, Philip E. Bennett, and Anne Elizabeth Cobby (Edinburgh: Société Rencesvals British Branch, 2015); and the partial edition and linguistic study in *La Chanson de la Première Croisade en ancien français d'après Baudri de Bourgueil: Édition et analyse lexicale*, ed. by Jennifer Gabel de Aguirre, Romanische Texte des Mittelalters, 3 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015).

sang und sagte'.⁵³⁸ In 2011, Bull discussed the influence of vernacular 'extended and narratively complex tellings' transmitted through 'reciting or singing' within 'living memory of the events' which most likely underlay the extant Latin texts on the First Crusade.⁵³⁹ In the same volume, however, he restated that Robert the Monk, when composing his text, had not drawn on songs but rather drew from a common 'stock of epic motifs and narrative forms'.⁵⁴⁰ More recently, in collaboration with Damien Kempf, Bull has revised this opinion and gone further, arguing that Robert was drawing on heard 'songs about the crusade', implying they were 'vernacular epic', which were probably circulating in the years following the expedition.⁵⁴¹ Rubenstein has recently suggested that similarities between Albert and Guibert were to be explained by 'the existence of two or three common sources', noting that it 'seemed plausible...that Albert and Guibert had both heard performed one or more *chansons* about the crusade' from which they had extracted material.⁵⁴²

There is some evidence that early songs about the crusade did exist, although whether these can be directly associated with the *chansons* is less certain. Raymond describes how, once the devotion of the crusaders had been consummated in capturing Jerusalem, '*consummatio nova verba, nova cantica, ab universis exigebat*'.⁵⁴³ There is an emphasis on songs produced by the achievement of the crusade, and their widespread transmission. The noun *cantica* is worthy of some comment, since it is not *carmina*, a word which could equally imply poetry to song. *Cantica*, on the other hand, implies musical recital more strongly.⁵⁴⁴ Raymond, when using *cant-* root words, seemingly refers to sung pieces. Before the first battle outside Antioch, he describes the crusaders as singing '*cantus militares*' as they advance. Whether we see this as the recited or sung epic, or merely marching songs, this is evidence of vocalized 'song'.⁵⁴⁵ Similarly, Arnulf of Choques, in Raymond's view a philanderer and unworthy candidate for patriarchal office, supposedly has '*vulgares cantus*' composed about him.⁵⁴⁶

Caution is advisable, however, on deciding whether these songs are literal or figurative. The link between musical recital and the *gaudium*, rejoicing, described earlier in the sentence, is strong.

⁵³⁸* Kugler, *Albert*, 421.

⁵³⁹ Bull, "Western Narratives," 17-18.

⁵⁴⁰ "Robert the Monk," in *CMR*, 314.

⁵⁴¹ *RM*, xv.

⁵⁴² Rubenstein, "Three Crusade Chronicles Intersect," 36, and *passim*.

⁵⁴³* *RA*, 151.

⁵⁴⁴ It is unlikely that a Biblical reference is being evoked. The only reference to *cantica* in the Vulgate comes at Amos 5:23, where they are viewed negatively as part of a refutation of ungodliness and idolatry.

⁵⁴⁵* *RA*, 57.

⁵⁴⁶* *Ibid.*, 154.

Songs can be regarded as natural and rhetorical outpourings of Christian joy, not certain attestations of actual musical or poetical production. But a straightforward reading permits a hypothesized sung tradition about the First Crusade stemming from the events themselves.

Other authors record similar hints to an early sung tradition, perhaps acting as source material. Both Gilo and Robert describe their work as a '*carmen*', despite, in the latter's case, the vast majority of the text being written in prose.⁵⁴⁷ Guibert reports how the story of Godfrey's bisection of a Turk, by the time he was composing his account, was '*cantitetur*', 'frequently sung'.⁵⁴⁸ Another quotation which suggests Guibert was aware of sung material is found in his prologue, where he discusses how he will not include anything '*nisi quod publice cantitatur*'. Although this is thought by many scholars to be directly describing contemporary sung material about the crusade paralleled by the *Dei gesta*, this is by no means certain: Guibert is very evidently discussing vocabulary and the danger of using antiquated words.⁵⁴⁹ It is possible, as Levine implies in his translation, that '*cantitatur*' may mean 'commonly spoken', which would make more sense in context, but this stretches the definition of the verb '*cantito*'.⁵⁵⁰ A further option, since Guibert is discussing his stylistic choice to use 'Coroscanes' rather than 'Caucasus', and 'Turks' rather than 'Parthians', is that these specific terms' most common use was in sung material, and that the lexicon of 'Coroscanes' and 'Turks', associated with contemporary song (p.228), was more appropriate than the lexicon of classical geographers. All three explanations are possible.

Ralph of Caen is keen to replace '*adimentiones fabulosas*' which his contemporaries '*ordiuntur*'.⁵⁵¹ Evidently more far-fetched versions of the crusade story were spreading at the time. It is not possible to tell whether these were Latin or French, historical or epic. However, Ralph also notes one instance where material, aligned with vernacular literature (p.217), was well-known, '*fama est*'; Kerbogha's game of chess before the battle of Antioch.⁵⁵² For a scene 'among the pagans' and hence outside potential eyewitness testimony, is Ralph here admitting that his intended audience would have read other Latin sources, or had certain legendary elements already spread culturally through songs?

⁵⁴⁷* *GP*, 70; *RM*, 3.

⁵⁴⁸ *GN*, 284.

⁵⁴⁹* *Ibid.*, 83. Cf. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 36; John, "Historical Truth and the Miraculous Past," 268.

⁵⁵⁰ Robert Levine, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's 'Gesta Dei per Francos'* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996), 26.

⁵⁵¹* *Tancredus*, 3.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, 75.

The *Historia Belli Sacri*, immediately after relating the epic-themed story of Rainald Porchet, summarizes and duplicates the narrative, including the words ‘*de quo heri locuti fuimus*’.⁵⁵³ This suggests that the work is being, or has been, orally recited. While this is concordant with the theories of D’Angelo and Rubenstein that the source material was structured in the style of sermons, this would also be consistent with epic or spoken/poetic sources.⁵⁵⁴ Albert’s *Historia* contains a puzzling reference to the crusaders parting ways in ‘*Romania*’ at a mountain. Edgington suggests that this may come from a mistranslation from early *Antioche* material, where the word *Aigue* (water), may have been misconstrued as *Aigu* (mountain or peak).⁵⁵⁵

Evidence external to the crusade texts themselves also suggests early poetic or sung traditions. The eighteenth-century scholar Ferdinand Ughelli was aware of a crusade text in ‘*heroico carmine*’ known as the *Sacram Gothifredi Bullionis in Orientem expeditionem* written by Bishop Gualfredo of Siena (1085-1127). Although the manuscript was present in Siena’s sacristy in the seventeenth century, it now appears lost, although I am unaware of any close investigation of the archives in question. Whilst the content of the poem is now inaccessible, this description testifies to the creation of this type of material shortly after the completion of the First Crusade itself.⁵⁵⁶ Peter the Deacon, writing c.1138, reports that another Italian bishop, Gregory of Terracina, wrote ‘*versus de transit peregrinorum ad sepulchrum domini et captione Hierosolymitanae urbi...pulcherrimos*’ at the request of Bernard of Castrovalva.⁵⁵⁷ Again, poetic elements are emphasized. More general evidence is presented by an 1133 account of a chronicler at Cambrai refusing to relate the full story of the crusade because ‘*cantica ubique diffusa et carmina quaedam descripta habeantur*’.⁵⁵⁸ Both internal and external evidence suggest that sung or poetic material about the crusade existed shortly after the events, but these cannot certainly be linked with the First Crusade texts directly.

These qualified, cautious conclusions outlined above are demonstrations that the uncertain development of the Latin texts of the First Crusade cannot be satisfactorily resolved with reference

⁵⁵³* HBS, 58.

⁵⁵⁴ For sermons, see Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?" 197.

⁵⁵⁵ AA, 128; Hatem, *Les Poèmes épiques des croisades*, 172.

⁵⁵⁶* Ferdinando Ughello, *Italia Sacra*, vol. 3 (Venice: Coleti, 1718), 540; Francesco Novati, *Le origini, continue, e compiute da Angelo Monteverdi* (Milan: Vallardi, 1926), 621.

⁵⁵⁷* "Petri Diaconi, ac bibliothecarii sacri Casinensis archisterii, De viris illustribus Casinensibus, opusculum," in *Leonis Marsicani et Petri Diaconi, monachorum Casinensium, Chronicon monasterii Casinensis et opuscula*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori (Paris: Migne, 1854), 1039-1040.

⁵⁵⁸* Louis Bethmann and Georg Heinrich Pertz, eds., *Chronica et gesta aevi Salici* (Hannover: Hahn, 1846), 545.

solely to extant texts. Commentators have found it hard to link concepts of ‘serious’ Latin historiography with supernatural and ribald elements, and have resorted to attributing these elements to ‘oral culture’ while mostly retaining serious descriptions of combat and strategy as part of the same tradition as classical Latin histories. As shown, the new millennium in particular has seen a significantly more sophisticated approach to the ideas of ‘tradition’ and ‘orature’, which has created a whole range of possibilities to explain transmission of narrative.

To conclude this section on the development of texts, a summary of what can be said with relative certainty follows. The *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode’s *Historia* have a relationship best described as variance, but, as separate texts, the weight of evidence suggests that the *Gesta* relies on Tudebode less than the inverse. It is almost certain that there are some missing links, although whether before our extant texts or between them is less clear. Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres provide unique information and unique outlooks, although there are certainly some concordances with the *Gesta*/Tudebode best explained by common source material. The letters do not exist in a separate, unquestionable, literary sphere representing absolute truth, and are related to the eyewitness narratives. Albert of Aachen did not definitely rely upon any extant text, but probably shared source material with nearly the entire corpus to some extent: either textual, oral, or as a form of *reportage* from veterans. Along with Robert the Monk in particular, but possibly also others such as Gilo, there is a close link with the *Antioche/Antioca* tradition, although the nature of this is occluded by the late date of the latter texts. The *Tancredus* contains some similar material to the *Gesta* tradition, but there is no clear textual link. It probably drew on oral testimony, and now lost sources, but more work is needed on this still curiously neglected text.⁵⁵⁹ All the other narratives were to an extent compilations of texts of the *Gesta* tradition (either extant or not), sometimes once-removed by an intermediary; oral testimony; invention; and pre-existing epic traditions, which may have been Latin or vernacular, written or oral, related to the *Antioche/Antioca* or unrelated. Since participants with first-hand knowledge of events of the crusade were still alive throughout the period under investigation, clear understanding of textual evolution is obscured by the certainty that written texts possessed no monopoly on the transmission of crusading narrative.

⁵⁵⁹ Cf. its unreasonable dismissal in Flori, *Chroniqueurs*.

AUDIENCE AND MOTIVATIONS

The intended audience that those who wrote the Latin texts of the First Crusade envisaged for their work is, like that of much monastic and clerical writing, difficult to determine.⁵⁶⁰ The question itself presupposes the desire for an audience; for many monastic authors, the act of writing itself constituted an act of glorifying God or necessary expiation. But many motivations can exist alongside one another. This section explores firstly how the medieval writers themselves spoke about their reasons for composing their texts, without entering into a repetitious study, and secondly what modern scholars have extrapolated from the content and style of the Latin histories.

The *Gesta* and Tudebode leave no hint of their intention; in fact, they barely seem framed as texts at all. Their doxologies and structure perhaps suggest sermons (Levine has suggested the simplistic language deliberately echoes the Vulgate), but if so they are oddly unstructured and unglossed.⁵⁶¹ Raymond provides an entirely different picture, aligning his composition with a desire to record the happenings for posterity, but with a specific intention to illuminate the villainy of deserters and miscreants.⁵⁶² Was a real tangible audience to be reached who would become aware of the deserters' sins, or was this in the eyes of God, or the theoretical future reader in the distant future? Other writers use the same justification. Fulcher begins with a statement on the benefit of recording the '*gesta virorum*' for the purpose of Christian emulation.⁵⁶³ The Charleville Poet writes to '*transmittere posteritat?*'.⁵⁶⁴ Baldric (although his motivations were mixed, as will be seen) writes similarly in order '*successivae placeat Christianitat?*', for posterity and out of devotion.⁵⁶⁵

Perhaps the most influential scholarly statement on the motivations of the crusade texts has been Riley-Smith's conception of the works of Baldric, Robert, and Guibert as 'theological refinement'.⁵⁶⁶ This understanding is tenable on two levels. Firstly, all three explicitly write in order to correct and amend what has been lacking in earlier narratives. Secondly, all three provide a greater density of quotations and clerical understandings of situations, a fact not unrelated to the authors'

⁵⁶⁰ A good introduction is Hiestand, "Cronista."

⁵⁶¹ Levine, "Pious Traitor," 60-61.

⁵⁶² *RA*, 35.

⁵⁶³* *FC*, 115.

⁵⁶⁴* *GP*, 2.

⁵⁶⁵* *BB*, 4.

⁵⁶⁶ Riley-Smith, *First Crusade and the Idea*, 135-52.

monastic or episcopal status.⁵⁶⁷ Yet this statement unintentionally portrays these three texts as a unity in terms of motivations, when they are clearly not. Robert, for one, states he writes out of obedience: ‘*compulsus sum per obedientiam.*’ An audience is implied, but it is hard to see of whom it would have consisted. He writes that ‘*lecturis eam accuratiori stilo componerem*’; evidence of his desire to facilitate matters for his readership, a motivation evident throughout his introduction.⁵⁶⁸ He also purportedly provides a model for emulation: ‘*ideo litterali compaginatione commendari debet notitie tam praesentium quam futurorum, ut per hoc in spes in Deum Christiana magis solidetur.*’⁵⁶⁹ An additional clue is provided by Robert in the first line of his *Sermo*, addressed to those who ‘*legere audierint*’, along with those who read it first hand. This suggests that the work was intended to be read aloud.⁵⁷⁰ The Hills, placing anachronistic analytical emphasis on punctuation, have argued that Raymond, Fulcher, and Walter the Chancellor’s works were also intended to be read aloud in *lectures pienses*.⁵⁷¹ These are more likely to be through readings of the Divine Office inside monasteries for an audience of monks, than for a lay audience, whose competent Latinity is, at best, unproven.⁵⁷²

The focus on audience and providing a moral model for emulation rests uneasily with the sense of performing monastic duty: if the action of writing is required expiation, as is suggested by Robert’s insistence that he wrote it individually, continuously, and as an act of obedience, what does the end result matter? Merely through the act of writing, monastic writers were contributing to a body of knowledge which was owned by the Christian culture and performing a task worthy in the eyes of God. Robert positions his work alongside Joshua, Samuel, and David, directly relating the crusade to a Biblical act.⁵⁷³ This tension is less clear in Baldric, Ralph, and Guibert, who to differing extents are open in their desire to appeal to an educated audience, and to write history as a literary exercise. Guibert is eager to exonerate himself in advance from the accusation of not using the correct classical

⁵⁶⁷ *GN*, 78; *RM*, 3; *BB*, 4. All three editions provide the best respective studies on theological refinements throughout their introductions.

^{568*} *RM*, 3.

^{569*} *Ibid.*, 4.

^{570*} *Ibid.*, 3.

^{571*} *RA*, 28.

⁵⁷² Cf. Ralph V. Turner, "The *Miles Litteratus* in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England: How Rare a Phenomenon?," *American Historical Review* 83 (1978); Dennis H. Green, "Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies," *Speculum* 65 (1990); Michael T. Clanchy, "Literate and Illiterate; Hearing and Seeing: England 1066-1307," in *Literacy and Historical Development: A Reader*, ed. Harvey J. Graff (Cambridge: CUP, 2007).

⁵⁷³ *RM*, 4.

toponyms; this is clearly because he conceives of himself as writing a classically-influenced history.⁵⁷⁴ The *Tancredus*, aside from frequently using classical formulations reminiscent of Greek epic (*Wiscardides*), begins with a long pæan to the genre of history, and how it must educate, inform, and entertain the reader. Biddlecombe's analysis of Baldric's audience concluded that his motivations were to provide a learned audience (*'litterati'*) with a more sophisticated extrapolation on the *Gesta*, emphasizing the unity of the Christian world: 'He dignified the memory of the First Crusade by introducing theological ideas, epic motifs and plausible characters that his audience could understand, relate to and be inspired by: all expressed in a language they would enjoy.'⁵⁷⁵ In addition, therefore, he wished to entertain.

Entertainment has been seen as contradictory with commemoration: Hill says of the author of the *Gesta*: 'He seems to have considered it primarily as a tale of heroic deeds and not as a scholar's chronicle.'⁵⁷⁶ To what extent these two models are in opposition is problematic. Did scholars' chronicles of the twelfth century not seek to entertain and record heroic deeds? Entertainment was one of the main objectives of the medieval historian. Writers of history, even crusade accounts, were often also *compositeurs* of other genres. Guibert wrote a colourful autobiography as well as his crusade history, and Baldric composed highly secular poetry in addition to his *Historia*. The question of audience of monastic 'chronicles' and texts requires more study. But it is possible they were sometimes intended for audiences outside the cloister.⁵⁷⁷

The issue of whether intended audiences were clerical or lay is purely speculative. Edgington, in her thesis, summarizes that 'the *Historia* is a difficult work to classify, and its audience is hard to visualize: it does not seem to have been written for reading in the cloister'.⁵⁷⁸ Jacques Chaurand has asserted that Guibert, incorporating Biblical models, was writing a work '*destiné à d'autres clers*', as evidenced by his perceived spurning of the 'human instrument' of God's will.⁵⁷⁹ If they were lay, then the opinion that many of the reworkings constitute propaganda (p.92) is more believable, but this

⁵⁷⁴ GN, 83.

⁵⁷⁵ Biddlecombe, "Baldric of Bourgueil and the *Familia Christi*," esp. 10-11.

⁵⁷⁶ GF, xv.

⁵⁷⁷ Jennifer Paxton, "Textual Communities in the English Fenlands: A Lay Audience for Monastic Chronicles?," in *Anglo-Norman Studies 26: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2003*, ed. John Gillingham (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004). Informed by Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 88-93.

⁵⁷⁸ Edgington, "Critical Edition," 41.

^{579*} Jacques Chaurand, "La Conception de l'histoire de Guibert de Nogent (1053-1124) " *CCM* 8 (1965): 386.

need not be the sole motivation. Sweetenham, for example, writes: 'Robert's work is much more than propaganda... but it should be seen as having been commissioned in that context and with the clear purpose of shaping the story of the First Crusade as a basis for future action.'⁵⁸⁰ Bull and Kempf have demonstrated that the role of the First Crusade as exemplar in the context of the Second, Third, and later crusades can be seen as responsible for surges in the manuscript production of Robert's work;⁵⁸¹ a tremendously popular account judging by the manuscript proliferation.⁵⁸² Perhaps it was the relative simplicity of the language, or association with a postulated propagandistic campaign of copying linked to the Cistercian order, but lack of evidence obviates more firm conclusions.⁵⁸³

The motivation for later texts, where the crusade does not take up the whole narrative, must surely again be different. In the *Liber Floridus*, for example, the inclusion of the crusade story based on Bartolf is the crowning glory of a world history.⁵⁸⁴ A similar need to include such a momentous event can be seen in Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon. For all three, the crusade's story is inserted into narratives predominately focused on the Anglo-Norman sphere, as a topic of international historical importance. Motivations and audiences, as should be expected, were diverse and obscured by monastic and classical conventions of historiography.

INCONSISTENCIES IN THE CRUSADE TEXTS

This coda presents an account of inconsistencies within the Latin textual corpus. Nonsensical sections in texts can often be best explained with reference to information provided by other narratives in the same tradition. These inconsistencies largely provoke the discussion of lost sources above, and speak of the deep intertextuality of the accounts.

Internal inconsistencies are present even within the earliest eyewitness texts. The *Gesta's* description of St. Andrew's appearance to Peter Bartholemew is nonsensical – it has Andrew departing and then acting as if he were still appearing in vision. It is only when supplemented with a sentence from Tudebode, which sees him returning another day, that the scene reads sensibly. This

⁵⁸⁰ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 7, see also 14-15. Cf. Naus, "Robert the Monk and the Coronation."

⁵⁸¹ *RM*, xliv-xlvii.

⁵⁸² Hiestand, "Cronista," 227.

⁵⁸³ *RM*, xi.

⁵⁸⁴ Rubenstein, "Lambert."

is powerful evidence for a lost common source.⁵⁸⁵ Similarly, the *Gesta* portrays Raymond as furious with Alexios, but fails to provide a reason for his anger.⁵⁸⁶ Tudebode initially introduces two armies of Franks, differing from the *Gesta*'s three, but later corrects his account.⁵⁸⁷ Soliman, the historical Qilij-Arslan, is introduced in the *Gesta* not at the battle of Nicaea, from where he supposedly fled, but later.⁵⁸⁸ Tudebode does the same.⁵⁸⁹ In these supposedly earliest accounts, he appears only after the major scenes for which he is known in later literature. Ekkehard of Aura, who is explicitly utilizing a *libellus* for his source material, introduces Soliman at Nicaea, but similarly after he has fled. Intriguingly, he writes '*praedicto*', 'afore-mentioned', before his name, but his name is not previously mentioned, either in his own work or in the *Gesta*.⁵⁹⁰ This suggests that he was awkwardly summarizing a work other than the extant *Gesta*.

Throughout texts of the *Gesta* tradition, introductions of characters are stilted. For example, the *Gesta* author introduces the '*legati ammirati Babyloniae*', before having to inelegantly explain that they had been sent there previously.⁵⁹¹ The governor of Antioch is only introduced in the scene where his flight from the city is portrayed. We are unaware of his existence until the city has been taken; his introduction appears an afterthought: '*Cassianus, vero dominus illorum, timens...*'⁵⁹² Robert the Monk fails to introduce the name '*Pirrus*' when he first talks about the figure who betrays the defenders of Antioch, and has to insert an awkward '*sic enim erat nomen eius*', after a subsequent sentence names him.⁵⁹³ Robert continues to present inconsistencies throughout. Pirrus communicates with Bohemond, promising to do what Bohemond has asked, but the narrative has not mentioned any requests on Bohemond's behalf towards Pirrus.⁵⁹⁴ Furthermore, Cassian's son is killed by the Christians outside Antioch in Robert's text, but is then shown, as in the *Gesta*, fleeing the city after its defeat and meeting with Kerbogha's relief force. This ineptness can be avoided by assuming

⁵⁸⁵ *GF*, 59; *PT*, 101. The scene is discussed in Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?" 192-193. I do not agree with the second passage Rubenstein believes is clarified by reference to Tudebode. The *Gesta*'s account makes sense without addition.

⁵⁸⁶ The topic of France, "The Anonymous."

⁵⁸⁷ *PT*, 32-33.

⁵⁸⁸ *GF*, 22.

⁵⁸⁹ *PT*, 56.

⁵⁹⁰ *EA*, 22.

^{591*} *GF*, 37. The awkwardness is copied directly into *RM*, 43.

^{592*} *GF*, 47.

^{593*} *RM*, 52.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 143, n. 19.

Cassian had at least two sons, but this is not specified by the text. Instead, it is more likely that Robert had difficulties in reconciling his sources.⁵⁹⁵

Outside those texts undoubtedly based in the extant *Gesta* tradition, the picture is identical. In Raymond's *Historia*, the pagan Kerbogha, explicitly having refused an earlier offer of trial by combat from the Christians, seeks to change his mind and offer his own similar arrangement when he sees the extent and bravery of the crusader forces. However, the initial offer is absent from Raymond's account.⁵⁹⁶ It is, however, in Gilo, Ralph, and Robert.⁵⁹⁷ Albert also presents troubling inconsistencies. Kerbogha's speech in Coroscane (p.228) makes it clear that he had earlier been the commander of pagan forces at Civetot, but Albert's text is explicit that Soliman alone was responsible for all the attacks on Peter's followers. Edgington suggests that this inconsistency is 'perhaps because of a confused recollection' of the proto-*Antioche*, the extant version of which introduces Kerbogha significantly earlier, in connection with Civetot.⁵⁹⁸ Albert's text, containing a series of stories about the establishment of the County of Edessa, returns to the main action of the crusade and then immediately summarizes who Baldwin of Edessa is, and that he has subjugated the hinterland of the city he has captured, directly duplicating information. Given that the section dealing with this is unreplicated in other crusade accounts and is uncommonly specific in tone and detail, perhaps Albert was returning to a source text here, copying in material superfluous to his account.⁵⁹⁹

The emphasis on Antioch present in all the accounts resembles more than a reflection of the historical reality of the drawn-out siege.⁶⁰⁰ In many cases, the style or nature of the Latin texts changes drastically after the fall of the city. The *Gesta* is a particular example, where the focus shifts away from Bohemond, leading to speculation that the author changed allegiance.⁶⁰¹ The Montecassino Chronicle goes into some detail until Antioch's fall; the remaining narrative of the crusade is a brief sentence of summary.⁶⁰² France noted a closer similarity between the accounts of the *Gesta* and that of Raymond surrounding the battle of Antioch.⁶⁰³ At the fall of Antioch to the Christians, the later *Antioche*

⁵⁹⁵ See *Robert the Monk*, 151, n. 17.

⁵⁹⁶ *RA*, 81.

⁵⁹⁷ *GP*, 182; *RM*, 70; *Tancredus*, 72.

⁵⁹⁸ *AA*, 254, n. 9.

⁵⁹⁹ Albert probably used a source especially concerned with Edessa; see André Alden Beaumont Jr, "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa," in *COHE*.

⁶⁰⁰ Edgington, "Romance," 37 and passim.

⁶⁰¹ E.g. Lees, *Gesta Francorum*, xxix.

⁶⁰² Russo, "Monte Cassino Tradition," 58-59. Russo argues for an Antioch-based lost source.

⁶⁰³ France, *Victory*, 377.

switches which Latin text it is most closely aligned with, from Albert to Robert.⁶⁰⁴ Edgington has linked Albert's use of 'chanson-style material' with the progress of the crusade up to Antioch, noting the different style after the expedition.⁶⁰⁵

In fact, the beginning of the earlier siege of Nicaea appears to have been a significant point in First Crusade narratology. Flori has drawn attention to the fact that discussion of martyrdom is focused solely around the sieges of Nicaea and Antioch, rather than any other stage of the crusade.⁶⁰⁶ Bull has noted that, in Robert's *Historia*, the verse passages and those of an 'epic' register first appear at Nicaea, incorporating Dorylaeum and Antioch, but are absent in the first two books.⁶⁰⁷ Disregarding the additions of the Charleville continuator, Gilo only deals with the period between the start of the siege of Nicaea and the end of the crusade.⁶⁰⁸ It may not be coincidental that the extant *Antioche* is keen to reveal the *vrai commencement* of the story which *novel jougleor* have negligently omitted, and this may not be Clermont, as often assumed, but rather everything before Nicaea.⁶⁰⁹ These inconsistencies contain hints at an underlying tradition of the First Crusade, particularly focused on events between Nicaea and Antioch.

⁶⁰⁴ *Antioche*, 18.

⁶⁰⁵ *AA*, xxix.

⁶⁰⁶ Flori, "Mort," 122.

⁶⁰⁷ Bull, "Robert the Monk and his Source(s)," 134-135.

⁶⁰⁸ *GP*, xiv.

^{609*} Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, ed. *La Chanson d'Antioche: Édition* (Paris: Geuthner, 1976), 19.

III: THE STYLISTIC, GENERIC, AND TOPICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO GENRES

PERCEIVED STYLISTIC RELATIONSHIPS

This next chapter traces some of the scholarly contributions which have previously suggested a relationship between the Latin crusade texts and the *chansons de geste* in terms of, consecutively, style, genre, and *topoi*, the most influential of which have been discussed in the introduction. Once again, this chapter does not stand entirely alone. It is artificial to introduce a divide between scholarship arguing that crusade texts took material from earlier *chansons de geste*, considered above, and that which presents the relationship as one of stylistic concordance: the two debates cannot be isolated and often the same academics have presented evidence for both. It is, however, necessary to distinguish between the two, as a perceived resemblance in style does not logically mean that the crusade texts must have had *chansons* as source material. The arguments in this chapter instead range from an 'influence', understood as either cultural or textual, exerted by the *chansons*, to a deliberate engagement with the 'epic' register in order to engage with a popular demand.⁶¹⁰

The simplistic style of the *Gesta* has attracted many comparisons with the *chansons*. Hill discussed the anonymous author's tendency to 'slip into stylised refrains reminiscent of the *chansons de geste*'. She also aligned the text culturally with the *Roland*, asserting their shared creed: Christians are right and pagans are wrong.⁶¹¹ Duke was more specific, identifying several episodes where 'conventional ideas of the pagans; attitudes and beliefs, as well as modes of expression, are analogous to the *chansons de geste*'.⁶¹² She went on to demonstrate that several of the more 'Romanesque' sections, as she described them, which she explicitly linked to the *chansons*, such as the material involving Kerbogha's mother, the lament of Guy of Hauteville, and the lament of Al-Afdal, were loosely rhymed in decasyllables, a poetic meter associated with the vernacular French epic, but saw these stylistic resemblances as evidence of a now-lost source's appropriation of the popular genre.⁶¹³ In

⁶¹⁰ See Levine, "Pious Traitor," 59.

⁶¹¹ *GF*, xv.

⁶¹² Duke, "Study of the Problems," 82-83.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, 100-104, 112. For corroboration, see also Oehler, "Studien," 69-71.

addition, Bancourt drew attention to links between the *Gesta* and *Aspremont*, arguing that there may be conscious references to the plot of the latter within the crusade text.⁶¹⁴

Morris' confident statement that the *Gesta* 'is a *chanson de geste*' has been cited above (p.16). His rationale for this outlines many stylistic similarities with the genre, in particular the prevalence of direct speech (Kerbogha and his mother, Guy's lament for Bohemond), and the heroicization of Bohemond.⁶¹⁵ To date, he is the only commentator to suggest that a Latin crusade text could be a direct translation of a *chanson*, drawing attention to the similarities between the commonly applied attributive adjectives *sapiens*, *prudens* and Old French *sage* and *preux*, and suggesting that the unusual usage of *militia* resembles a translation of *chevalerie*.⁶¹⁶ Morris' main point was, however, that the *Gesta* was representative of a Latinate culture already rooted in the Old French epic, and the author could have mimicked the style unintentionally, indicating his literary *mores*, or intentionally, to appeal to a particular audience for heroic tales. Elsewhere, Morris argued that the *Gesta*'s use of the word *Franci* was 'a transfer of usage from the *chanson de geste*'. He has also applied his argument to other texts, aligning Albert's textual 'mindset' with that of the *chansons*.⁶¹⁷

Others have followed Morris' arguments. Conor Kostick, broadly writing in response, agreed on the relationship between the *Gesta* and the *chansons*, saying that 'the spirit of the *chansons* seems to be influencing the text'.⁶¹⁸ The same passages in particular attract attention: Thomas Asbridge notes that the story of the embassy to Kerbogha is 'imaginary epic *chanson* styling', while asserting the reliability of the accounts.⁶¹⁹ Bull has stressed the presence of 'some resonances with vernacular epic' on the treatment of Saracens in the *Gesta* and Robert.⁶²⁰ Harari's analysis of the 'eyewitness' accounts concluded that:

The *Gesta* is closer in spirit to eleventh-century epics than it is to an eyewitness account. Its interest in the enemy's viewpoint and its admiration of enemy warriors certainly reminds one much more of the *Chanson de Roland* and its like than Fulcher's *Historia*.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁴ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, Vol. 1, 236-239.

⁶¹⁵ Morris, "Gesta Francorum as Narrative History," 61-67.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 63; GF, 65.

⁶¹⁷ Morris, "Aims," 102, 105.

⁶¹⁸ Kostick, "Further Discussion," 3.

⁶¹⁹ Asbridge, "Holy Lance," 15.

⁶²⁰ Bull, "Gesta Francorum," in CMR, 252; "Robert the Monk," 315.

⁶²¹ Harari, "Eyewitnessing," 91.

The picture has been the same across the genre. In 2013, Trotter, in a review of Edgington and Sweetenham's translation of the *Antioche*, tellingly wrote: 'Latin chronicles contemporary with the First Crusade deploy a very *chanson de geste*-type presentation of, for example, the enemy, and of supernatural events held to have assisted the crusaders.'⁶²² Sweetenham herself, a crucial figure in this debate, in a recent study of crusading anecdotal material, has particularly emphasized that the *chansons* were the 'dominant vernacular influence' on First Crusade histories, an argument she had previously made with regard to Robert the Monk's work, which she has called 'textually and thematically similar' to the *chansons*, 'permeated by [their] ethos'.⁶²³ In particular, Sweetenham draws attention to the combat of Hugh of Vermandois outside Antioch, where he is first into battle 'in classic *chanson de geste* style'.⁶²⁴ However, dismissing the idea that Robert was using any vernacular source directly, she instead argues that 'he used the language and *topoi* of the *chanson de geste* to add colour to his narrative'.⁶²⁵ This is not the only work for which Sweetenham has specifically drawn such links: she has also argued that the *Gesta* has several passages, particularly around events at Antioch, which are 'very reminiscent of the vernacular *chanson de geste* tradition', adding, that this is 'not unusual for chronicles of the period but particularly apparent in the *GF*'.⁶²⁶

Two texts more removed from the *Gesta* tradition, the *Tancredus* and the *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, have been closely linked to the *chansons*. In the recent edition of the *Tancredus*, D'Angelo has written that '*esso sembra innestarsi nella matrice letteraria delle chansons de geste*'.⁶²⁷ This is a similar judgement to that of the English translators, the Bachrachs, who argued that 'significant portions' of Ralph's work 'demonstrate qualities that are more reminiscent of contemporary entertainment literature, the *chansons de geste*'. The translators also link the verse sections of the prosimetric *Tancredus* particularly with the genre, understanding him to be following the 'tradition' of the *chansons*.⁶²⁸

⁶²² David A. Trotter, "Review of 'The *Chanson d'Antioche*. An Old French Account of the First Crusade, trans. Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Farnham, Ashgate: 2011)," *Crusades* 12 (2013): 255.

⁶²³ Sweetenham, "What Really Happened," 82; "Crusaders in a Hall of Mirrors: The Portrayal of Saracens in Robert the Monk's *Historia Iberosolimitana*," in *Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Sarah Lambert and Helen J. Nicholson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 49-50; *Robert the Monk*, 35-42, 61-63.

⁶²⁴ "What Really Happened," 78, n. 12.

⁶²⁵ *Robert the Monk*, 41.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶²⁷* *Tancredus*, xlvii.

⁶²⁸ Bachrach and Bachrach, *Gesta Tancredi*, 8-10. The opinion of the Bachrachs that the verse sections are those which Ralph doubted, and the prose are those for which he had eyewitness sources, seems overly simplistic and reductive. Also "Ralph of Caen as a Military Historian," 93.

Furthermore, Barbara Packard has aligned the treatment of Saracens in the *Tancredus* with the *Roland*.⁶²⁹ Long before this, Jean-Charles Payen had asserted the epic nature of Ralph's *Tancredus*, a text previously neglected in terms of its literary character. He drew attention not only to a few specifics where the *Tancredus* resembled the vernacular epic, but also the 'esprit' of the text, which was where the similarity truly lay.⁶³⁰ For the *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, Grocock and Siberry link the imagery, style and composition of the Charleville continuator with the *chansons* and the epic more broadly, saying that he 'leans towards folk-tale and the vernacular epic in the manner of telling his story, and the source material on which he draws'. Grocock had earlier argued that Gilo of Paris' style had profound links to the *chansons*.⁶³¹

Rather than specifically align the crusade texts with the *chansons*, stylistically, many have instead utilized the word 'epic'. The meaning is vaguer; the observation similar. Epic was not entirely coterminous with the *chansons de geste*, as not all *chansons* were epic as such, and many ninth- and tenth-century Latin epic poems such as *Waltharius* and the *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris* recorded the deeds of semi-historical figures. But the *chansons* were certainly the dominant form of epic in the period under consideration, and so historiographical alignments of the crusade texts to 'epic' are qualitatively similar to those more explicit in their meaning.

Once again, the resemblances are noticed first at the stage of the 'eyewitness' texts. Hill states that the *Gesta* describes Bohemond 'after the manner of an epic hero', and opines that 'the whole work has about it something of the quality of a saga'.⁶³² Bréhier makes the same observation: '*certaines de ses récits de bataille ont une couleur véritablement épique*'.⁶³³ Duparc-Quioc noted that the tone of Fulcher, foremost among the crusade texts, was epic.⁶³⁴ Minis observed in 1973 that the *Historia* of Albert of Aachen was closer in style to vernacular epic than to mainstream Latin chronicles.⁶³⁵ Concerns about how the '*remanieurs*' writings stylistically resemble the epic have already been considered: for example,

⁶²⁹ Packard, "Ralph of Caen," 377.

⁶³⁰ Jean-Charles Payen, "Une légende épique en gestation: Les *Gesta Tancredi* de Raoul de Caen," in *La Chanson de geste et le mythe Carolingien. Mélanges René Louis, publiés par ses collègues, ses amis, et ses élèves à l'occasion de son 75^e anniversaire*, ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner, et al. (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay: Dépôt au Musée Archéologique Régional, 1982), esp. 1058. For a note of support, see Levine, "Pious Traitor," 76.

⁶³¹ *GP*, esp. xxvii-xxix, lxiv. Also Grocock, "L'Aventure épique," 17, 19.

⁶³² *GF*, xii, xv.

⁶³³* Bréhier, *Histoire anonyme*, iv.

⁶³⁴ Duparc-Quioc, "Composition," 236.

⁶³⁵ Minis, "Stilelemente," 357. Widely-quoted: see Sweetenham, "Crusaders in a Hall of Mirrors," 54.

Biddlecombe's analysis that Baldric had inserted 'epic motifs' into his narrative.⁶³⁶ Chibnall, in her edition of Orderic, has written that some of the longer interpolations into Baldric's narrative 'betray more than a touch of epic invention'.⁶³⁷

The issue for scholarship is that 'epic' as a term is infuriatingly vague, could refer to vernacular or Latin texts, and potentially refers to the classical genre or something entirely more medieval. 'Romance', as a term, has been used equally imprecisely, even in relation to the Latin crusade texts. France describes the unique additions of the *Historia Belli Sacri* as having 'a romance element'.⁶³⁸ Grocock has made similar remarks relating to the additions which the Charleville Poet made to Gilo's work.⁶³⁹ Sarah Kay's work on the genre shows that 'Romance' and 'Epic' are inadequately separated by the medieval evidence.⁶⁴⁰ What exactly does Romance constitute in the early-twelfth century? A further example of this vagueness is found when John France, writing more broadly about the crusade, asserts that Albert's account is in part following 'poetic tradition' without delineating what poetry, or what tradition.⁶⁴¹ Rarely, some specificity has been found. In a state-of-the-field summary last year, Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf spoke of 'Latin and vernacular epic' as an 'influence and exemplar' at play in the composition of Latin crusade texts.⁶⁴² The same duo, in the introduction to Robert's *Historia*, argued its author drew 'upon motifs, plot situations, imagery and locutions inspired by both classical models and contemporary vernacular epic songs', exemplifying some specificity regarding postulated models.⁶⁴³

PERCEIVED GENERIC RELATIONSHIPS

The generic relationship between the Latinate '*gesta*' and the vernacular '[*chansons de geste*]' is evidently important to the investigation here. Both terms have essentially the same meaning, with the Latin *gesta* encompassing a range of meanings from 'matters done' to 'deeds' to 'things borne' or 'endured', and the Old French *geste* encompassing all these meanings and more: a lineage; an abstracted heritage;

⁶³⁶ Biddlecombe, "Baldric of Bourgueil and the *Familia Christi*," 11.

⁶³⁷ *OV*, xvii.

⁶³⁸ France, "Use," 38.

⁶³⁹ Grocock, "L'Aventure épique," 19.

⁶⁴⁰ Kay, *The "Chansons de geste"*.

⁶⁴¹ France, *Victory*, 288.

⁶⁴² Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, "Introduction," in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission, and Memory*, ed. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), 3.

⁶⁴³ *Robert the Monk*, xiv-xv.

and 'heroic actions'. The connection between the two genres goes deeper than this: the central text of the Latin narrative accounts is the *Gesta Francorum*, 'Deeds of the Franks'; the *chansons*, depicting themselves as retellings of official history, near ubiquitously refer to an abstract '*geste Francor*', 'Frankish deeds', as their source material.⁶⁴⁴ The situation is complicated further when it is considered that earlier Franco-Latin historiography was linked to this nexus: the continuation of the chronicle of Fredegar (c.750 – 787),⁶⁴⁵ one of the first works of Frankish historiography, is referred to in one manuscript as an '*Historiam vel Gesta Francorum*'.⁶⁴⁶ Not entirely coincidentally, the basic style of Latin used by the Fredgar continuator, dismissed by Wallace-Hadrill as 'not a language with a future', has been treated similarly in historiographical terms to the *Gesta*'s understated style.⁶⁴⁷ Both histories have an interest in the ethnic background of the Frankish people. Fredegar's account provides the earliest evidence for the Trojan ancestry of the Franks, and from that, a link with the Turks, who were a splinter group. The *Gesta* also claims ancient links between the Franks and the Turks, two links explicitly joined by the thirteenth-century *Prose Edda*, which suggests that the Turks, fleeing from Troy, then fathered the Germanic peoples in exile.⁶⁴⁸ While it is uncertain whether the *Gesta* author was aware of the Trojan link, both texts participate in the same process of ancestral linking.⁶⁴⁹

The intertextuality between traditionally different genres of texts is obvious, but a few examples from the crusade accounts will demonstrate this. Fredegar's much earlier history exhibits a few passing similarities to the crusade texts. The account of a child's death at the orders of Theuderic are reminiscent of Albert of Aachen's story of the fate of children in the sack of Jerusalem: '*...adprehensus a quidam per pede ad petram percutitur, cerebrum eius capite aereptum, amisit spiritum*'.⁶⁵⁰ Compare this with Albert's account: '*infantes adhuc sugentes per plantam pedis e sinu matris aut cunabulis arreptos muris*

⁶⁴⁴ *Aspremont*, 70; *Gormont*, 10; *Roland*, 168, 194, 240, 259.

⁶⁴⁵ Rosamund McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 139-140; John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, ed. *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations: Fredegarii chronicorum liber quartus cum continuationibus* (London: Nelson, 1960); Roger Collins, "Fredegar," in *Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West*, ed. Roger Collins and Carole Straw (Farnham: Ashgate, 1996); *Die Fredegar-Chronikon* (Hannover: Hahn, 2007), 92.

⁶⁴⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, *Fredegar with Continuations*, 102-103. The MS is Bav. Reg. Lat. 213

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, xxviii.

⁶⁴⁸ Bruno Krusch, ed. *Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica. Vitae sanctorum* (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), 46; Steven Runciman, "Teucric and Turci," in *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies: In Honour of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. Sami A. Hanna (Leiden: Brill, 1972); Bull, "Overlapping," 206.

⁶⁴⁹ Alan V. Murray, "William of Tyre and the Origins of the Turks: Observations on Possible Sources of the *Gesta orientaliu principum*," in *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001), 223-224.

^{650*} Wallace-Hadrill, *Fredegar with Continuations*, 32.

*aut liminibus ostiorum fractis cervicibus allidentes.*⁶⁵¹ Although there is a close parallel in Psalms 137:9, its use in a medieval historiographical sense is also found in the account of the sack of Zawila, written c.1087.⁶⁵² Fredegar's text also exhibits similarities with the description of pagans on the bridge outside Antioch: '*cadavera occisorum undique non haberint ubi inclinis iacerint, sed stabant mortui inter ceterorum cadavera stricti quasi viventes.*'⁶⁵³ As reported by Gilo, this is '*sustentantes erecta cadavera vivos.*'⁶⁵⁴ The *Historia Belli Sacri* writes, cleverly, '*Nam cedens stantem, et stans cadentem suffocat,*'⁶⁵⁵ while Robert the Monk describes it thus: '*Inter vivos mortui stabant, quia suffulti densitate vivorum cadere non poterant.*'⁶⁵⁶ But this *topos* is also found in the *Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio* (c.1068): '*Spiritibus nequeunt frustrata cadavera sterni // Nec cedunt vivos corpora militibus.*'⁶⁵⁷ These examples demonstrate how closely the *topoi* of crusade accounts could be linked to more general historiography of the High and Early Middle Ages.

Fredegar is not unique in this relationship to later '*gesta/geste*' literature. Dudo of St. Quentin's *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* (c.996-1020) has been linked to the Old French epic, with Henri Prentout arguing that a school of *jongleurs* in Rouen composed much of the text, building on an earlier theory by Philippe Lauer. Although rebuked by Eric Christiansen, Eleanor Searle famously argued for a new kind of genre for Dudo: heroic history.⁶⁵⁸ Could the *Gesta Francorum* be described as heroic history? How does this differ from the vernacular epic; or, for that matter, from the Latin *carmina* genre? The *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, a Latin (heroic?) history contemporary to the crusade texts, has been insufficiently studied for its testimony regarding the conventions of the '*gesta*' genre immediately before the First Crusade. Analysis has instead focused on its Byzantine links.⁶⁵⁹

Other crusade texts have links with the *Gesta* genre: the *Dei Gesta per Francos* and the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* are linked by their titles, whilst other works explicitly set out to record the '*gesta*' of participants: the Charleville Poet describes his history as the '*gesta... ducum magnanimatorum*,'⁶⁶⁰ and

⁶⁵¹* AA, 432.

⁶⁵² Herbert E.J. Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087," *EHR* 92 (1977): 26.

⁶⁵³* Wallace-Hadrill, *Fredegar with Continuations*, 31.

⁶⁵⁴* GP, 120.

⁶⁵⁵* HBS, 125.

⁶⁵⁶* RM, 44.

⁶⁵⁷* Frank Barlow, ed. *The Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), 24.

⁶⁵⁸ Henri Prentout, *Étude critique sur Dudon de S. Quentin et son histoire des premiers ducs normands* (Paris: Picard, 1916), 314, 320-328; Philippe Lauer, *Le Règne de Louis IV d'Outremer* (Paris: Bouillon, 1900), xiii; Eric Christiansen, *Dudo of St Quentin: History of the Normans* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), for dating, xiii. For rebuttal of vernacular influences on Dudo, see xviii-xix, xxix, and 203, n.270. For heroic history: Eleanor Searle, "Fact and Pattern in Heroic History: Dudo of St. Quentin," *Viator* 15 (1984).

⁶⁵⁹ Cf. Brown, "The *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*: A 'Byzantine' History?."; Frankopan, "Turning Latin into Greek."

⁶⁶⁰* GP, 2.

Fulcher supposedly wishes to record the '*gesta virorum*'.⁶⁶¹ There are also points within the Latin crusade texts when it seems references are being made directly to the *chansons*. Robert the Monk portrays Urban as haranguing the Franks thus: '*Moveant vos... ad virilitatem gesta predecessorum vestrorum, probitas et magnitudo Karoli Magni regis et Ludovici filii eius... qui regna paganorum destruxerunt*'.⁶⁶² It has been suggested by Duggan that the *gesta predecessorum vestrorum* do not truly represent a Latinate '*gesta*', that is, historical deeds. Instead, this should be regarded as an exhortation to the Franks to emulate the *gestes* of the *chansons de geste*.⁶⁶³ This tallies with the focus on Charlemagne and Louis, the two royal figures in the earliest *chansons*. Niskanen has similarly drawn attention to the frailty of the title '*Gesta Francorum*', noting that it is only attested in one manuscript of the text. This nomenclature, he suggests, could perhaps have been a deliberate attempt to engage with, or a manifestation of similarity to, the *chansons de geste*.⁶⁶⁴ This section has demonstrated a tripartite association between *Gesta*, *chansons de geste*, and Frankish historiography, where the boundaries between the genres are less firm than once proposed.

PERCEIVED TOPICAL RELATIONSHIPS

The next association between the genres under consideration is topical. Recent research has shown how Carolingian kingship, in particular the symbolic figure of Charlemagne, underlay the development of crusading imagery and theory.⁶⁶⁵ Furthermore, the *chansons de geste* are linked, equally inextricably, to Charlemagne and the Carolingian past.⁶⁶⁶ It is therefore unsurprising that the *chansons* and the crusade texts are often considered alongside each other.

However, there is puzzlingly little interaction between the two genres. Few direct textual references, or crusade-related scenes, can be unambiguously attributed to the crusades in the early *chansons de geste*. There is a possible reference to the council of Clermont in *Aspremont*, where the pope,

^{661*} FC, 115.

^{662*} RM, 6.

⁶⁶³ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 308.

⁶⁶⁴ Niskanen, "Origins," 303.

⁶⁶⁵ See Daniel F. Callahan, "Al-Hākim, Charlemagne, and the Destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes," in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, ed. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Jace Stuckey, "Charlemagne as Crusader? Memory, Propaganda, and the Many Uses of Charlemagne's Legendary Expedition to Spain," in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, ed. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁶⁶⁶ See the seminal Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*.

present in a vaulted hall, offers remission of sins in exchange for military service; the subsequent expedition is referred to as a pilgrimage.⁶⁶⁷ But this is an isolated example.⁶⁶⁸ In the other direction, there is only one incontrovertible reference: in the *Tancredus*, Robert of Flanders and Hugh of Vermandois are directly compared to Roland and Oliver of the *Roland* in a poetic section, with the words ‘*Rollandum dicas Oliveriumque renatos*’.⁶⁶⁹

Other references have been proposed, less securely. Bancourt considered the narrative of rusty weapons being viewed and evaluated by Kerbogha in nearly all of the Latin Crusade texts to be a reference to *Aspremont*’s plot.⁶⁷⁰ Sweetenham argued that the friendship of Hugh and Godfrey in Robert the Monk is purposefully reminiscent of that of Roland and Oliver.⁶⁷¹ This supposition rests upon the scene whereby the two heroes fight side-by-side outside Antioch, and in particular on the words: ‘*Erat enim unus ab alter quasi alter idem, unam habentes in se amicitiam*’.⁶⁷² Similarly, as also noted by Sweetenham, the portrayal of Adhemar of Le Puy, dressed in a hauberk, carrying the Holy Lance, may be analogous to the representation of the fighting bishop Turpin in *Roland* material.⁶⁷³ Allusions are not restricted wholly to the *chansons*: Sweetenham suggested that Bohemond’s wound in the thigh, gained during the fighting inside Antioch, was to be compared to Guigemar’s thigh wound in the *Lais* of Marie de France. This is more likely to be coincidental than an explicit reference: no more is made of the wound after this, narratively, and it is not, as in *Guigemar*, healed by the love of a woman.⁶⁷⁴

Despite the lack of textual cross references between the genres, the mutual importance of Charlemagne to both has provoked many studies worthy of consideration here. Charlemagne is a much considered figure in scholarship. In 1993, a bibliography solely on his medieval legend comprised more than 2,700 entries, and the number has proliferated since then.⁶⁷⁵ Matthew Gabriele has argued that the study of early Charlemagne legend has been unfairly divided between Latin and vernacular works, and that the relationship between the two is significant.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁶⁷ *Aspremont*, 112-114, ll.774-776, 797.

⁶⁶⁸ The conclusion of Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades*.

^{669*} *Tancredus*, 31.

⁶⁷⁰ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, vol. 1, 236-23.

⁶⁷¹ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 63.

^{672*} *RM*, 75.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 73, 77; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 62.

⁶⁷⁴ *Robert the Monk*, 149; Alfred Ewert, ed. *Marie de France: Lais* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1947), 3-25.

⁶⁷⁵ Susan E. Farrier, *The Medieval Charlemagne Legend: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1993).

⁶⁷⁶ The central argument in Gabriele, *Empire*.

Much of the assumed relationship between Charlemagne and the crusading movement involves the legend of the emperor's journey to the Eastern Mediterranean, best embodied in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (p.36), perhaps better described as a romance-epic hybrid, recounting Charlemagne's fantastical journey to the East.⁶⁷⁷ From the ninth century, monastic records indicate Charlemagne having previously distributed Jerusalem-centred relics, which may have been a formative element of the creation of this myth.⁶⁷⁸ Diplomatic missions between eastern powers such as the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Caliph Harun, seemingly genuine, were increasingly considered by Frankish biographers as assertion of Charlemagne's control over the Holy Land, until Notker portrayed Charlemagne as being given nominal control over the region.⁶⁷⁹ The first depiction of Charlemagne visiting Jerusalem is found in the 968 *Chronicon* of Benedict of Monte Soratte, which describes a friendly pilgrimage around the Holy Places, and a return journey via Constantinople.⁶⁸⁰

This tradition had mutated to refer to a military expedition by c.1080, when the *Descriptio qualiter* was composed, a story substantially analagous to the base plot of the *Pèlerinage*. Although once believed to have been influenced by the narrative matter of the crusade, Gabriele has shown that the text was likely composed before the expedition.⁶⁸¹ Given our understanding of oral composition of *chansons*, it is difficult to tell which of the *Pèlerinage* or *Descriptio* preceded the other. It suffices to say here that the plots greatly resemble each other, and that the *Descriptio* has stylistic similarities with the vernacular epic. The most in-depth study of the text has argued for a lost original.⁶⁸² A similar journey appears in the foundation narrative of the Abbey of Charroux, c.1095.⁶⁸³ The *Roland* poet seems aware of a tradition involving Charlemagne's conquests and the East, as did the (c.1064) *Annales Elmonenses minores*.⁶⁸⁴ The crusading movement and Charlemagne's military expedition were first linked

⁶⁷⁷ The early history of this tradition has been studied extensively. See Federica Monteleone, *Il viaggio di Carlo Magno in Terra Santa. Un'esperienza di pellegrinaggio nella tradizione europea occidentale* (Fasano: Schena, 2003).

⁶⁷⁸ Pertz, *MGH SS 1*, 309; Georg Waitz, ed. *Supplementa tomorum I-XII, pars III. Supplementum tomi XIII* (Hannover: Hahn, 1887), 174-176; Engelbert Mühlbacher, ed. *Die Urkunden der Karolinger: Erster Band. Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Grossen* (Hannover: Hahn, 1906), no. 228.

⁶⁷⁹ Haefele, *Notker der Stammler*, *MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S.* 12, 64.

⁶⁸⁰ Guiseppe Zucchetti, ed. *Il 'Chronicon' di Benedetto monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1920); Gabriele, *Empire*, 41-44, for discussion of its composition and dating.

⁶⁸¹ "The Provenance of the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*: Remembering the Carolingians in the Entourage of King Philip I (1060-1108) before the First Crusade," *Viator* 39, no. 2 (2008).

⁶⁸² Marc Du Pouget, "Recherches sur les chroniques latines de Saint-Denis: Édition critique et commentaire de la *Descriptio clavi et corone Domini* et de deux séries de textes relatifs à la légende carolingienne" (École nationale des Chartes, 1978), esp. 79 & 86. For similarities with the *chansons*, see Gabriele, *Empire*, 99.

⁶⁸³ P. de Monsabert, ed. *Liber de constitutione, institutione, consecratione, reliquiis, ornamentis et privilegiis Karrofensis cenobii* (Charroux: Guérin, 1910), 7-9, 29-41; Gabriele, *Empire*, 44-51.

⁶⁸⁴ *Roland*, 127; Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed. *Annales et chronica aevi Salici* (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), 18.

in the crusading windows of St. Denis, where roundels commemorating Charlemagne's visit to the East are accompanied by those outlining the progress of the First Crusade.⁶⁸⁵ The first explicit description of the expedition of Charlemagne as a 'crusade' only appears later, in the thirteenth-century chronicle of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, where it is commented that the 1095-1099 expedition is the second, rather than the first, of its type.⁶⁸⁶

The crusade texts' appropriation of Charlemagne's reputation is demonstrated by direct textual evidence. The *Gesta*, Tudebode and the *Historia Belli Sacri* ascribe the building of the pilgrim road to Constantinople to Charlemagne.⁶⁸⁷ Ekkehard reported that there were rumours in 1095 of Charlemagne rising from death to lead the crusade.⁶⁸⁸ The Charleville continuator describes a *Castellum Karoli* near Constantinople, which the editors link with Charlemagne.⁶⁸⁹ Robert the Monk comments several times on the previous journey of Charlemagne, portraying the First Crusaders as travelling in his footsteps.⁶⁹⁰ This tripartite relationship between traditions of Charlemagne's pilgrimage, First Crusade historiography, and the *chansons de geste* demonstrates that medieval observers considered all three to be interlinked by the associations of their genre.

The great medieval institution of the Abbey of Cluny has provided another topical common ground for the two genres, but since the decline of simplistic *Bédieriste* individualism in the later twentieth century this has been less secure. The *chansons de geste* were linked directly by Bédier to the abbey, basing this on his belief that they were inherently clerical in composition and inspiration.⁶⁹¹ Cluny also played an important role in the development of early crusading ideology, and was intimately involved with the theological and practical background to the First Crusade.⁶⁹² The order was especially active in the Hispanic arena, where it seems to have adopted both an emblematic and

⁶⁸⁵ Elizabeth A.R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: *Praeteritorium enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986).

⁶⁸⁶ Georg Heinrich Pertz and Paulus Scheffer-Boichorst, eds., *Chronica aevi Suenici* (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), 804.

⁶⁸⁷ *GF*, 2; *PT*, 33; *HBS*, 14.

⁶⁸⁸ "Chronica: Recensio I," in *Frotolfs und Ekkehard's Chroniken und die Anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), 144. See also Carl Erdmann, "Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgeanke im 11. Jhd.," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1932).

^{689*} *GP*, 56. I am unconvinced that the isolated name 'Charles' is enough to make this connection.

⁶⁹⁰ *RM*, 6, 9.

⁶⁹¹ *LÉIV*, 462.

⁶⁹² Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 7.

supervisory role in eleventh-century expeditions.⁶⁹³ For example, Sancho III of Navarre (1000-1035), one of the most strident propagators of Christian expansion in the eleventh century, maintained close links with the abbey, sending his clergyman, Paternus, there for training.⁶⁹⁴ The abbey had also had a hand in the elimination of the Saracens from southern France in the tenth century.⁶⁹⁵ Urban II himself was prior of Cluny from c.1070-1080, which has fuelled speculation that Urban's crusade ideals were shaped from his time at the monastery. The *Vita* of Gerald of Aurillac, a hagiographical text about a lay noble associated with the order, certainly demonstrates a new kind of sanctity, firmly grounded in secular, warlike, culture.⁶⁹⁶ If Cluny were, as Bédier argued, involved in the composition of *chansons*, this would constitute a further link between the two genres.

This chapter has served as a demonstration that the genres of the *chansons de geste* and the Latin crusade texts have frequently been, with good reason, considered alongside each other, but that significant analysis of the nature of their resemblance and assumed stylistic similarities has been almost completely lacking. The rest of this thesis addresses this lack: analyzing both genres alongside each other to test the proposition that the Latin Crusade texts are stylistically analogous to the vernacular French epic.

⁶⁹³ P. Boissonnade, "Cluny, la papauté, et la première grande croisade internationale contre les sarrasins d'Espagne - Barbastro (1064-1065)," *Revue des questions historiques* 117 (1932). Boissonnade's first name is uncertain; both Prosper and Pierre are printed elsewhere.

⁶⁹⁴ Herbert E.J. Cowdrey, "Cluny and the First Crusade," *Revue Bénédictine* 83 (1975).

⁶⁹⁵ Étienne Delaruelle, "L'Idée de croisade dans la littérature clunisienne du XI^e siècle et l'abbaye de Moissac" in *Moissac et l'Occident au XI^e siècle. Actes du colloque international de Moissac 3-5 mai 1963*, ed. Philippe Wolff (Toulouse: Privat, 1964), 97.

⁶⁹⁶ See Ambrogio Piazzoni, "'Militia Christi' e Cluniacensi," in *'Militia Christi' e crociata nei secoli XI-XIII. Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio. Mendola, 28 agosto - 1 settembre 1989* (Milan: Pubblicazione dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1992), 241-248; Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970 - c.1130* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), 226-227.

SECTION TWO: ANALYTICAL CHAPTERS

IV: FORMULAIC COMBAT

The passage of the First Crusade was a predominately military operation, fuelled both by the resistance of the inhabitants of the lands through which it passed, and the martial zeal of the participants, themselves eager to fight. Violence followed the progress of the various armies, not only through Seljuq and Fatimid lands, but also through Byzantine territories, and those of the various city states which dotted the Levant. The path to Jerusalem was cleared, then, by sword and spear, more than by diplomacy or negotiation. In descriptions of this combat, therefore, one would expect a similarity between the accounts of this expedition and the notoriously warlike *chansons de geste*. This chapter will outline how these two genres, united in their focus upon military combat and war, dealt similarly with describing single combat.

To demonstrate that perceived similarity is not merely coincidental, comparison must be based on the syntactical, generative and topological aspects of texts, rather than on the events described: otherwise, it could be that the genres resemble each other purely because they were attempting to represent the commonplace happenings of the battlefield. However, the consistency and unity of *chansons de geste* style provides us with certain set formulae: sequences of motifs or thematic groupings repeated again and again across the genre, with little variation, to describe single combat between heroes. Passages comparable to these sequences, cited within this chapter, are found in many of the Latin sources of the First Crusade. Additionally, we are clearly assisted in identifying cross-genre similarities when the content is fanciful. The question of whether *chanson* combat generally is an accurate portrayal of eleventh/twelfth century warfare is a vexed question, and unnecessary here.⁶⁹⁷ Yet unlikely *topoi*, such as solid gold equipment, or the bisection of individuals, in crusade literature suggest links with the epic.

⁶⁹⁷ On the reality of medieval warfare: Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997); John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades 1000-1300* (London: UCL Press, 1999).

FORMULAIC COMBAT IN *CHANSONS DE GESTE*

Since there is no major study devoted solely to the description of combat in the *chansons de geste*, it is necessary to outline the features of typical *chanson* style with regard to combat. It is remarkably consistent. The phenomena which must have been prevalent in military engagements of the time are rarely mentioned: volleys of arrows, unified cavalry charges, and cramped, shoving *mêlée*. Ambushing of baggage trains, sieges, tactical manoeuvring, and skirmishing are infrequently described. Instead, armed conflict consists fundamentally of a series of 'combat events' between individuals, fought with lance or sword, resulting in the death or incapacitation of one party.⁶⁹⁸ The path of blows is described in detail, the impact being outlined not only upon the victim's body, but also upon his equipment, giving the author an opportunity to portray to his audience the power of the blow, and, by extension, the valour and strength of the striker.

The study of formulae in the *chansons de geste* is one which has been thoroughly, although not exhaustively, pursued.⁶⁹⁹ However, the content of these formulae have rarely been analysed in any great detail, and have normally been studied with an entirely different question in mind: the oral composition, or otherwise, of the *chansons*, and whether linguistic phrases constituted oral 'facilitators'.⁷⁰⁰ Academic work has been predominately concerned with the number, prevalence, and significance for the historiographical debates, without fully demarcating the content of the formulae they describe.⁷⁰¹ To a large extent, these studies are also concerned with linking the 'orality' of the *chansons* with that of Homeric verse, using studies by Parry and Lord to legitimize the primordial literary efforts of 'France' through alignment with respectable, classical, models.⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁸ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, II, 962.

⁶⁹⁹ I use the word 'formula' to return to a relatively fixed sequence of events, utilized in the description of single combat, i.e. the passages in their entirety. These smaller events which make up the larger 'formula', are referred to as 'motifs', following Rychner.

⁷⁰⁰ For possible reasons regarding lack of interest in combat in the *chansons*, see Catherine Hanley, *War and Combat, 1150-1270: The Evidence from Old French Literature* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 105.

⁷⁰¹ Stephen G. Nichols Jr, *Formulaic Diction and Thematic Composition in the Chanson de Roland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961); Renate Hitze, *Studien zu Sprache und Stil der Kampfschilderungen in den chansons de geste* (Geneva: Droz, 1965); Duggan, *The Song of Roland: Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft*; Rita LeJeune, "Technique formulaire et chansons de geste," *Le Moyen Âge* 60 (1954). The more recent study by Jean-Pierre Martin has not been used because it focuses on a narrow group of later texts and provides little novel information which relates well to the early *chanson* tradition: Jean-Pierre Martin, "Les Motifs dans la chanson de geste. Définition et utilisation (discours de l'épopée médiévale)" (Lille 3, 1992). Also focusing on later texts: Aurora Aragón Fernández and José Fernández Cardo, "Les Traces des formules épiques dans le roman français du XIII^e siècle: le combat individuel," in *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin: Actes du IX^e congrès international de la Société Rencesvals, Padoue-Venise, 29 août-4 septembre 1982* (Modena: Mucchi, 1984).

⁷⁰² Parry, "Studies in the Epic."; Lord, *Singer*.

There are two significant exceptions to this lack of focus on the content of epic ‘combat’ formulae. The most in-depth is the 1985 study by Genette Ashby-Beach, which will form the basis of my own description of the recurrent motifs.⁷⁰³ Using Chomskyan generative theory, she outlined six constituent parts of the conventional mounted combat in her work, and provides a full account of where they are to be found in the *Roland*. My own research, based upon a wider variety of *chansons*, has led me to amalgamate two of these, and provide another three motifs which are common in these descriptions. The other study is that of Jean Rychner, who briefly delineated the content of several motifs in 1955, two of which were outlined ‘*Combats singuliers à la lance*’ and ‘*Combats singuliers à l’épée*’. These correspond roughly to the subject of this chapter.⁷⁰⁴ Fortunately, of all of the motifs Rychner identifies, the two elements he chooses to outline fully, with tables and references to several different *chansons*, fall under these general categories, the spurring on of horses and the shattering of equipment. These correspond to elements two and five respectively in my own delineation below.⁷⁰⁵

In the following outline, where motifs can be directly aligned with those of Ashby-Beach, her notation will be quoted in square brackets, with page numbers for reference. The typical motifs, in the order they usually occur, are as follows:

1. The Taunt

Examples of individual combat are frequently prefaced, or occasionally appended, by a taunt which draws attention to the wretched nature of the opponent. When following a successful combat, they can take the form of mocking insults about how the felled man ‘will not get up again’, or how he has been educated in the dangers of opposing such ferocious opponents. This is not as all-pervasive as some other motifs, but is still significant enough to be considered conventional: 60% of all such episodes in *Couronnement* include it, for example, and 18% in *Aspremont*.

2. Spurring on of the steed - [(X) is mounted on a horse / (X) spurs his horse. pp. 68-78]

The combat begins, almost invariably, with a spurring on of the striker’s horse. This motif tends to elide into motif three, with phrases such as ‘he urges on his horse with spurs of pure gold’. Ashby-

⁷⁰³ Genette Ashby-Beach, *The Song of Roland: A Generative Study of the Formulaic Language in the Single Combat* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1985).

⁷⁰⁴ Rychner, *Essai*, 129.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 141-147.

Beach outlines another motif, which I have combined with this, whereby characters are explicitly described as being ‘mounted upon their horse’ before combat begins, evidently a related *topos*.

3. Description of arms or armour

While descriptions of extravagant equipment are common in the *chansons*, there is a striking intensity of the provision of such information at exactly this stage in the typical combat episode: between the initial introduction of the combat and the landing of the blow. 80% of such episodes in *Couronnement*, for example, contain this element; compared to the *Roland*, at 57%, and *Aspremont*, at 55%.

4. The blow landing on the victim - [(X) strikes Y. pp. 78-88]

The next occurrence in the conventional combat is the first of several specific *topoi*, which illustrate, often with near-clinical exactness, the path of the blow. This motif outlines where the blow lands on the victim: normally shield, hauberk, helm, or a part of his body. The path of the blow continues in motif six.

5. The shattering and smashing of equipment - [(X) breaks the shield of Y / (X) breaks the hauberk of Y. pp. 88-104]

This is the most consistent of the elements of the classic mounted combat scenario, with 89% of mounted single combats in *Roland* exhibiting this motif, and 77% of those in *Aspremont*. The armour and shield of the attacked party, under the adversary’s irresistible blow, simply shatter into shards or are pierced thoroughly. Given the unlikely nature of actually shattering armour with the strength of a blow, particularly when shields were used more for deflection than absorption, a rhetorical rather than literal tone is evident in these descriptions.

6. The path of the weapon as it cuts through flesh - [(X) pierces the body of Y with his lance / (X) wounds Y in the body. pp. 104-110]

The next motif is that which traces the progress of the sword/spear through the victim’s body. Cuts can be made through any part of the body, although most commonly the enemy is transfixed on a lance, particularly through the spine. These often detailed, visceral descriptions outline how the blow navigates its way through major organs or bones, and occasionally also portray the exit wound.

7. The bisection of opponents

Not included under its own heading in Ashby-Beach’s analysis, the motif of the foe split in two by a ferocious blow is one which features heavily in the *chansons*. The practicalities of whether it was

feasible to cut completely through an armoured man with a sword swing are the province of less-than-salubrious internet sites of medieval weapons enthusiasts.⁷⁰⁶ However, this unlikely feat is a common recurring theme in *chansons de geste*, for example, in 40% of combats in *Couronnement*, and 20% in the *Guillaume*.

8. The falling or tumbling of the dead onto the grass - [(X) kills Y. pp. 110-112]

The final motif emblematic of *chanson* literature is the tumbling or falling of bodies onto the ground. There are two elements particularly focused upon: firstly, the tumbling or upturning of the victim, often using the verb ‘*trebucher*’ (to hurl over).⁷⁰⁷ Secondly, the ground onto which the victims fall is normally described – for example, ‘onto the green grass’, or ‘onto the sand’.

Not all of these textual motifs are included in every ‘combat event’, but these elements are the textual building blocks which the vernacular epic poet used to compose these episodes. The order is relatively inflexible; with few exceptions: the taunt may occur after the combat instead of before it, or the description of arms and armour may, occasionally, move after the initial striking of the blow.

In this example from *Couronnement*, the motifs are marked in braces at the start of the line(s) under consideration:

[1] ‘*Gloꝝ, dit li quens, Dex te doint encombrer!*

Ge ne te pris plus c’un chien enragié.’

[2][3] *Arion broche des esperons d’or mier*

[4] *Et fiert Richart en l’escu de quartier:*

[5] *Desoꝝ la boucle li fet fendre et percier,*

Le blanc hauberc derompre et desmaillier;

[6] *El flanc senestre li fet coler l’acier,*

Que de .ii. parꝝ en fet le sanc raier.

[8] *Li bons chevaus s’est del fes deschargié,*

⁷⁰⁶ See The Association for Renaissance Martial Arts, accessed 02/12/2014, <http://www.thearma.org/Videos/NTCvids/testingbladesandmaterials.htm> See also H.S. Kay, "Topography and the Relative Realism of Battle Scenes in the *Chanson de geste*," *Olifant* 4 (1977).

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. *Gormont*, 18.

Le coing del hiaume est en terre fichié
*Par si grant force .ii. des laz en rompié.*⁷⁰⁸

Here, seven out of the eight outlined motifs are included, in conventional order. The Christian knight insults his enemy in direct speech, spurs on his horse, his equipment being described. He then strikes his enemy, whereupon his foe's equipment shatters, and the blow's path through the body is described. His opponent is then unhorsed; more specifically, his horse is said to throw off its load.

Sometimes, the situation is slightly more convoluted, but the general progression remains the same. In the following passage from *Roland*, the taunt is instead found at the end, where a victorious Roland mocks his deceased opponent. Again, seven out of the eight motifs are evident. The appearance of motif three – the description of equipment – is prefigured at the beginning of the combat, before the horse is spurred on, but is also included in its expected position. Similarly, the shattering of shield and hauberk is split up rather than included side-by-side, but their positioning is still conventional.

[3] *Trait Durendal, sa bone espee, nue,*
[2] *Sun cheval brochet, si vait ferir Chernuble:*
[3][5] *L'elme li freint u li carbuncle luisent,*
[6] *Trenchet le chef e la cheveüire,*
Si li trenchat les oilz e la faiture,
[5] *Le blanc osberc dunt la maile est menue,*
[7] *Et tut le cors tresqu'en la furcheüire.*
Enz en la sele, ki est a or batue,
El cheval est l'espee aresteüe;
Trenchet l'eschine, unc n'i out quis jointure,
[8] *Tut abat mort el préd sur l'erbe drue.*
[1] *Aprés li dist: 'Culvert, mar i moüistes!'*⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁸* *Couronnement*, 321-323.

⁷⁰⁹* *Roland*, 163-164.

This episode also contains an exaggerated portrayal of splitting a knight in two, Roland cleaving his opponent directly through his crown, down to his groin and right through his horse.

Both of the previous examples belong to the category of ‘single combat with sword’, but the same formula equally applies to the ‘single combat with lance’. In the following extract from *Guillaume*, the same motifs are evident – again, a focus on the equipment of combatants is a prevailing theme, and occurs multiple times. At the end of this passage, Vivien celebrates the death of his rival by shouting out the war cry of Charlemagne: ‘Montjoie’. This functions as a battlefield celebration, aligned with the ‘Taunt’ motif.

[3] *A treis clous d'or la fermet en la lance;*

Od le braz destre en ad brandie la hanste,

Desi qu'as poinz l'en batirent les langes.

[2] *Point le cheval – il ne pot muer ne saille –*

[3][4] *Et fiert un paen sur sa doble targe,*

[5] *Tute li fent de l'un ur desqu'al altre,*

[6] *Et trenchat le braz qui li sist en l'enarme;*

Colpe le piz et trenchad lui la coraille,

Parmi l'eschine sun grant espee li passé:

[8] *Tut estendu l'abat mort en la place.*

[1] *Crie: 'Munjoie!' Ço fu l'enseigne Charle.*⁷¹⁰

The use of ‘Montjoie!’ in this context is not restricted to the *Guillaume*. The slightly later *Aliscans* provides another example of the same phenomenon – the announcement of the battle cry as an integral part of the single combat formula. The complete worthlessness of the victim’s helmet after the strike is emphasized by the cliché, *Ne vaut le cercle un denier moneé*, an extension of the ‘shattering of shields’ *topos*. After cutting through the crown of Tempesté’s head, William splits him in two down to his chest, exemplifying the bisection motif.

⁷¹⁰* *Guillaume*, 49.

[1] *Li quens Guillelmes a Monjoie escrië:*

....

[2] *A icest mot a le cheval hurté;*

[3] *Puis tret Joieuse au pont d'or noielé,*

Par maltalant vet ferir Tempesté

[4] *Amont sor l'elme, qu'il ot a or jemé;*

[5] *Pierres et flors en a jus craventé,*

Ne vaut le cercle un denier moneé

[6][7] *Jusqu'anꝛ el piꝛ a le brant devalé,*

[8] *Del bon cheval l'a jus mort enversé.⁷¹¹*

This final example of formulaic single combat, from *Aspremont*, demonstrates how tightly-packed and concise these motifs can be in their presentation.

Quant vit Ogier le duc Nayme cheü,

[2][3] *Le cheval broche, brandist l'espïé agu,*

[4] *Sor son escu a Gorhan si feru,*

[5] *L'escu li perce et le clavain menu,*

[6][7] *Parmi le cors l'a l'aciers conseü,*

[8] *Mort le trebuche anmi le pré herbu.⁷¹²*

FROM VERNACULAR TO LATIN: INTERMEDIARY WORKS

There are evident difficulties in comparing texts across two languages. Language can play a decisive role in how sentences are constructed, how episodes are portrayed, and thus how potential formulae are presented. Three invaluable early texts provide concrete early evidence of how *chanson* material could be rendered into Latin – The *Carmen de prodicione Guenonis*, the *Pseudo-Turpin*, and the text of the

⁷¹¹* *Aliscans*, 79.

⁷¹²* *Aspremont*, 350.

Hague Fragment. All were produced before the mid-twelfth century, thus falling into the same period of composition as the crusade texts under investigation.⁷¹³ These texts represent attempts at rendering the tales of contemporary vernacular epic into Latin, and as such provide a useful tool in identifying *chanson de geste* style in Crusade accounts.

The understudied *Carmen de prodicione Guenonis* is known from only one manuscript (Cotton Titus A. XIX), but both Raoul Mortier and Gaston Paris supported the view that it was a classicizing, probably student-written, version of the *Roland*, from the first half of the twelfth century.⁷¹⁴ The 482 lines of Latin text present an account of the events of the vernacular poem, with much of the second half (Baligant episode) absent. In the following quotation, charging into combat is described using the verb ‘*ruo, ruere*’ (to fall upon violently, to tumble down, to dash), but the same verb can also be used to describe the casting over of the victims, corresponding to motif eight in the outline above. In the second half, the ‘casting down onto the ground’ motif is represented by the Latin verb ‘*prosterno, prosternere*’ (to cast down with violence, to cause to tumble to the ground).

[2] *Rollandi turma turmas **ruit** omnis in omnes*

[8] *Hac instante **ruunt**, hac veniente timent.*

Samson, Turpinus, Oliverus, Gero, Gerinus,

[8] *Quinque **prosternunt** corpora quisque suum:*

[8] *Post alii quinque **prosternunt** corpora quinque.*⁷¹⁵

The Latin ‘Pseudo-Turpin’, a widely-attested text known in around a hundred manuscripts, also tells a version of the events relayed in the *Roland*, in Latin *prosimetra*. Possibly produced as propaganda for the pilgrimage route to Santiago c.1140-1150, it represents another early attempt to render *chansons*

⁷¹³ For the dating of the *Carmen*, see Gaston Paris, "Le *Carmen de prodicione Guenonis* et la légende de Roncevaux," *Romania* 11 (1882). This remains the most followed opinion, despite the argument of Curtius that the text was thirteenth-century, and that of Tavernier which believed it was earlier even than *Roland*: little can be said with certainty given the lack of meaningful textual or contextual evidence. Ernst Robert Curtius, "Das *Carmen de prodicione Guenonis*," *ZRP* 62 (1942); Wilhelm Tavernier, "Beiträge zur Rolandsforschung. II. *Carmen de prodicione Guenonis* und Rolandsepos," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 37 (1911).

⁷¹⁴ Arthur Livingston, "The *Carmen de prodicione Guenonis*," *Romanic Review* 2 (1911); William D. Paden and Patricia H. Stäblein, eds., *De Tradicione Guenonis: An Edition with Translation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1988).

^{715*} "Carmen de prodicione Guenonis," in *Les Textes de La Chanson de Roland*, vol. 3, ed. Raoul Mortier (Paris: Éditions de La Geste Francor, 1941), 112.

material into Latin.⁷¹⁶ The following passage similarly represents the charging into combat with a compound verb based on ‘*ruo, ruere*’, just like in the passage from the *Carmen* above: ‘*irruo, irruere*.’ This verb is similar in meaning to *ruo*, but with the prefix ‘*in*’, intensifying the meaning of charging **towards**, falling **upon**.

*Tunc Rotolandus, illo dimisso, animatus ad bellum, resumtis viribus, cum his quos secum habebat, [2]irruit ilico super Sarracenos, et vidit quendam inter alios qui erat statura maior aliis, et [7]uno ictu secuit illum et equum eius per medium a summo usque deorsum, ita quod una pars Sarraceni cecidit ad dexteram, et alia ad sinistram.*⁷¹⁷

This passage also exhibits a Latin version of the bisection in a single blow. Passing through both Saracen and horse, similar to the *Roland* passage above, emphasis is added that it was in ‘one blow’: ‘*uno ictu*’. Remnants of his body fall to the ground, an echo of motif eight.

The Hague Fragment (p.43) is perhaps the earliest Latin rendering of *chanson* material.

*Namque [3]terribile fulgur gladii [4]per medium capitis, guturis, antrumque [6]pectoris umbilicique recepit. Egestaque viscera in gremio delabuntur tepentia; [5]negat quippe trilex tunica reponere obstacula. [7]Nec sufficit vero humanum interemisse corpus, verum etiam equus vita invenitur privatus. Superfuit enim ensi spinas partire caballi, tandemque elapsus terre medio tenus reperitur incussus, quem Bertrandus retrahens residuos versabat in hostes. Nec mora, patet internus humor et additur aure; quin etiam runpuntur fortia phalerarum vincula et cingula bratteolis crepitantia.*⁷¹⁸

This passage, lurid and evocative in its detailing of the bisection of a Saracen, shows that this motif continued in the twelfth-century Latin versions of *chansons*. Similarly, the shattering of the hauberk and the progress of the blow are fully outlined.

One additional text, less securely linked to the *chansons de geste*, is the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, a Latin poem on the Norman conquest of England.⁷¹⁹ In part, it resembles a reworking of the plot of the *Roland*, applied to the Norman invaders.⁷²⁰ The jongleur Taillefer (p.45, 264), juggling his

⁷¹⁶ LÉIII, 68,81.

⁷¹⁷* Cyril Meredith-Jones, ed. *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin* (Paris: Droz, 1936), 186.

⁷¹⁸* Suchier, *Les Narbonnais*, II, 180-182.

⁷¹⁹ Barlow, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*. An earlier challenge on dating by Davis, who thought it later, is comprehensively answered by Barlow, but the date cannot be definitely established. Ralph H. C. Davis, "The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*," *EHR* 93 (1978).

⁷²⁰ Owen, "Epic and History."; Barlow, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, xxvi-xxvii, liv-lv.

sword and [1]taunting in front of the Anglo-Saxon army, is challenged by an Englishman whom he despatches in traditional *chanson* style – the first blood of the battle:

[2] *Ut fuerat captus, pungit equum stimulis.*

[3][4] *Angligene scutum telo transfodit acuto;*

[8] *Corpore prostrato distulit ense caput.*⁷²¹

Prosterno is again used as a verb to describe the hurling down of an opponent at the end of a formulaic combat. Emphasis is placed on the piercing of the shield and the attributes of the offensive weapon.

It is clear from these examples above that aspects of *chanson de geste* style were able to be replicated easily in Latin, and indeed were replicated, simultaneously to the development of First Crusade literature. The existence of these texts reveals not only the popularity of the *chansons*, but also how their content and style could be appropriated into more ‘respectable’ literary forms. It is possible that this sort of material may have exerted an influence upon the writers of First Crusade accounts. Regardless, there was evident continuity between the genres: both belonged to the same literary world.

FORMULAIC COMBAT IN FIRST CRUSADE TEXTS

The intensive alignment of the crusade texts with the *chansons de geste*, both in terms of supposed source material and literary influence, has been discussed above. The point has also been made that little of this alleged relation has been concerned with comparative analysis of the two genres’ actual textual style. This is especially true of the perceived resemblances in formulaic combat. Sweetenham is one of very few observers to draw close parallels surrounding combat, most notably in her translation of Robert’s *Historia*, adding that ‘at times [combats] become formulaic’.⁷²² However, these are passing comments, and all of Sweetenham’s allusions are to the *Roland* or *Guillaume*. This thesis looks at a much wider and more representative study of the *chansons*, and all the crusade texts alongside one another. Bull and Kempf, drawing upon Sweetenham’s comments, suggest that Robert

⁷²¹* *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, 24.

⁷²² Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 62.

exemplifies a 'narratorial focus upon individual heroics within mass conflicts', that is, a focus on the heroic single combat.⁷²³

Using these previous comments on Robert as a guide, particular passages of formulaic combat in Robert's *Historia* can be compared to the *chansons* using the model established above. The following passage, where Godfrey bisects a Turk, aligned by Sweetenham to the *chansons*, supports the argument of stylistic interrelation. It consists of several previously outlined stages in the formulaic combat, with additional resemblances outlined below:

Quumque unus ex eis audacior ceteris, et mole corporis praestantior, et viribus, ut alter Goliath, robustior, videret ducem sic supra suos immisericorditer saevientem, [2] sanguineis calcaribus urget equum adversus illum, et [3] mucrone in altum sublato, totum [4] super verticem ducis [5] transverberat scutum; et nisi dux ictui umbonem expandisset, et se in partem alteram inclinasset, mortis debitum persolvisset; sed Deus militem suum custodivit, cumque scuto suae defensionis munivit. Dux, ira vehementi succensus, parat rependere vicem, eiusque tali modo appetit cervicem. Ensem elevat eumque a sinistra parte scapularum tanta virtute intorsit, [6] quod pectus medium disiunxit, spinam et vitalia interruptit, et sic lubricus ensis super crus dextrum integer exivit; [7] sicque caput integrum cum dextra parte corporis immersit gurgiti, [8] partemque quae equo praesidebat remisit civitati.⁷²⁴

This passage follows the conventional sequence of events for a *chanson de geste* combat scene. Additional factors constitute compelling evidence for its links with this type of material. The discussion of a Saracen giant, outstripping the Christian warriors in size, but not in virtue, is a commonplace in *chanson* literature, (p.189) and Goliath is regularly recycled as a name for a Saracen opponent.⁷²⁵ Early-thirteenth century *bibles moralisées* show Goliath leading Saracens into battle.⁷²⁶ Gerald Herman has hypothesized that *chansons de geste* used Biblical names to provoke an immediate negative reaction in the audience.⁷²⁷ We have seen in the passages taken from Old French material above, that in the course of the second motif, the spurring on of the horse, a modifying description is conventionally applied to the spurs: for example, *le destrier broche des esperons d'or mier*.⁷²⁸ This passage from Robert provides a parallel for that theme with the phrase '*sanguineis calcaribus urget equum adversus illum*', the spurs being described as bloody. Similarly, the description of the blow's impact on the

⁷²³ RM, xv.

⁷²⁴* Ibid., 44-45.

⁷²⁵ *Aspremont*, 314; *Aliscans*, 154; *Charroi*, 83; *Prise*, 147, 187; *Guillaume*, 131. For analysis, see Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 77.

⁷²⁶ Christoph T. Maier, "The *Bible moralisée* and the Crusades," in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume One: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 218.

⁷²⁷ Gerald Herman, "Some Functions of Saracen Names in Old French Epic Poetry," *Romance Notes* 2 (1970).

⁷²⁸* E.g. *Roland*, 160, 172, 186, 188, among many others. See analysis in Paul Zumthor, *Towards a Medieval Poetics*, trans. Philip E. Bennett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 57-58.

shield, ‘*super verticem totum scutum*’, is discussed in reference to the boss, or centre of the shield, Latin ‘*vertex*’, in a fashion reminiscent of fixed *chanson* phrases like ‘*Desoꝝ la boucle li a frait et troé*,⁷²⁹ or ‘*Desoꝝ la boucle li a freit et fendu*’.⁷³⁰

The most striking element of the above excerpt is the description of half of the Saracen (his groin and legs) remaining in place upon his steed and galloping off back into the city. Robert emphasizes this feat by referring to it retrospectively during the siege of Jerusalem, before recounting how Godfrey and the men he leads ‘*a summo capite usque ad renes secabant humana corpora*’, an evocation of how Godfrey’s presence inspires this variety of heroic blow.⁷³¹ ‘*Renes*’ is analogous to Old French ‘*reins*’, used in exactly the context of bisection in *Guillaume*.⁷³² We have already seen that bisection of enemies is a motif of the *chanson de geste* formulaic combat (denoted [7] above), and Morris has linked this *topos* to ‘camp fire stories’, which we have seen to be euphemistic for hypothesized proto-*chansons*.⁷³³ Sweetenham calls this feat ‘a classic epic *topos*’.⁷³⁴

However, the resemblance with Robert’s text above can be even more striking. Consider the following passage from *Aspremont*:

[5] *Dou biaume trenche quanqu’il am pot baillier,*

[6] *Tote l’oreille a tot le chapelier;*

Il ot le braz fort et grant et plenier.

[3][6] *La manche passe dou blanc haubert doublier.*

Jusq’an la sele ne remest que tranchier;

Li branꝝ entra en l’arçon de derrier,

[7] *L’enforcheüre remest sou lor destrier.*⁷³⁵

The specifics of how the body is cut, one half remaining in the saddle, are nearly identical to Robert.

Another usage of this precise motif in the early *chansons* is found in *Raoul*, after a long taunt [1]:

⁷²⁹* *Raoul*, 244.

⁷³⁰* *Aliscans*, 83.

⁷³¹* *RM*, 99.

⁷³² *Guillaume*, 168. Further bisections at 174, 177.

⁷³³ Morris, "Aims," 110.

⁷³⁴ *RM*, 45, n. 43.

⁷³⁵* *Aspremont*, 522.

[2] *Gueris lait corre le destrier de randon,*

[3] *Brandist la banste, destort le confanon,*

Et va ferir dant Herber d'Ireçon.

[...]

[4][3] *Grant colp li done sor l'escu au lion*

[5] *Q'il li trencha son ermin peliçon*

[6] *Demi le foie et demi le poumon.*

[7][8] *L'une moitié en chaî el sablon,*

L'autre moitiés demora sor l'arçon-

[8] *Mort le trebuche del destrier d'Aragon.*⁷³⁶

In this passage, the narrative focus on the terrain into which the upper part of the body fell matches Robert's account, although this is 'the waters' in Robert and 'the sand' in *Raoul*. Edgington has pointed out that Godfrey's feat-of-arms in the crusade texts is a lateral or diagonal cut rather than vertical, and thus has less in common with the *chanson* styling than might otherwise be thought.⁷³⁷ However, the above passage from *Raoul* demonstrates that even relatively early on in the development of the genre, formulaic bisections could be lateral, heading through the shield and cloak rather than the helmet. All three passages, in terms of thematic contents, topical order, and specific language, are close, showing a resemblance beyond the formulaic nature of splitting an opponent in half common throughout *chansons de geste*.⁷³⁸

Robert's portrayal of this scene is not unique. The same motif, of Godfrey splitting a pagan warrior in two, is evident across the genre, although not uniformly in all texts.⁷³⁹ The earliest 'eyewitness' texts, with some exceptions discussed below, do not include the story, but those which were likely written later do. This has been considered powerful evidence for lost source material.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁶* *Raoul*, 202-204.

⁷³⁷ *AA*, 244, n.117.

⁷³⁸ Kay, "Topography," 265, and *passim*.

⁷³⁹ Simon John, "The Creation of a First Crusade Hero: Godfrey of Bouillon in History, Literature, and Memory, c.1100 - c.1300" (Swansea University, 2012), esp. 70-71, 126-129.

⁷⁴⁰ Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?" 188-189.

The earliest definitive evidence for this story in the assumed hierarchy of First Crusade accounts is that found in only one twelfth-century manuscript, B, of Tudebode's *Historia*. It reads:

*Tunc dux Godefridus Christi miles potentissimus, [2][3]irruens in eos evaginato ense, percussit quendam gentilem ferocissimum tam viriliter, [7]ut in duas partes ipsum divideret, a vertice videlicet usque in sellam equi. Actumque et ex Dei providentia ut, quamvis in duo discissus, [8]minime ex toto de equo dilaberetur. Post hunc aggressus alium ex obliquo, secuit eum per medium.*⁷⁴¹

Unlike most other Latin crusade accounts, it discusses two bisection events, and in this regard is analogous to the *Antioche's* later description of Godfrey's feat.⁷⁴² The path of the blow heads into the saddle of the struck warrior, as in the *Aspremont* text above, and throughout the *chansons* genre.

Raymond of Aguilers provides a possible clue, but no description, of Godfrey's feat, saying: '*Claruit ibi multum dux Lotaringie... ascenso gradu venientes per medium dividebat.*'⁷⁴³ This sentence is ambiguous: it could mean that he divided the enemy formation into two as he advanced, or that he literally split his opponents in half. While the former is more likely, as Raymond does not dwell upon it, it is potentially through confusion over this phrase that the *topos* emerged. If so, the fact that in the texts that followed it swiftly became, in form, a formulaic epic action is not without significance. Inversely, it could be that this sentence is a misinterpretation of an epic blow in Raymond's sources.

The story is absent in the *Gesta*, Fulcher, and most manuscripts of Tudebode. However, the texts normally considered reworkings of these 'eyewitness' accounts, like that of Robert, do discuss Godfrey's feat-of-arms. Guibert records the story as one of many *postscripta* to the main narrative. He emphasizes the non-armoured nature of the Turk involved, and the size and length of Godfrey's sword, as if mitigating evidence for the improbability of the act. The cut, as elsewhere, is horizontal, and leaves the limbs *in situ* upon the Turk's steed.⁷⁴⁴ Intriguingly relating this scene to sung sources, perhaps like the *chansons*, Guibert provides a truth claim with his description of the feat, '*ut testimonio veraci probabile id de ipso preclari facinoris cantitetur.*'⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴¹* *PT*, 75.

⁷⁴² *AntiocheDuparc*, 199-202.

⁷⁴³* *RA*, 61. The Hills' edition incorrectly records 'dividebant', cf. *AA*, 245, n. 117.

⁷⁴⁴ *GN*, 284-285.

⁷⁴⁵* *Ibid.*, 284.

Most of the manuscripts of Baldric of Bourgueil contain a version of the feat, although not those which Biddlecombe identifies as the earliest recension.⁷⁴⁶ The most common formulation contains a claim of widespread knowledge: *‘In hac siquidem pugna, ut a multis relatum est, dux Godefridus militem Turcum adeo fortiter ense percussit, ut uno ictu dimidiate corporis pars superior ad terram caderet, pars inferior in sella adhuc residens in civitatem rediret.’*⁷⁴⁷ The body falls to the ground, rather than into the raging rivers of Robert’s version, but the details are otherwise identical. The G manuscript of Baldric, considered by Paul to be a reworking for the nobility of Amboise, contains two versions of Godfrey’s feat: a similar story to that above during the Bridge Battle, but also a similar bisection during an earlier conflict. The text of the latter reads: *‘Cum autem pontem defendere vellent, dux Godefridus sic unum eorum dissipavit, quod dimidius gurgite cecidit; reliquum dimidium equus intra Turcos detulit...’*, the use of the word *gurgite* suggesting analogy with Robert’s version of events.⁷⁴⁸

Gilo of Paris’ account of the scene is similarly vivid, adding more details which bring the portrayal closer to the vernacular epic:

[3] *Precavet iratus dux sub clipeo replicatus,*
 [3] *Moxque choruscantem gladium levat et ferit hostem:*
 [6] *Os, caput illidit, vitalia tota cecidit,*
Spargit et aruinum rupit cum pectore spinam;
 [7][8] *Sic homo prostratus cadit in duo dimidiatus*
 [5] *Atque super scutum partes in mille minutum*
*Pars cecidit, pars heret equo trabaturque supina.*⁷⁴⁹

Entirely different to Robert in terms of the specifics of the blow, Gilo’s equally lurid description argues against directly shared textual sources. The closeness with which this passage can be aligned with the conventional model is notable: the shattering of the shield into shards, and the lengthy description of the path of the blow, are both formulaic. The splattering about of internal liquids is

⁷⁴⁶ Manuscripts A, M, and N. *BB*, xxvii.

⁷⁴⁷* *Ibid.*, 51, n. t.

⁷⁴⁸* *Ibid.*, 47, n. h. The G manuscript is joined in associating this feat with the February Lake Battle by *HH*, 432.

⁷⁴⁹* *GP*, 123.

similar not only to the Hague fragment above (p.137), but also to conventional *chansons*: for example, this extract from *Aliscans*.

*A icel mot resont alé ferir,
Testes et braz dont des cors departir,
Et ces cerveles encontremont bollir.*⁷⁵⁰

New elements get added to the story, completely in line with formulaic and expected features of *chanson* poetry, even in those texts which take secondary reworkings as source material. For example, Orderic Vitalis, although normally following Baldric, adds several details to his account of Godfrey's feat.

*Insignis dux Godefridus quendam maximum bellatorem [3]aurea lorica indutum [4]in tergo ense percussit, [6]validoque ictu [7]per medium quasi tenerum porrum obruncavit... [the upper half slides off the horse] ... [8]inferiorque pars super velocissimum cornipedem remansit. Equus autem rectore carens calcaribus urgebatur et laxatis habenis ...urbem ingressus est.*⁷⁵¹

The colourful '*quasi tenerum porrum*', although an example of *batbos*, is most closely paralleled in *chansons de geste* literature, where phrases like '*si lou destranche con un rain de sapin*' are formulaic.⁷⁵² Orderic's usage of the metaphor here is close to Old French, where '*porel*', or '*porion*', 'leek', like many nouns considered figuratively, can mean an object of little value, the so-called 'figurative negative'.⁷⁵³ It can be found in the *chansons* in this context.⁷⁵⁴ More similar in detail to Robert than to Baldric, Orderic's account adds four additional details: the great size of the pagan opponent (p.189), his golden armour (p.204), the emphasis on the swiftness of the horse (p.176), and the formulaic phrase '*laxatis habenis*' (p.178), all four of which can be linked to the vernacular epic.

⁷⁵⁰* *Aliscans*, 50. Cf. *Aspremont*, 630.

⁷⁵¹* *OV*, 84.

⁷⁵²* *Prise*, 289. Cf. '*rain d'olivier*' in *Fierabras*, 359.

⁷⁵³ Alan Hindley, Frederick W. Langley, and Brian J. Levy, eds., *Old French-English Dictionary* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 490; William Wistar Comfort, "The Figurative Negative in Romance Literature. Review of *Die Ausdrucksweise der übertriebenen Verkleinerung im altfranzösischen Karlsepos* by Gustav Dreyling," *Modern Language Notes* 23, no. 2 (1908): 62.

⁷⁵⁴ Alfred Nordfellt, Hugo Von Feilitzen, and Carl Wahlund, eds., *Les Enfances Vivien* (Paris: Bouillon, 1895), 91, and n.

Texts independent from the 'Gesta tradition' historiographical grouping (although the *Gesta* itself does not include the bisection) also portray the scene. For example, Ralph's *Tancredus* briefly summarizes the action whilst making clear that praise of Tancred is his main concern.⁷⁵⁵ Albert's *Historia* reports how it was told by eyewitnesses, '*refertur ex ore illorum qui presentes oculis perspexerunt*', that Godfrey cut off many heads in the Bridge battle outside Antioch, and that:

*Turcum, mirabile dictu, sibi arcu inportunum acutissimo ense duas divisit in partes, lorica indutum. Cuius corporis medietas a pectore sursum sabulo cecidit, altera adhuc cruribus equum complexa in medium pontem ante urbis menia refertur ubi lapsa remansit.*⁷⁵⁶

The profound intertextuality of the Latin texts in this regard, even without obvious common ancestors, is evident, as is the association of this material, present in nearly all of the histories, with the epic style of the *chansons de geste*. Duggan defined the 'epic blow' as the foremost characteristic of the archetypal *chanson* 'hero', 'which cleaves another knight, and sometimes his horse, in two'.⁷⁵⁷ Throughout the reworkings of the eyewitness sources, and in some independent sources, Godfrey is portrayed as an epic hero; the depictions of his feat are entirely in line with the conventions of the *chanson* genre.

Godfrey's epic feat is only one of an array of combat encounters in Latin Crusade texts where the style is analogous to that of the *chansons de geste*. To greater or lesser extents, every single Latin text contains resemblances, although the general trend is that the later, longer, and more developed the text, the clearer the analogy. Yet as early in the presumed hierarchy of Crusade texts as the *Gesta*, the same motifs are evident. In the Anonymous' text, the following description of the single combat between Robert of Normandy and an Islamic Emir at Ascalon, where Robert mortally wounds the enemy leader and standard bearer, contains parallels with *chanson* style. This scene is among the vignettes recorded in the stained glass windows of the Abbey of St. Denis, probably constructed by Abbot Suger in the 1140s – one of only ten scenes from the First Crusade which are portrayed.⁷⁵⁸ The topical linking of these windows with epic material has been established previously, since they

⁷⁵⁵* *Tancredus*, 53.

⁷⁵⁶* *AA*, 244.

⁷⁵⁷ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 291.

⁷⁵⁸ Brown and Cothren, "Twelfth-Century Crusading Window."

were displayed alongside portrayals of Charlemagne and his mythical journey to Constantinople which is found in the *Descriptio qualiter* and *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*.⁷⁵⁹ The *Gesta* reads:

*Comes autem de Nortmannia cernens ammiravissi stantarum habere quoddam [3]pomum aureum in summitate hastae, quae erat cooperta argento, [2]ruit vehementer super illum, eumque vulneravit usque ad mortem. Ex alia parte, comes Flandrensis nimis acriter illos invasit... Bella vero erant immensa... At nostri sagittando et cum lanceis et ensibus [8]occidendo eos ad terram precipitabant.*⁷⁶⁰

The counts' individual heroics are singled out, with the rest of the battle summarized with a phrase asserting that the clash of armies was great, almost as an interjection. This was one of an array of methods that the performers of *chansons* used to summarize the action at the commencement of a new *laisse*.⁷⁶¹ The opponents are thrown down to the ground, with emphasis on their resting place, a close parallel to the '*Tut abat mort el préd'* topos of the *Roland*.⁷⁶² The focus on describing equipment in the *chansons* is paralleled by the '*lanceis et ensibus*' stressed in this final sentence. The sumptuous equipment of the targeted enemy is discussed; the casual use of gold, silver or jewels, extravagant decoration, and expensive war equipment is also formulaic for pagan opponents in the *chansons* (p. 204).

The golden apple holds symbolic meaning, perhaps acting as a representation of the excessive pride at the heart of the stories of the Fall of Man; the Judgement of Paris; or Atalanta's footrace, all leading to the degradation of society.⁷⁶³ The apple has a more immediately relevant parallel as well. The *Roland* speaks of a red-gold apple, *une vermeille pume*, which acts as a signifier for the '*curunes... de trestuz reis*', 'the crowns of all kings'.⁷⁶⁴

Both Robert and Guibert employ the same scene of Robert of Normandy's formulaic combat at Ascalon. Robert the Monk exemplifies a similar focus on the throwing down of opponents.⁷⁶⁵ Guibert presents the same charge with additional 'epic' elements, writing: '[2]equum

⁷⁵⁹ Phillips, *Second Crusade*, 123-124.

^{760*} GF, 95-96.

⁷⁶¹ André de Mandach, "Évolution et structure de la *laisse*. Analyse de quelques chaînes de transmission orale, écrite et mixte," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* XXXI (1965-1966).

^{762*} *Roland*, 164.

⁷⁶³ Richard J. Tarrant, ed. *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoses* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), 308.

⁷⁶⁴ *Roland*, 126. See the solid analysis, and bizarre conclusion, in Tony Hunt, "Roland's 'Vermeille Pume'," *Olfant* 7 (1980).

⁷⁶⁵ RM, 105.

*continuis celerem calcaribus urgens // principem [3] cui pro signo quam diximus astitit hasta, rapido impetit impetu et atroci vulnere sauciat.*⁷⁶⁶ In particular, the focus on the spurring on of the horse and the equipment utilized align this passage with the *topoi* discussed in this chapter, but the emphasis on the swiftness of the horse is also a distinguishing feature of the *chansons de geste* (p.176).

A similar emphasis on ‘overthrowing’ and ‘overcoming’ is evident in further scenes in the early or ‘eyewitness’ texts, a theme which can be aligned with the vernacular epic. In the *Gesta* (later reworded by Guibert, who retained the *topos* of overthrowing), knights fighting outside Jerusalem are described as hurling over their enemies: ‘*quisque miles prosterneret suum.*’⁷⁶⁷ The ‘single’ nature of this combat is emphasized by the fact that each knight overthrew ‘his own’, implying each Christian knight had a pagan marked for combat. This can be favourably paralleled with the section of the *Carmen de prodicione Guenonis* cited above, where each of five knights overturned his opponent, with identical vocabulary (p.136).⁷⁶⁸ Tudebode and the *Gesta* both include a further example, the quotation this time from Tudebode: ‘*Nos itaque superantes ac impellentes in flumine cum nostris mortiferis lanceis.*’⁷⁶⁹ This vivid vignette takes place at the Bridge Battle outside Antioch, and in this context the final resting place of the opponents, ‘*in flumine*’, ‘into the river’ is reminiscent of the depictions of Godfrey’s feat in the same battle elsewhere. The text also specifies that the pagans were cast down to hell by the blows, another commonplace of the vernacular epic (p.199).

Raymond of Aguilers displays similar language in the same battle, describing how the enemies were ‘*prosternuntur et ceduntur.*’⁷⁷⁰ In both, the verb is pleonastically doubled for effect, another feature of *chanson de geste* style (p.241). When the *Historia Belli Sacri* describes the slaughter following the fall of Jerusalem, there is a focus on the paths of individual wounds, combined with the verb again which signifies being hurled over: ‘*alius per capud, aliud per cossas, alius per collam ... gladio percussus prosternitur.*’⁷⁷¹

Baldric’s *Historia* includes an expansion of the *Gesta*’s episode of formulaic combat outside Jerusalem above, later in turn copied by Orderic. This in itself is evidence that Baldric considered the *Gesta*’s scene to be epic in style, and expanded it along the lines of a *chanson de geste*.

⁷⁶⁶* GN, 297.

⁷⁶⁷* GF, 89; PT, 136; GN, 274.

⁷⁶⁸ "Carmen de prodicione Guenonis," 112.

⁷⁶⁹* PT, 76; GF, 41; HBS, 55.

⁷⁷⁰* RA, 60.

⁷⁷¹* HBS, 125.

[2] *Habenas laxant, et calcaribus cornipedes urgent* [3] *aeneis, et dicto citius omnes advolant, et* [3] *scutis pectoribus oppositis turbas contis depellunt, [4] oppositos dissociunt, et* [8] *unusquisque suum sternit bumi.*⁷⁷²

As in the *Gesta*, each knight overthrew his own enemy. In line with the conventions outlined at the beginning of this chapter, emphasis is placed on the nature and positioning of equipment: the bronze spurs, the shields placed against the chest in the charge, the loosening of reins. In addition, the enemy are specifically thrown ‘to the ground’. There are similarities also in the depiction of the same scene found in Robert, where ‘*absque mora equum calcaribus urgens*’: the same motif of spurring on the horse is evoked, alongside a formulaic phrase analogous to ‘*ne volt demorer*’ (p.248).⁷⁷³

Gilo of Paris’ description of the same battle also expanded on the *Gesta*’s portrayal, similarly emphasizing the overthrowing of each man’s opponent: ‘*legit virum vir // prostermitque suum congressu quisque priori.*’⁷⁷⁴ But Gilo includes alongside this invocations of the shattering of equipment and shields, which, as demonstrated below, is of clear relevance to understanding this as a formulaic combat along the lines of the *chansons de geste*. The account of both Gilo and his continuator, the Charleville Poet, remains vivid throughout their description of blows passing through specific body parts and pieces of armour (normally blood, bone, and innards) and bodies tumbling to the ground. Many of these scenes are among this account’s unique material.⁷⁷⁵

So most of the crusade texts use varying *chanson* motifs in their portrayal of the same combat. Albert makes equal use of the motif of overthrowing, but in different narrative locations. This first passage is notable for its apposition of the ideas: firstly of piercing with a lance and secondly of throwing from a horse, within similar grammatical structures.

*Dux Godefridus, Boemundus, non equo tardantes, [2]laxis frenis per medios hostes advolant, Hos [4]lanceis perforantes, hos [8]ab equis deicientes.*⁷⁷⁶

Using this grammatical brevity, Albert portrays the fundamental, conventional progression of the formulaic combat scene succinctly and elegantly. During the great battle of Antioch, Anselm of

⁷⁷²* *BB*, 105; *OV*, 162.

⁷⁷³* *RM*, 97.

⁷⁷⁴* *GP*, 240.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 14, 32, 114, 170.

⁷⁷⁶* *AA*, 108.

Ribemont fights the pagans: *'vibrata hasta medio Turcorum involvitur, qui hos deicit, hos perforat, alios resupinat.'*⁷⁷⁷ When Enguerrand of St. Pol fights in a skirmish outside Antioch, the *Historia* reads: *'Turcum ceteris insigniorem et seviorem cursu exuperans... equo deiciens hasta perfodit.'*⁷⁷⁸ This can be similarly compared with Ralph of Caen's elegant summation of formulaic combat outside Antioch: *'Primo in congressu lancea vige[3] lancea perfodit,[6] lancea deicit...[8]'*⁷⁷⁹ Ralph uses this motif throughout. Improbably fighting five pagan opponents alone outside Jerusalem, the eponymous hero defeats the first with his lance, Ralph writing: *'primi cogit spiritum sub Styga, corpus in vallem corruere.'* Alongside the *topos* of casting down to Hell, as above in the *Gesta*, there is strong emphasis on the overthrowing of the opponent's body to the ground.⁷⁸⁰ The *Historia Belli Sacri* renders the same scene but in a more traditionally epic style, maintaining the focus on overthrowing.

*Et ecce unus ex illis [2]equo celerius cursitans armatus illum insequabatur; ad quem Tancredus conversus [2]in eumque exiliens, [4]lancea perforavit atque sine mora extinxit. Veniens ergo alter, putans ferire Tancredum... tertio, qui sequebatur, occurens, simili [8]nece prostravit.*⁷⁸¹

In addition, language is used in a way close to the conventions of Old French, particularly the epic. The inconsistent historic present is not unusual in Latin, but omnipresent in Old French. The phrasing *'putans ferire'* is bizarre in Latin (which rarely uses an infinitive to express purpose; here two non-finite verb forms are combined), but close to Old French *'il penst de(l) ferir'*, a verbal cliché of the vernacular epic.⁷⁸² Also, *'sine mora'* is close to the conventional throwaway phrase *'sanx demorer'* found in all the *chansons* (p.248). Gilo also uses phrases reminiscent of the Old French epic, describing the Foraging Battle.

Et Turcis obstant: clipei galeeque resultant

Ictibus immensis, ensemque reverberat ensis.

[...]

⁷⁷⁷* Ibid., 326.

⁷⁷⁸* Ibid., 216.

⁷⁷⁹* *Tancredus*, 46.

⁷⁸⁰* Ibid., 96.

⁷⁸¹* *HBS*, 115.

⁷⁸² See the extensive list of examples in Benjamin F. Luker, *The Use of the Infinitive Instead of a Finite Verb in French* (New York: Columbia Press, 1916), 36-44.

Mox versis scutis petitur fuga causa salutis
Turcus equum frenis indulgens urget habenis.
 [...]

Iste iacuit pictas pharetras, capit ille relictas,
*Alter currendo se liberat orbe rotundo.*⁷⁸³

The *icitibus immensis* are reminiscent of *les granz colps*.⁷⁸⁴ The *orbe rotundo*, although admittedly (as Grocock and Siberry insist) an accurate representation of a Turkish shield, is also close to the meaning of *targe*, a type of small round shield used by the pagans in the *chansons*.⁷⁸⁵ The *pictas pharetras* are an analogue of ‘*escus paint a flor*’ found in *Aymeri of Narbonne* and elsewhere.⁷⁸⁶ Gilo repeats the motif of the painted shield, and that of the round shield, later in his narrative in an heroic addition to the story of the capture of Antioch, there *clipeum pictum* and *clipei orbis*.⁷⁸⁷ The shield slung onto the back in retreat, or around the neck, is a feature of twelfth-century warfare mainly known to us through the *chansons*, where it is described as the ‘*targe adosée*’,⁷⁸⁸ or ‘*escu a son col*’.⁷⁸⁹ Gilo uses it in a sense approaching the formulaic, however: it is not just a tactic used when fleeing.⁷⁹⁰ When four young men, led by Roger of Barneville fight outside Antioch later in the narrative, they are described ‘*clipeis ad terga reiectis*’ when fighting furiously, demonstrating lack of concern for protection and excessive desire to strike.⁷⁹¹ The G manuscript of Baldric also includes a portrayal of a knight fighting only with his ‘*globo*’, a rounded object, presumably his shield.⁷⁹² Combined with the motif of fleeing pagans dropping their equipment (p.195), and a concern about the unbridled nature of the spurred on horse (p.178), both features associated with the *chansons*, this passage in particular stands out as an example of near-identical textual style.⁷⁹³ Other writers too use language and phrases reminiscent of the *chansons*. Albert presents the following combat scene:

^{783*} *GP*, 110.

^{784*} *Roland*, 153; *Gormont*, 18; *Raoul*, 166, 410; *Aspremont*, 554.

⁷⁸⁵ *Gormont*, 4, 16. Described elsewhere as an ‘*escu rund*’, ‘a round shield’, *ibid.*, 20.

^{786*} Wilson Drane Crabb, "Culture History in the *Chanson de geste - Aymeri de Narbonne*" (University of Chicago, 1898). Cf. ‘*escus, qui d’or sont peinturē*’, *Fierabras*, 262. Also, *Roland*, 183.

^{787*} *GP*, 172.

^{788*} See David J. A. Ross, "Old French," in *Traditions of Heroic and Epic Poetry: Vol. 1. The Traditions*, ed. Arthur Thomas Hatto (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1980), 94.

^{789*} *Fierabras*, 245. See also Thomas, *Renaut de Montauban*, 116.

⁷⁹⁰ Cf. *GP*, 192.

^{791*} *Ibid.*, 176. See also p.210.

⁷⁹² *BB*, 49, n. f.

⁷⁹³ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, II, 910-918.

*Gerardus de Keresi, in [2]equo laudabili residens, in eadem hostium insecutione in supercilio montis adhuc Turcum manentem et nimium audentem viribus respiciens, [3]scuto tectus, fortiter hasta incurrit. Quem, sagitta illius emissa et clipeo excussa, [6]trans iecur et pulmonem perforat, [8]equumque morientis et labentis abduxit.*⁷⁹⁴

In the second passage, the phrase *'in equo laudabili residens'* echoes exactly the generative formula outlined by Ashby-Beach: '(X) is mounted on a horse'.⁷⁹⁵ Gilo replicates exactly these words to introduce Kerbogha before the Battle of Antioch.⁷⁹⁶ The path of the blow through the body is outlined in explicit detail: through the liver and then through his lung. The two body parts are conventionally included together in Old French poetry rhymed with the syllable *-on*.⁷⁹⁷ Almost exactly the same words are found later in Albert's text, where Roger of Barneville is killed outside Antioch. He writes: *'iecur et pulmonem illius penetravit, et sic ab equo labens mortuus exspiravit.*⁷⁹⁸ Notwithstanding the almost identical vocabulary, the focus on the path of the blow, and the slipping from the horse, dead, are closely aligned with the motifs discussed in this chapter, and hence to the *chansons de geste*.

The shattering of equipment, so conventional in the *chansons*, is also highlighted in the crusade texts as a feature of visceral importance. The following passage of Ralph's *Tancredus*, noted as analagous to the *chansons* previously by Jean-Charles Payen, constitutes an extended musing on the shattering of equipment by a mighty blow:⁷⁹⁹

*[3]Arrepta fraxino, occursorem transfigit. [3]Pelta et thorax alios tueri solent, sed alii obiectae perfossori: [5] hic perfossor nullam sinit esse loricam fidelem, nullam non fallacem; hic percussor de galea facit mitram, de clipeo pallam, de thorace subuculam. Perforat denique ut linum, lignum, ut cannabem, calybem, ut lanam, lammam.*⁸⁰⁰

Specifics here, too, are reminiscent of the epic. During Tancred's charge, the ash lance he carries is emphasized, as in the *Roland* and elsewhere;⁸⁰¹ and the *pelta*, or small round shield, can be linked with

⁷⁹⁴* AA, 134.

⁷⁹⁵ Ashby-Beach, *The Song of Roland: A Generative Study*, 68.

⁷⁹⁶ GP, 182.

⁷⁹⁷ Raoul, 194; Moffat, *The Châteauroux Version*, 294.

⁷⁹⁸* AA, 288.

⁷⁹⁹ Payen, "Légende épique," 1054-1055.

⁸⁰⁰* *Tancredus*, 52.

⁸⁰¹ *Roland*, 139; T.A. Archer, "Mr Freeman and 'The Quarterly Review'," *The Contemporary Review* 63 (1893): 350; Ross, "Old French," 94; *Aliscans*, 207, 282; Winifred Mary Hackett, ed. *Girart de Roussillon: Chanson de geste*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: Picard, 1953), 115.

the aforementioned *targe*.⁸⁰² In the *chansons*, even the strongest equipment conventionally becomes ‘as if’ a weaker material under the mighty force of enemy blows, as in Orderic’s depiction of Godfrey’s blow above and the works cited in connection. Compare *Fierabras*, where Oliver’s sword ‘*ne vaut a lie un rain dengie*’.⁸⁰³

A similar focus on the weakness of armour beneath mighty blows is found in Guibert’s depiction of the ‘Foraging Battle’:

*Fraxinos creberrime longas hostilis excipit umbo et, magnis impactae viribus per nimietates, ictuum in hastulas minutantur, galea mucronibus obiecta occipitium non defendit a vulnere, loricarum, ut putabant impenetrabilium, pretextiones tenuitatis accusant: nullis corporum partibus munimenta profuerant, quicquid tutum barbari iudicant infirmatur, quicquid Franci tetigere conscindunt. Sternitur campestris superficies numerositate cadaverum et crebra mortuorum congeries graminosi pridem ruris exasperat equor...*⁸⁰⁴

As above, the lances are made of ash; armour is made useless beneath mighty blows, as if by magic; and corpses are scattered onto the grassy earth. Combined in close proximity, these motifs create a powerful impression of *chanson*-esque style.

Two histories can record the same narrative scene of combat, yet each expand it in ways independently reminiscent of the *chansons*, utilizing differing elements: for example, the following passage of Robert the Monk describes Hugh of Vermandois conducting himself well in battle:

*Hugo Magnus cum ad pugne conflictum prior venisset, intuitus est unum de adversariis, qui ceteris audacior erat, aliosque ad pugnam clamando hortabatur. Qui [2]spumantem equum dirigit contra eum, et [4]lancea ei guttur perforavit, et sic [6]os illius oppilavit. Quid miser faceret? Solo statim [8]corruit, et diis infernalibus animam commendavit.*⁸⁰⁵

Sweetenham, in her footnotes, calls this passage ‘straight out of a *chanson de geste*’, comparing it with a section of *Guillaume*.⁸⁰⁶ The familiar pattern of events outlined above, in combination with the *topos* of casting pagans down to Hell, is evident.⁸⁰⁷

The comparable passage in Gilo’s version of events also contains parallels, independently reminiscent of the *chansons*.

⁸⁰² Ross, "Old French," 93-94; *Guillaume*, 52.

⁸⁰³* *Fierabras*, 264.

⁸⁰⁴* *GN*, 174.

⁸⁰⁵* *RM*, 75.

⁸⁰⁶ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 171. "What Really Happened," 78, n. 12.

⁸⁰⁷ *Roland*, 255; *Aliscans*, 106.

- Bellum primus inquit Magnus frenumque furenti*
- [2] *Laxat equo cuidamque viros in Marte monenti*
- [4][6] *Hasta disruptit guttur, vitamque loquenti*
- [3] *Abstulit et voces. Hastilis lancea lenti*
- [5][8] *Frangitur: ille gemens petit ore solum morienti.*⁸⁰⁸

The location and nature of the blow is described as tearing out his throat. The shattering of the fragile lance can be aligned with the destruction of sumptuous equipment motif. Well-balanced lances would have been highly-prized: a similar motif is found in *Gormont*, multiple times, ‘*sa hanste brise par asteles*’,⁸⁰⁹ and *Fierabras*, ‘*li just sunt tronchonne*’.⁸¹⁰ The depiction of the victim slumping to the ground face first is particularly evocative. It finds its parallel in examples of *chansons* combat where the helmets of combatants become stuck in the ground.⁸¹¹ Variants of the same passage occur, intertextually, in manuscripts F, L, and R of Baldric, all thirteenth-century in date, whereby Hugh spurs on his horse and tears out the throat of a taunting Arab with a spear at the same narrative location.⁸¹²

This ‘G’ manuscript of Baldric, despite Paul’s analysis still understudied, contains a greater density of similarities to the *chansons de geste* than the other manuscripts of his work. ‘G’ records a unique ‘bisection event’, where Guischer, a knight of Duke Godfrey, cuts in half a pagan, slicing off one shoulder, an arm, and his head all in one blow.⁸¹³ Two additional unique passages in particular stand out as representative of *chanson* style. The first concerns the heroics of the Bridge battle outside Antioch.

[3] *Lanceam et ancile portans quidam Arabs; praecedebat omnes Turcos. Qui [5] fracta lancea [4] in clipeo Radulfi de Bagentiaco viri probi et nobilissimi; ab ipso tamen viriliter repulsus est, Radulfus namque lancea carebat, quam [5] in Turcorum agmine iam fregerat. Siquidem Arabs filium comitis de Sancto Paulo post hunc fugientem instabat et impugnabat. Quod videns comes [2] girando vertit equum, et [6] pectore perforato [8] ad terram prosternit inimicum, et adiecit, [1] “Vetulus bos praevallet iuniori!”*⁸¹⁴

^{808*} GP, 190.

^{809*} *Gormont*, 4, 10, 16.

^{810*} *Fierabras*, 262.

⁸¹¹ *Couronnement*, 321-323.

⁸¹² BB, 82, n. r.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, 47, n. e.

^{814*} *Ibid.*, 46, n. f.

Most of the formulaic steps of the *chanson de geste* combat are evident here, spread over two combats between individual figures. The obscure vocabulary ‘*ancile*’, meaning an oval shield, is to be aligned with Old French *targe* - another use of the terminology by Baldric (this time in all manuscripts) shows the shield associated with Ethiopian archers at Ascalon.⁸¹⁵ The taunt of the Count of St. Pol is one of the few such taunts found in the Latin sources, but is directly paralleled in the *Antioche*. Although in the *Antioche* the scene takes place outside Nicaea, the count and his son are described as fighting near each other, competing over how many pagans they can kill. The taunt is identical, but perhaps more fluent and poetic in Old French: ‘*Mius valt vace que veel*’⁸¹⁶ The thirteenth-century *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, a compilation of Romance versions of the *Antioche* tradition, is closer in tone, but not details, to the G manuscript’s testimony. Here, the son rescues the father from death at the hands of a pagan, taunting instead: ‘*Mas vale un buen novillo para tirar la carreta que un par de bueyes viejos*.’⁸¹⁷ Differences in the details and a new narrative location in each attestation, suggest that this is not a work of compilation by the *Antioche* and *Gran Conquista*, pointing rather to an underlying tradition of epic episodes, either oral or written. Ralph of Beaugency, the other figure in this vignette, is also uniquely mentioned in the G manuscript, and the extant *Antioche*, implying a further relationship.⁸¹⁸

The second unique section of ‘G’ concerns a combat between Tancred and the Emir of Beirut. The Emir is mounted on a [2]swift pagan horse, and is [1]mocking the Christians at the walls. Tancred rides out alone to fight him.

*Ille vero Tancredum sic [4]in clipeo percussit quod hastam suam, [3]que Sira lingua scanna dicitur, [5]confregit. Sed Tancredus, [5]clipto et [6]corpore eius perforato, ipsum super pontem [8]prostravit, et adhuc palpitantem dimisit, iumentamque in urbem adduxit.*⁸¹⁹

As in the *chansons*, the emphasis is placed on the shattering of shields and lances, the word *prostravit*, and the resting place of his dying body. The confiscation of the fine horse is also paralleled, for example, in *Aliscans*.⁸²⁰ These unique additions to ‘G’, related to the *chansons* both through their clear textual relationship to the early *Antioche* tradition and their use of epic clichés, suggest that additions

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., 116.

⁸¹⁶ *AntiocheDuparc*, 83.

⁸¹⁷* Cooper, *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, I, 533.

⁸¹⁸ *AntiocheDuparc*, 94, 166.

⁸¹⁹* *BB*, 71, n. r.

⁸²⁰ *Aliscans*, 92-94.

to the crusade tradition through the twelfth century were utilizing *chanson* elements, without drawing them from previous Latin sources.

Similarly, Henry of Huntingdon, despite his relatively late date and obscure sources, also exhibits a relationship to the *chansons* in his additions to the narrative. He casts Robert of Normandy's opponent at Ascalon as a king, rather than a standard bearer: '*in quendam paganorum regem lancee direxit aciem, que lignum et es et corpus eque diffidit. Stravitque in momento secundum et tercium.*'⁸²¹ Elements by now familiar, such as the *topos* of overthrowing or scattering opponents, and the path of the blow's impact being described in some detail, with a focus on the surprising material weakness of the armour, are evident. Earlier, while fighting the Lake Battle, Henry portrays Robert of Normandy striking a pagan: '*Dux igitur Normannorum gladio caput cuiusdam et dentes et collum et humeros usque in pectora diffidit.*'⁸²² The same verb as in Henry's other formulaic combat, *diffindere*, to cleave apart, is used. The path of the blow, in graphic detail, is described as immensely savage, almost a conventional bisection. What Henry's usage of the same style evidences is that even later writers, adding material absent in any obvious textual source, wrote within the conventions of the vernacular epic for their additional scenes.

Many of the crusade texts, starting with the *Gesta*, provide set piece laments about the horror of the battle as interjections. One such interjection is inserted into the narrative of the *Gesta* discussing the battle of Ascalon: '*Bella vero erant immensa.*'⁸²³ This serves as a 'macro' summary of the action; a re-establishment of the scenario before going on to describe further events. This is an entirely conventional start to a new *laisse* in any *chanson de geste* battle scene, where it is normally a simple, single line, sometimes expanded for effect. For example, there are over thirty such examples in *Aliscans*: normally starting with the words '*Grant fu l'estor*', almost an exact analogue of '*bella erant immensa*'.⁸²⁴ *Gormont* uses instead '*Li estur fut fier e pesant / / e la bataille fut mut grant*', at the start of a *laisse*, repeated periodically throughout.⁸²⁵

Bohemond's speech at Dorylaeum provides a further example, where he says: '*ecce modo bellum angustum est undique circa nos.*'⁸²⁶ In a similar context, Ralph, with typical brevity, writes '*Fit fragor*', 'a

⁸²¹* *HH*, 444.

⁸²²* *Ibid.*, 432.

⁸²³* *GF*, 96; *PT*, 146. Guibert uses '*facta est enormitas cedis*': *GN*, 298.

⁸²⁴ *Aliscans*, 24, 52, 244. Compare also the synonymous '*mout fort (grant) la bataillè*', in *Fierabras*, 341, 342.

⁸²⁵* *Gormont*, 2,4,6,8.

⁸²⁶* *GF*, 18-19.

clash occurred'.⁸²⁷ Henry, in his short account, writes '*Interim vero bellum geritur horrendum*': a sentence on its own.⁸²⁸ Baldric begins a passage dense with epic motifs with the words: '*Fragor armorum multus erat*', similarly emphasizing the size of the battle.⁸²⁹ Albert also writes, of a skirmish during the siege of Antioch by Kerbogha, '*Ubi gravis contentio belli orta est, et plurimorum occisio facta*'.⁸³⁰

Other musings on the horror of battle are more extended, and resemble more closely longer passages from the *chansons*, normally starting *laissez*, which are gory and evocative in their detail. For example, from *Raoul*:

*Illueques fu li chaples maintenens,
Tante anste fraite et perciés tans escus,
Tant bons haubers desmailliés et ronpus,
Li chans jonchiés des mors et des cheüs.*⁸³¹

The Charleville Poet describes Godfrey's retinue's combat against Alexios' men thus:

*Non retinent ictus nostrorum scuta calpesque
Totum transadigit quod percutit hasta sudesque,
Per galeas, gladii cerebrorum aspergine manant,
Plura superque humeros capita huc illucque supinant.*⁸³²

Similarly, the Charleville Poet presents another scene outside Nicaea, which can be compared with the flying heads of *Gormont* ('*la teste en fist voler a destre // tres devant li*?):⁸³³

⁸²⁷ *Tancredus*, 28.

^{828*} *HH*, 426.

^{829*} *BB*, 47; *OV*, 80.

^{830*} *AA*, 294.

^{831*} *Raoul*, 234. See also *ibid.*, 242-244.

^{832*} *GP*, 60.

^{833*} *Gormont*, 4.

*Franguntur rigide validis impulsibus haste
Pectora rupta sonant rivosque cruoris inundant
Trunca volant capita tremula velut arbore poma.*⁸³⁴

Albert describes the same scene similarly, despite their presumed lack of common source material. Having just described a typical heroic combat, included above (p.148), he writes: *‘Illic non modicus fragor hastarum, tinnitus gladiatorum et galearum in hoc belli luctamine est auditus.’*⁸³⁵

Parallel summaries can be found across the genre. Here, three distinct writers provide analogous descriptions for three different battles. Firstly, Guibert summarizes the fierceness of the Bridge Battle, with a focus on shattering equipment.

*Ictibus ensis hebes fuerat, fecere fragorem
Collisi calibes...
[...]
Arma crepant et equos rapit impetus aesque retinnit.*⁸³⁶

Baldric does the same in the Battle of Antioch:

*Resonabant aeneae cassides, tamquam percussae incudes; minutatim scintillabat ignis; mutilabantur enses; eliso cerebro humi procumbebant homines; rumpebantur lorice; funebantur exta, fatiscantes sudabant equi...*⁸³⁷

The focus on gore, shattering armour, and slipping from horses are paralleled, as seen above, in the *chansons*. Exploding brains are found, among other examples, in *Aliscans* and *Prise*: *‘Que le cervel li fet del chief voler.’*⁸³⁸

Robert the Monk writes about Dorylaeum:

*O quantus ibi fragor armorum, quantus strepitus confringentium lancearum, quantus clamor morientium, et quam hilaris vox pugnantium Francorum, militare signum suum altis vocibus conclamantium!*⁸³⁹

⁸³⁴* GP, 78.

⁸³⁵* AA, 108.

⁸³⁶* GN, 187.

⁸³⁷* BB, 82; OV, 114.

⁸³⁸* *Aliscans*, 50; *Prise d'Orange*, 129.

⁸³⁹* RM, 26.

The enemies killed by the Franks' heroic charge in this section are described as dying on the grass, '*calcibus terunt, aut procumbentes herbam mordicus scindunt*',⁸⁴⁰ evoking the conventional resting place of victims of a *chanson* combat.⁸⁴¹ Formulaic scenes of this nature are scattered across the genre of the Latin Crusade texts, but rarely in consistent narrative locations.

Ascertaining the uniqueness of the crusade texts with regard to their stylistic similarity to the *chansons* is not the objective of this thesis, but, notably, contemporary monastic chronicles in the strict sense rarely describe single combat: battles tend to be discussed strategically rather than tactically or heroically, individuals' actions infrequently being flagged up.⁸⁴² But in what could loosely be described as Frankish/French 'heroic' history, the situation is somewhat different. The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio* shows swords bloodied with brains, spilling entrails, and the bloody execution of Harold described in terms of precise blows.⁸⁴³ Dudo of St. Quentin and Orderic Vitalis' other topics portray combat in a similar way.⁸⁴⁴ The relation between these traditions of historiographical writing and the crusade texts is insufficiently studied. This thesis confines itself to the statement that, in this regard, crusade accounts are relatively unusual among Latin literature in their portrayal of heroic single combat.

This chapter has presented a number of examples of *chansons de geste* style formulaic combat in the Latin accounts. Not all combat is described in this way; larger encounters are described in concordance with more conventional Latin historical models. Yet what becomes clear from a simultaneous holistic analysis of the genre is the profound intertextuality of the accounts, which often mix certain set elements, formulaic vocabulary, and conventional progressions through single combat events, and deploy them in an array of situations throughout the First Crusade narrative. Here, as elsewhere, textual resemblances go beyond what could be expected through simple copying, instead suggesting a nebulous tradition underlying all extant texts. This chapter has demonstrated that the topological conventions of this intertextual tradition are similar to those of the *chansons de geste*. Many combats follow the same *schemata*, exhibiting similar formulaic patterns. Combined with specific uses

⁸⁴⁰* Ibid., 27.

⁸⁴¹ Cf. *Roland*, 164.

⁸⁴² See Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier-Flammarion, 1980).

⁸⁴³ Barlow, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, 30-32.

⁸⁴⁴ Searle, "Fact and Pattern."; Prentout, *Étude*; Warren, "Battle of Fraga."

of imagery and vocabulary, despite the differing language, this evidences the close relationship to the conventions of the vernacular epic.

V: METHODS OF PRESENTATION

The following chapter considers the resemblance between the two genres in their use of more general clichés and analogous methods of presentation, focusing on conventional ‘scenes’ found in both traditions, and in corresponding approaches to describing characters and individuals. In this, a similar methodology is employed as in the previous chapter, although in this section the formulaic motifs surround the representation of broader *topoi* as opposed to solely conventional single combat.

WHITE KNIGHTS

One of the most powerful and enduring stories in the narrative of the First Crusade is the reinforcement of the outnumbered Christians in the Battle of Antioch by a host of white-clad celestial soldiers.⁸⁴⁵ Scenes of a similar nature appear in the *chansons*. This section traces the evolution of this motif, considers its parallels both in the *chansons de geste* and elsewhere, and considers whether this iconic *topos* can suggest a close relationship between the two genres under consideration.

The ‘earliest’ depiction in the presumed hierarchy of crusade accounts is found in the *Gesta*, which reads: ‘*Exibant quoque de montaneis innumerabiles exercitus, habentes equos albos, quorum vexilla omnia erant alba... cuius ductores fuerunt sancti Georgius, Mercurius, et Demetrius. Hec verba credenda sunt, quia plures ex nostris viderunt.*’ Most of the works which presumably used the *Gesta* as inspiration chiefly followed this account.⁸⁴⁶ Several features are to be noted. Firstly, both horses and standards were white. Secondly, they were led by Sts. George, Mercurius, and Demetrius: all martyr saints. Thirdly, the account is justified by claims to eyewitness authority. Tudebode’s account is nearly identical, but

⁸⁴⁵ The conventions of this motif, with reference to crusading history, are discussed in Herbert E.J. Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," 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), 52-53, and *passim*. Leclercq traces the motif in crusading history, but presents no new conclusions: Leclercq, *Portraits croisés*, 381-390.

^{846*} *GF*, 69. In slightly different words, substantively the same, see *HBS*, 88; *BB*, 81; *OV*, 112; *GN*, 240; *HH*, 438; *RM*, 76, 78, 79; *WM*, 638. William couches the portrayal with the words ‘they were convinced they’d seen’. See Lapina, "*Nec signis*," 129.

provides contextualization, specifying that this was aid promised by St. Stephen at two different narrative locations.⁸⁴⁷

The *Gesta*'s story is paralleled, although not exactly corroborated, by reports found in various crusaders' letters. The first, written by the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, January 1098, reported that Sts. George, Theodoros, Demetrius and Blaise accompanied the Christians, emphasizing the word '*vere*', 'truly'.⁸⁴⁸ The letter from the people of Lucca contains the same narrative, placing emphasis on the '*vexillum admirabile excelsum valde et candidum*'.⁸⁴⁹ The credibility of the Lucca letter rests on the postulated 'eyewitness' testimony of a Luccan, who left Antioch three weeks after its capture. If this comment is to be believed, this element of the crusade narrative dated from very shortly after the events themselves.⁸⁵⁰

Bartolf, Raymond, and the *Historia Belli Sacri* place the celestial intervention instead at Dorylaeum. Like the *Gesta*, Bartolf emphasizes that the story was related, '*relatum est*', by eyewitnesses, suggesting a degree of authorial distance from the story. There are only two knights '*in albis vestibus super equos albos sedentes*'. These are aligned with the '*martyres*' Sts. George and Demetrius. This account adds, when compared with the *Gesta*, the detail that they were also dressed in white.⁸⁵¹ Raymond also describes two heavenly knights fighting at Dorylaeum, but does not associate them with saints, or portray them with white garb. They are merely described as '*mirabili facie*', 'miraculous in appearance'.⁸⁵² The tale is proven, in Raymond's account, by the fact that the crusaders found eviscerated horses and Turks for three days ride as they marched onwards, testifying to a miraculously long pursuit (p.195). Neither include the scene at Antioch that the *Gesta* does, although Raymond obliquely admits that God provided extra soldiers for this battle, supplementing the Christians' eight squadrons with another five.⁸⁵³

The account of the *Historia Belli Sacri* includes both scenes: at Dorylaeum and Antioch. Different elements of the first depiction are analogous to different texts. The three named are Sts. George, Demetrius, and Theodorus, a unique configuration, but close to the Patriarch's letter. The

⁸⁴⁷ *PT*, 100, 111.

⁸⁴⁸ *Epistulae*, 147.

^{849*} *Ibid.*, 167.

⁸⁵⁰ Edgington, "Romance," 36-37.

^{851*} *BN*, 496.

⁸⁵² *RA*, 45-46.

⁸⁵³ *Ibid.*, 82.

language is identical to Bartolf at this juncture, '*sedebant super albos equos*', but in addition to this the *Historia Belli Sacri*'s white knights '*candentia deferebant vexilla cum crucibus*', a detail absent in Bartolf. The *Gesta* has flags, but the crosses are a unique addition. The trail of cut-up horses and knights, presented as evidence for the story's verifiability, from Raymond, is included.⁸⁵⁴

Robert the Monk, more than all the other writers, draws out this motif, retelling dramatic conversations between Bohemond and Pirrus, the virtuous pagan who betrays Antioch (p.221). Robert initially shows the white knights as visible only to the pagan enemies, and not to the Christians. Pirrus, who, unlike the Christians, can physically see these celestial allies, describes them as a '*candidatorum exercitus innumerabilis*', and speaks to Bohemond thus: '*Omnes habent equos albos, mire celeritatis, et vestimenta, et scuta, et vexilla ejusdem coloris.*'⁸⁵⁵ Banners, clothes, and horses: all three are white. The horses themselves are miraculously fast, which will be demonstrated to be a cliché of *chanson* literature (p.176). Bohemond explains to him that the leaders of this celestial force must be George, Demetrius, and Maurice, again a unique group.

The variant G manuscript of Baldric provides a possible analogue to this story, particularly relating to those versions where two mysterious knights appear. A unique passage discusses the story of two squires (*clientes familiares*) of Bohemond who undertake a mission to find their supposedly lost lord, arriving at St. Simeon and, with the help of Armenian locals, finding Antioch and fighting their way through fifty-one pagan knights to reach the city. When the battle occurs, at first light (p.244), the two are described as '*lanceas cum albis hastis elevantes*'.⁸⁵⁶ This may function as a more 'secular' explanation for the pair of knights known previously to the tradition.

The story, then, is well-embedded in the First Crusade narratives, but with differing numbers, details, and names attributed to the saints involved. The stories which served as source material for the range of interpretations were evidently circulating early, as they were included in the letters (although, as demonstrated, the letters were not thematically or stylistically separate from the narrative conventions of the genre's more traditional histories). As in formulaic combat, certain set elements are combined in different configurations in a variety of narrative locations.

⁸⁵⁴* HBS, 32.

⁸⁵⁵* RM, 51. Lapina stresses how pagan witnessing is less sophisticated than clerical understanding: Lapina, "Nec signis," 129-131.

⁸⁵⁶* BB, 77, n. d.

The occurrences of this *topos* in the crusade histories form part of a wider historiographical trend. The earliest reference in medieval literature to the white-clad knights motif is found in the Royal Frankish Annals (c.827), where some of both Charlemagne's army and their Saxon opponents, witness '*duo iuvenes in albis, qui ipsam basilicam ab igne protegebant*'. Presented as the '*nutu divinae maiestatis*', the enemy immediately turn in flight (p.195).⁸⁵⁷ Benzo of Alba wrote to Emperor Henry IV(c.1080) discussing how Sts. Maurice and Carpophorus had physically helped resist the Normans: '*Visi sunt Sacti Apostoli... cum albis labaris, compellentes Normannos terga vertere*'.⁸⁵⁸ Geoffrey of Malaterra's panegyric to Roger of Sicily, composed around 1100, depicts a mysterious white knight leading the Normans into battle at Cerami(1063), described as '*quidam eques, splendidus in armis, equo albo insidens, album vexillum in summitate hastilis alligatum ferens et desuper splendidam crucem*'.⁸⁵⁹ The cross is mounted on the standard, as in the *Historia Belli Sacri*. The *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, a text probably written shortly after the event, portrays Sts. Michael and Peter helping Christian soldiers in their assault on Mahdia in 1087.⁸⁶⁰ Murals portraying mounted saints combatting pagans appear in English church murals from the first half of the twelfth century.⁸⁶¹

This exact *topos* is also found in *chanson de geste* literature, where three saints help the Christian forces in battle. There are, however, only two occurrences in the early and canonical *chansons*: the first in *Aspremont*, and the second in the twelfth-century *chanson Garin le Loherenc*. The latter portrays Sts. George, Maurice, and Denis, but *Aspremont* replicates exactly the trio found in Robert the Monk: Sts. George, Maurice, and Demetrius.⁸⁶² In *Aspremont*, they are introduced with the words: '*Li troi baron sont an l'estor venu // Qui des monteignes estoient descendu*'; an evident parallel with their descent from the mountains in the *Gesta* tradition. The celestial heroes are mounted on white warhorses, but no other white equipment is specifically delineated.⁸⁶³ However, the relatively late date of these *chansons* results in these references being insufficient to establish a pre-First Crusade vernacular epic tradition for this motif.

⁸⁵⁷* "Annales Regni Francorum: Die Reichsannalen," in *Fontes ad historiam regni Francorum aevi Karolini illustrandam*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, et al. (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1955).

⁸⁵⁸* Georg Heinrich Pertz and Karl Pertz, eds., *Historiae aevi Salici* (Hannover: Hahn, 1854), 620-621.

⁸⁵⁹* Ernesto Pontieri, ed. *Part One: Giuffredo Malaterra, De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guisgardi ducis fratris eius* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1928), 44. A new edition, replacing Pontieri's defective work, is in preparation by Marie-Agnès Lucas-Avenel of the Université de Caen Basse-Normandie.

⁸⁶⁰ Cowdrey, "Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum," 3, 26.

⁸⁶¹ Edgington, "Romance," 46. For a link with the *chansons*, see Phillips, *Second Crusade*, 33-34.

⁸⁶² Anne Iker-Gittleman, *Le Style épique dans 'Garin le Loherain'* (Geneva: Droz, 1967), 65.

⁸⁶³* *Aspremont*, 522, 548.

However, the linking of this historiographical tradition with the *chansons* is supported by more than just occurrences of the *topos* in the texts themselves. Orderic Vitalis portrayed Gerald of Avranches, who sung, supposedly shortly after the Norman Conquest of England, of ‘*veteri testamento novisque Christianorum gestis imitanda*’, before listing the warrior saints Demetrius, George, Theodore, Sebastian, Maurice and the Theban legion, and Eustace. Chibnall sees this as representing ‘a point in eleventh-century culture where hagiography shaded into epic and even romance’.⁸⁶⁴ These ‘new deeds of the Christians’ should probably be understood as *chansons de geste*: the text goes on to describe how Gerald sung about ‘*sancto athleta Guillelmo*’. From the context, (he is described as entering a monastery in his old age) it is clear that this is William, the eponymous hero of one of the earliest *chansons* and the central figure for an entire cycle.⁸⁶⁵ Martyrdom, and tales of warrior-martyrs were associated with the reciting of *chansons de geste*. Evidently, for Orderic, writing c.1127, this was a plausible event to backdate to c.1066. In addition, a fragment of a thirteenth-century *chanson* about the martyr St. Eustace survives, exemplifying the overlap between hagiography and epic of which Chibnall spoke.⁸⁶⁶

Biblical models possibly also underlie these accounts of miraculous celestial intervention, but parallels here are not sufficiently coherent to fully explain the popularity and consistency of the motif across medieval narrative accounts. The second book of Maccabees (10.29) depicts five heavenly figures who help God’s forces: ‘*apparuerunt adversariis de caelo viri quinque in equis frenis aureis decori.*’ They appear solely to their enemies, as in Robert’s account of Pirrus’ vision, and are mounted on horses, but they are not dressed in white, emerging from the mountains, or exhibiting any of the other features of the crusade motifs. 2 Maccabees 11.8 presents a similar figure, ‘*apparuit praecedens eos eques in veste candida armis aureis hastam vibrans*’, but he is not strictly in a warlike capacity, and although his clothes are white, there is no mention of a banner or a white horse.⁸⁶⁷ Martyrs are similarly swathed in white in Revelations 7.9 at the Last Judgement; and a white horse could be a (puzzling) reference to the steed of the first horseman of the apocalypse: Revelations 6.2.⁸⁶⁸ The golden weapons of Maccabees are absent in the crusade texts. If this is the motif’s genuine source, it is likely understood

⁸⁶⁴* Chibnall, *Orderic Vitalis, Volume III*, 216-217.

⁸⁶⁵* The repercussions of ‘*sancto atheleta*’ for considerations of sanctified warfare are hitherto unexplored in this context.

⁸⁶⁶ Paul Meyer, "Fragment d'une vie de Saint Eustache," *Romania* xxxvi (1907).

⁸⁶⁷* Translations in Appendix C.

⁸⁶⁸ For crusading eschatology: Paul Alphandéry, *La Chrétienté et l'Idée de croisade: Recommencements nécessaires (xii^e-xiii^e siècles)* (Paris: Michel, 1954).

through some other vehicle rather than from the Biblical text itself. The popularity of the Maccabees story around the turn of the eleventh century in Italy is attested by the *cognominus* of a crusader's brother: Ralph 'Machabaeus' of Montescaglioso (-1108).⁸⁶⁹ Fulcher, Raymond, and Gilo mention the Maccabees explicitly as a model for emulation.⁸⁷⁰

The *Historia Belli Sacri* may provide another clue in the synthesis of the motif of white knights within crusade literature, the *chansons de geste*, and to the Old Testament stories of Maccabees. In a section of ecclesiastical gloss on the First Crusade, it reads:

*Et dum in ecclesia legitur, et cantantur fortia facta Machabeorum... adiuuante eos Domino visibiliter mittente eis in adiutorium sanctos suos bellatores, quorum animae in celo iam collocatae erant, videlicet Mercurium multotiens, aliquando Georgium, nec non et interdum Theodorum, aliquando totos tres cum suis dealbatis exercitibus.*⁸⁷¹

The first line suggests that the deeds of the Maccabees are sung. Although it is possible that this means sung liturgically, because of its counterpart, '*in ecclesia legitur*', it appears to be a lay practice. The matter of the crusade, the Maccabees, and the sung epic, are combined.

In this context, the possibility that the coherent narrative theme of celestial white knights is profoundly linked to the vernacular epic remains strong. Although biblical models exist, and earlier Latin historiographical occurrences, neither of these fully explain the high number of references in the late-eleventh century. The slightly later date of the extant references in *chansons* need not prohibit the existence of the association, especially given the relationship of the matter of the vernacular epic and martyr hagiography. The most cautious approach is to conclude that both the *chansons* and the crusade texts were part of a larger historiographical movement, aligned again with new genres of 'heroic' history, which exhibit this formulaic presentation as a method of exemplifying God's will.

WHITE BEARD AND HAIR

In the *chansons de geste*, the attribution of long white hair and beard to a character is so common as to be formulaic. It often demonstrates experience, regality, or power, but elsewhere is merely

⁸⁶⁹ Jamison, "Some Notes," 201.

⁸⁷⁰ *FC*, 116; *RA*, 53; *GP*, 160; *WM*, 638.

^{871*} *HBS*, 11.

throwaway; a weakened line ending to preserve the rhyme; ‘an item of mere epic decoration’.⁸⁷² The words ‘*chenu*’ and ‘*flor*’ are scattered throughout the texts.⁸⁷³ *Aspremont*, for example, describes one of the Christian heroes, Naimes: ‘*Tote a florie la barbe et le menton*’.⁸⁷⁴ Guerri, Raoul’s uncle in *Raoul*, is described as ‘*li floris*’, ‘the hoary-white’.⁸⁷⁵

The same portrayal of characters is evident in the crusade texts. With the exception of Dodo of Cons, a knight whom Albert refers to as ‘*rufus capite*’, ‘red-haired’, no other hair colour is mentioned in the entire corpus, except for white.⁸⁷⁶ In the *Gesta* family of texts, Stephen of Blois is portrayed as ‘*semicano*’: with white hair, aged.⁸⁷⁷ Stephen was indeed around fifty, but the context of this description alongside the set piece lament of Guy de Hauteville (p.173) links it more closely to epic themes. Both Gilo and Albert describe the decapitated head of Cassian, the governor of Antioch, in line with this *topos*. Gilo writes: ‘*perdidit annosis cinctum caput undique villis*’.⁸⁷⁸ Albert’s description of Cassian’s head is more exotic, as it is uniquely taken back as a trophy to the crusaders. It, monstrously large and deformed (p.189), is also described as white-haired. Albert writes: ‘*capilli cani, cum barba que a mento usque ad umbilicum eius profluebat*’.⁸⁷⁹ Both accounts focus on the length of the hair, with Albert more explicitly focusing on the whiteness, and adding a long beard as well. The long white beard on pagans in the *chansons* has been linked with a parodic weakening of a symbol of rulership.⁸⁸⁰

Albert uses similar analogues throughout. He describes a Hungarian opponent of William the Carpenter, whom William beheads in single combat, as a ‘*virum illustrem et niveis crinibus renitentem*’.⁸⁸¹ Since this character is introduced only to be immediately killed, plays no further part in the narrative, is a virtuous opponent (p.221) and is killed in a dramatic style in single combat, it is not unreasonable to align this detail with the epic register. In Albert’s long, epic-styled (p.241) list of the Christian knights present at Nicaea, he refers to Achard of Montmerle as ‘*candidus capite*’, ‘white-haired’.⁸⁸² The

⁸⁷² Douglas D. R. Owen, "Beards in the *Chanson de Roland*," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 24, no. 2 (1988): 178.

⁸⁷³ *Roland*, 236, 237; *Aspremont*, 656; *Fierabras*, 400, 411.

⁸⁷⁴* *Aspremont*, 94.

⁸⁷⁵ *Raoul*, 32.

⁸⁷⁶ *AA*, 100.

⁸⁷⁷ *GF*, 65; *PI*, 107; *HBS*, 84.

⁸⁷⁸* *GP*, 170.

⁸⁷⁹* *AA*, 286.

⁸⁸⁰ See Owen, "Beards." Possibly based on a corruption of the portrayals of Carolingians by Einhard and Erhardus; see Holder-Egger, Pertz, and Waitz, *Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, MGH SS rer. Germ. 25 3*; Owen, "Epic and History."

⁸⁸¹* *AA*, 54.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*, 100.

Historia Belli Sacri provides a portrait of a pagan apostate, Hilarius, replete with possible references to the *chansons* – he baptizes of his own free will, before abandoning his new faith and journeying to Islamic courts (p.208), where we are told of his reported speech in some detail. Hilarius is described: ‘*senex et albus ceu lana alba erat.*’⁸⁸³

Evidently, an array of different texts across the First Crusade historical corpus contain descriptions of white-haired individuals in scenes displaying close analogy with the *chansons*. This focus on white hair is absent in other contemporary Latin literature, but is a feature of the *chansons de geste*.

PRESENTATION OF THE NOBLES

At the beginning of descriptions of sieges and battles, the crusade accounts are remarkably consistent in portraying the position of the various nobles geographically around the besieged city: describing the order of battle leader-by-leader. This focus on delineating the battalions has not been found in other contemporary Latin literature, only the *chansons de geste*. Grocock has suggested that the use of this technique in the *Gesta* and the work of Gilo is ‘à la manière des *Chansons de Geste*’, unfortunately only citing the *Antioche* as an example.⁸⁸⁴ But more representative examples can be found throughout the genre: *Roland* outlines in turn each of the battalions of Christians and pagans before the battle whereby Charlemagne avenges Roncesvalles; *Aliscans* does the same when Guillaume’s allies arrive at Orange, each in turn with their forces; and *Aspremont* contains an analogous scene where Charlemagne arranges his troops for war.⁸⁸⁵ The squadrons are normally numbered, and their composition outlined in terms of the ethnic groups which comprise the soldiery and the leaders who instruct them.

A formulaic presentation of the leaders and forces of the First Crusaders is evident at every major siege or battle fought during the narrative histories. The following table presents the occurrences of this *topos* across the genre.

⁸⁸³* HBS, 48.

⁸⁸⁴* Grocock, "L'Aventure épique," 24-25.

⁸⁸⁵ *Roland*, 231-233, 238-240; *Aliscans*, 166-170, cf. 78; *Aspremont*, 474-476.

Text	Nicaea 886	Dorylaeum 887	Siege of Antioch 888	Lake Battle 889	Battle of Antioch 890	Jerusalem 891	Ascalon 892
<i>Gesta</i>	X	X			X	X	X
Tudebode		X			X	X	X
HBS	X	X			X	X	
Raymond	X				X		
Fulcher					X		
Bartolf					X	X	
Baldric	X	X			X	X	X
Guibert	X	X			X	X	X
Robert	X				X	X	X
Gilo	X				X	X	
Ralph	X		X		X	X	
Albert	X		X		X	X	
Orderic	X	X			X	X	X
Henry	X	X		X	X	X	
William					X		

Every major crusade text presents this motif regarding the climactic combat at Antioch. The *Gesta*, presumably influential in this regard, exhibits a formulaic way of presenting the order of battle, along the lines of ‘*in tertia fuit... cum suis...*’ at Antioch.⁸⁹³ This formula is repeated six times, for each of the leaders involved. Many derivative texts follow this formula or very similar phrasings, but even when the investigation turns to the texts not normally considered to have been based on the *Gesta*, there is a similarity of approach. *Tancredus* contains the same scene and uses a similar verbal structure, prefacing the leaders’ names with ‘*primus*’, ‘*tertius*’, ‘*quartus*’, etc.⁸⁹⁴ Raymond uses the same motif, mentioning each of the leaders in turn, simply saying ‘*De gente [X] similiter*’.⁸⁹⁵ In other occurrences of this motif, the language is consistent and formulaic as well. The *Gesta*, Tudebode, and Baldric all repeat the phrase ‘*[instruxit] X suam [aciem]*’ at Ascalon.⁸⁹⁶ Gilo refers to their positions outside

⁸⁸⁶ *GF*, 15-16; *RA*, 43; *HBS*, 28; *GP*, 72; *BB*, 25; *RM*, 22; *AA*, 94-100; *Tancredus*, 18-19; *GN*, 147; *OV*, 52-54. The most formulaic is *HH*, 424.

⁸⁸⁷ *GF*, 20; *PT*, 53-54; *HBS*, 31; *BB*, 33; *GN*, 156; *OV*, 62; *HH*, 428.

⁸⁸⁸ *AA*, 198-200; *Tancredus*, 48, 57.

⁸⁸⁹ *HH*, 432.

⁸⁹⁰ *GF*, 68; *PT*, 110; *HBS*, 86; *RA*, 79; *BN*, 503; *FC*, 250; *GP*, 184; *BB*, 79; *RM*, 72; *AA*, 320; *Tancredus*, 74-75; *GN*, 236-237; *OV*, 110; *HH*, 438; *WM*, 638.

⁸⁹¹ *GF*, 87; *PT*, 134; *HBS*, 115-116; *BN*, 513; *GP*, 236; *BB*, 104; *RM*, 96; *AA*, 402-404; *Tancredus*, 97-98; *GN*, 270; *OV*, 156; *HH*, 442.

⁸⁹² *GF*, 95; *PT*, 146; *BB*, 116. A similar list, with different phrasing, is in *RM*, 104; *GN*, 297. Baldric provides another summary of the positions of the nobles as they march into battle, shortly after the first: *BB*, 117; *OV*, 180.

^{893*} Translations in Appendix C.

^{894*} Appendix C.

^{895*} Appendix C.

^{896*} Appendix C.

Jerusalem by reference to the rising and setting sun (p.244), and Henry writes similarly when he describes the arrayed armies in terms of compass directions at Antioch.

Again, the motif is intertextual and is adopted by later texts in novel positions. Only Ralph and Albert, texts theoretically unrelated in source material, include the formulaic description before the commencement of the siege of Antioch. Ralph presents it twice, once for the summer stations, once for the winter. That this is a concrete stylistic feature of the crusade texts is corroborated by Henry of Huntingdon, who uniquely provides an order of battle for the Lake Battle against the pagan relief force outside Antioch. The items are introduced with the words *primam*, *secundam*, *terciam*, and so on.

It has previously been argued that this consistent feature of the crusade texts stylistically resembles the *chansons de geste*.⁸⁹⁷ This investigation has been unable to find parallels in other twelfth-century Latin literature; in fact, the only parallel is found in the Armenian account of Matthew of Edessa. Using the motif only once in a history spanning several centuries, he uses it to describe the position of the Christian forces before the battle of Antioch,⁸⁹⁸ presenting evidence that Matthew's chronicle was not historiographically independent from the Latin versions of the story. All this is concordant with the opinion that this *topos* is uniquely used by Latin histories of the First Crusade, and paralleled only in the *chansons de geste* in the early-twelfth century.

POSITIONED ON A HILL

Hills and valleys play a crucial narrative and symbolic role in the *chansons de geste*.⁸⁹⁹ *Roland* in particular places significant emphasis on the imposing hills and shadows with a recurring line of poetry '*halt sunt li pui*' to situate the action at Roncesvalles.⁹⁰⁰ When pagan enemies appear in other *chansons*, as well,

⁸⁹⁷ Minis, "Stilelemente," 357.

⁸⁹⁸ Dostourian, *Matthew of Edessa*, 171-172.

⁸⁹⁹ Gerard J. Brault, *The Song of Roland: An Analytical Edition* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), 63-71; Paul Aebischer, "Halt sunt li pui e li port tenebrus," *Studi Medievali* 18 (1952); Marianne Cramer Vos, "Aspects of Biblical Typology in *La Chanson de Roland*" (University of Rochester, 1970), 57-71; Dominique Boutet, "La Montagne dans la chanson de geste: Topique, Rhétorique, et Fonction épique," in *La Montagne dans le texte médiéval: Entre mythe et réalité*, ed. Danièle James-Raoul and Claude Alexandre Thomasset (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000).

⁹⁰⁰ Larry S. Crist, "Halt sunt li pui: Remarques sur les structures lyriques de la *Chanson de Roland*," in *VIII Congresso de la Sociéte Rencesvals*, ed. Carlos Alvar and Victoria Cirlot (Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1981).

they are mounted on hills. For example, the pagan leader in *Gormont* is ‘*el pui estant*’,⁹⁰¹ and when the pagan giant Fierabras is introduced in the *chanson* of the same name, he is ‘*en l’engarde montez*’.⁹⁰² Other examples are found throughout the genre, especially where characters are introduced, both pagan and Christian.⁹⁰³

The crusade accounts place similar emphasis on pagan characters emerging from the mountains. In nearly all, during the opening stages of the siege of Nicaea, the crusaders’ blockade is disrupted by the emergence of rejoicing pagans descending from the ‘*cacumine montis*’.⁹⁰⁴ The Charleville Poet makes this *topos* into a pithy comment: ‘*Nec qui descendit montem post hac repetivit*’.⁹⁰⁵ In itself, this is not indicative of any deeper *topos*; the landscape surrounding Nicaea and the postulated progress of the siege is geographically and topographically consistent with these depictions.⁹⁰⁶

Yet the crusade texts continue to portray pagans emerging from, and standing on, hills. Albert provides evidence that this positioning of pagan forces is formulaic, when, during the siege of Antioch, he describes the position of a sallying Turkish force as ‘*in montis vertice sicut soliti erant*’.⁹⁰⁷ Throughout Albert’s work, the pagans attack from mountain-tops, and retreat there after: see, for example, the unique passage where Svend of Denmark is ambushed in Anatolia; and the pagan command post during the Battle of Antioch.⁹⁰⁸ Ralph similarly portrays the pagans descending from mountains outside Antioch to engage the crusaders.⁹⁰⁹ In Bartolf’s account of the Battle of Antioch, Kerbogha is described as ‘*ascendens in montem*’, and from there watching the battle ‘*quasi de specula*’.⁹¹⁰ These phrases can be compared favourably to ‘*el pui estant*’ cited above.

There are close textual parallels as well. *Roland* describes the pagans overwhelming the Christian forces at Roncesvalles:

Jo ai veüt les Sarrazins d’Espagne

⁹⁰¹* *Gormont*, 2.

⁹⁰²* *Fierabras*, 238.

⁹⁰³ Thomas, *Renaut de Montauban*, 242; *Couronnement*, 149; *Aspremont*, 518.

⁹⁰⁴* *GF*, 15; *PT*, 49; *HBS*, 27. In different words: *BB*, 24; *Tancredus*, 20; *RM*, 23; *GN*, 146; *RA*, 43; *AA*, 104, 106.

⁹⁰⁵* *GP*, 78.

⁹⁰⁶ France, *Victory*, 161.

⁹⁰⁷* *AA*, 212-214.

⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 222-224, 330.

⁹⁰⁹ *Tancredus*, 48.

⁹¹⁰* *BN*, 504-505.

Cuverz en sunt li val e les muntaignes

*E li lariz e trestutes les plaines.*⁹¹¹

At Dorylaeum, the *Gesta*, Tudebode, Baldric, Robert, Guibert, Orderic and the *Historia Belli Sacri* all describe how the pagans were covering the entire battlefield; ‘*pene omnes montes et colles et valles et omnia plana loca undique erant cooperta*’ in the *Gesta*. In an echo of this, adding to the idea that this is a stylistic portrayal rather than spontaneous recording of eyewitness material, Soliman, the Turkish leader, when he is fleeing, reports to the other pagans his experience of Dorylaeum using similar terms – except for him the hills are covered with Christians.⁹¹² Harari identifies this as an ironic echo of the situation among the Christians.⁹¹³ Beer and Bennett have linked this scene in the *Gesta* with a *chanson*-style presentation of events.⁹¹⁴ Alongside the close resemblance between the *Roland* here and the *Gesta* tradition, it should be noted that parodic echoes of the Christian world in the pagan are also formulaic in the *chansons* (p.216). The formulaic conception of mountains as a location of pagan origin is analogous to the *chansons de geste*.

PLUNDER LISTS

Another feature of the crusade texts that has attracted attention is the presentation, in long lists, of plunder taken by the Christians after battles. Hill outlined this motif as the primary way in which the *Gesta* resembled the *chansons de geste*.⁹¹⁵

Texts across the genre display identical methods of presentation for Christian gains in war. The *Gesta* serves as an appropriate example. Here, after Dorylaeum, the Christians receive: ‘*spolia multa, aurum, argentum, equos et asinos, camelos, oves, et boves, et plurima alia quae ignoramus*.’⁹¹⁶ When the crusaders take Jerusalem, they seize: ‘*aurum et argentum, equos et mulos, domosque plenas omnibus bonis*.’⁹¹⁷ The language and form is evidently similar in the unique sections of Bartolf’s work, where, after

^{911*} *Roland*, 154. Cf. the similar Latin description in Waitz, *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni*, 12.

^{912*} *GF*, 19, 22; *PT*, 53, 56; *HBS*, 31, 33; *BB*, 32; *RM*, 25; *GN*, 155, 159; *OV*, 60.

⁹¹³ Harari, "Eyewitnessing," 88.

⁹¹⁴ Jeanette Beer, *In Their Own Words: Practices of Quotation in Early Medieval History-Writing* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 32; Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 108.

⁹¹⁵ *GF*, xv.

^{916*} *Ibid.*, 20.

^{917*} *Ibid.*, 92.

Dorylaeum, he discusses the ‘*auro et argento, multaque spolia reperta, camelos et asinos, equosque oneratos*’ taken by the crusaders.⁹¹⁸ Albert’s *Historia* includes a similar list to Bartolf’s at the end of Dorylaeum, but emphasising the gold and silver: ‘*aurum preciosum et argentum infinitum*’.⁹¹⁹ In yet another text, Raymond, regarding a different battle, Antioch, we find the motif in similar words: ‘*auri et argenti multum et spoliorum plurimum annone vero et peccorum et camelorum*’.⁹²⁰ Even outside traditionally narrative accounts, the tendency is identical: compare Stephen of Blois’ first letter, describing the booty given to the crusaders after Nicaea - ‘*Pretiosora, ut scilicet aurum, gemmas, argentum, pallia, equos, et huiusmodi*’.⁹²¹ Lists of this type are found consistently across the corpus.⁹²² Plainly, there is an element of formulaic language in these descriptions, nearly always beginning with ‘*aurum et argentum*’, and ending with ‘*et multa alia X*’.

Returning to Hill’s comment, it is hard to see to what exactly she was referring. I have been unable to find a significant number of enumerations of booty in the early *chansons*, although elements of the presentation do resemble the vernacular epic. For example, the repetition of ‘gold and silver’, in that order, as the starting features of a list of items,⁹²³ and the arrangement in binomials (p.241), are both features of the *chansons*. The closest analogue in any early *chanson* to this crusade text *topos* regards gifts given by pagans in the *Roland*, where Marsilie sends ‘*D’or e d’argent .III.C. muls cargez*’, but longer lists are absent.⁹²⁴ A similar length ‘*D’or e d’argent e de guarnemenz chers*’ does not truly constitute a meaningful comparator for the crusade texts.⁹²⁵ When in the *Prise*, the Christians gain the city’s booty, it consists primarily of sumptuous clothes.⁹²⁶ Given the appearance of passages of a similar nature in early Latin historiography and the Bible, Hill’s point is not persuasive.⁹²⁷ There is generic unity, but it cannot here be convincingly linked to the *chansons*.

^{918*} *BN*, 496.

^{919*} *AA*, 136.

^{920*} *RA*, 83. Cf. "Narratio Floriacensis," 358.

^{921*} *Epistulae*, 140.

⁹²² *GF*, 28, 43, 70, 80, 82, 97; *PT*, 54, 63, 113, 149; *HBS*, 32, 34, 38, 60, 88, 97, 99, 122-123; *GN*, 241, 281, 300; *BB*, 34, 83, 119; *OV*, 62, 116, 186; *RM*, 28, 34, 78; *AA*, 154, 466, 470; *BN*, 500, 505; *FC*, 256; *Tancredus*, 78, 106; *RA*, 61, 112, 125, 158; *GP*, 90.

⁹²³ Crabb, "Culture History," 62.

^{924*} *Roland*, 112. A closer parallel here may be the wealth offered to Kerbogha by Cassian in *HBS*, 52.

^{925*} *Roland*, 115.

⁹²⁶ *Prise*, 173.

⁹²⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, *Fredegar with Continuations*, 106, see also 113, 178. Cf. 2 Kings 14.14.

EXTRAVAGANT LAMENTATIONS

This next section considers the 'extravagant lamentations' of various characters in the crusade texts, a feature which both Sweetenham and Bennett have linked to the *chansons de geste*.⁹²⁸ The *chansons* depict a highly melodramatic emotional world:⁹²⁹ where twenty thousand men faint, weeping, at news of a hero's death;⁹³⁰ where the hero William pauses a battle to deliver a long mournful eulogy to his felled nephew,⁹³¹ and even a Christian warrior losing his friend on the battlefield results in incapacitation for the mourner: '*de grant douleur a son cors esmeü*'.⁹³² At one point in *Roland*, an entire army of 100,000 Christian soldiers weep simultaneously.⁹³³ Heroes frequently approach madness through anger and grief.⁹³⁴ For example, in *Raoul*, the Christian Bernier, at the sight of another hero's death '*tel duel en a, le sens quide marir*'.⁹³⁵ In the *Roland*, the primary pagan enemy, Marsilie, dies of grief after cursing his gods, weeping profusely.⁹³⁶ Although great laments were portrayed in other contemporary Latin literature, the narrative stress, melodrama, and coordination between scenes of despair and other epic themes are nearly unique to the crusade texts, suggesting a deliberate reflection of the epic; the closest parallel is the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanum*, where the pagan king is filled with misery and curses God on the defeat of his troops, unleashing his pet lions.⁹³⁷

The first of the main pagan leaders, Soliman, only introduced by the *Gesta* in the midst of fleeing, is first described as terrified and unhappier than all people. He speaks tearfully to the Arabs whom he encounters in his flight from Nicaea, bemoaning defeat at Christian hands. He describes himself and his men as struck by *nimio terrore*, 'great terror'.⁹³⁸ Robert the Monk expands on the *Gesta's* portrayal in a manner Sweetenham asserts to be related to the *chansons*.⁹³⁹ The *Historia* reads: '*pre nimio dolore equo lapsus in terram, cepit magnis vocibus heulare, seque miserum et infelicem proclamare*'.⁹⁴⁰ Albert

⁹²⁸ Carol Sweetenham, "The Old French Crusade Cycle," in *CMR*, 424; Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 109-110.

⁹²⁹ Blandine Longhi, "La Peur dans les chansons de geste (1100-1250). Poétique et anthropologie" (Sorbonne, 2011).

⁹³⁰ *Roland*, 207. See Rychner, *Essai*, 130.

⁹³¹ *Guillaume*, 128-131.

^{932*} *Aspremont*, 350.

⁹³³ *Roland*, 226.

⁹³⁴ Georg Cohn, "Desver," *ZRP* 18 (1894): 209. Cf. *Aliscans*, 45.

^{935*} *Raoul*, 210.

⁹³⁶ *Roland*, 255.

⁹³⁷ Cowdrey, "Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum," 26. Cf. also Wallace-Hadrill, *Fredegar with Continuations*, 74.

⁹³⁸ *GF*, 22, cf. 89; *PT*, 56; *HBS*, 33; *GN*, 159; *AA*, 136.

⁹³⁹ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 39.

^{940*} *RM*, 29.

additionally inserts Soliman into a later scene, reprising his role as dramatic intercessor and mendicant. He writes, '*sicut mos est Turcorum de infortunio et iniuriis conquerentium... pilleos a capite humi iacientes barbas unguis sevissime discerpunt, crines digitis distrabunt et evellunt, et in magnis lamentationibus suspiria trahunt.*'⁹⁴¹ The formulaicism of scenes of this nature is explicitly stated: it is the custom of pagans to act this way.

The second great pagan leader, Kerbogha, reacts similarly to impending defeat. When it is prophesied by his seer mother, Kerbogha '*valde dolens intimis visceribus*'.⁹⁴² Hearing the proposals of the crusader embassy before the Battle of Antioch, he is so angry he is scarcely able to speak.⁹⁴³ In a particularly epic passage of Raymond's *Historia*, Kerbogha is described as 'terrified in his soul' at the sight of the Christians, having been distracted from his chess game (p.217).⁹⁴⁴ Baldric depicts Kerbogha in a similar light at this juncture, saying he '*maiori metu dirigit, solutisque solitis viribus corporis, animo friguit*'.⁹⁴⁵

The emir of Babylonia, the final Saracen character introduced in the *Gesta*, is, too, portrayed as demoralized and mournful to excess after his army's defeat: '*dolens et maerens, lacrimando dixit...*'⁹⁴⁶ His speech is doleful and extensive, whilst he swears on all of his Gods (p.211) that he will never raise another army. Baldric goes further, portraying him as moaning and trembling.⁹⁴⁷ In Robert's *Historia*, the emir is called '*clemens demens*', and delivers a long lament serving as a counterpart, at the end of the work, to Urban II's speech at Clermont. His address curses Mohammed for failure to protect him; a conventional pagan action of the *chansons*.⁹⁴⁸

Throughout, other pagans mourn and lament equally melodramatically.⁹⁴⁹ In Albert, a captured pagan spy, limbs trembling, howls and begs for mercy.⁹⁵⁰ Kerbogha's mother, in Robert the Monk, is '*merens et tristis, lugubremque afferens vultum*'.⁹⁵¹ Sensadulus (semantically evoking 'grief-feeling'),

⁹⁴¹* *AA*, 250.

⁹⁴²* *GF*, 55; *PT*, 95; *HBS*, 73.

⁹⁴³ *RM*, 70.

⁹⁴⁴ *RA*, 80.

⁹⁴⁵* *BB*, 80.

⁹⁴⁶* *GF*, 96; *PT*, 147; *HBS*, 129; *GN*, 299.

⁹⁴⁷ *BB*, 118-119; *OV*, 182-184.

⁹⁴⁸* Naus, "Robert the Monk and the Coronation," 106-108. See Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 39; "Crusaders in a Hall of Mirrors," 56.

⁹⁴⁹ See, in addition to those below, *GP*, 168. *ibid.*; *AA*, 194. For Cassian's dramatic distress, see *GF*, 47; *PT*, 80; *HBS*, 52.

⁹⁵⁰ *AA*, 104, 176.

⁹⁵¹* *RM*, 61. Cf. *PT*, 95-96; *HBS*, 74.

the son of the pagan governor of Antioch, in many of the accounts, tearfully flees after its fall, to Kerbogha, where he reports news of the city's capture (p.208).⁹⁵² Baldric, perhaps inspired by his attested pederastic predilections, portrays Sensadulus as mournful, '*lugubris*'; wasting away, '*contabescens*'; a weeping adolescent with tears streaming down his face, '*lacrimas per pubescencia stillantes ora*', seeking comfort held to Kerbogha's chest, '*in sinum Curbaranni*'.⁹⁵³

It is not exclusively individual pagans who are considered by the conventions of this *topos*. The inhabitants of Nicaea and Antioch, witnessing crusader victories and desecrations outside their walls, are both described by the *Gesta* as nearly dying with grief.⁹⁵⁴ At Antioch, the Anonymous writes: '*doluerunt nimis, fueruntque tristes usque ad mortem. Nam cotidie dolentes, nichil aliud agebant nisi flere et ululare*'.⁹⁵⁵ Others expanded on this theme. Robert portrayed them tearing at their hair and flesh,⁹⁵⁶ and, along with Guibert and Orderic, depicting them wailing and jabbering howls of grief at Godfrey's mighty blow in the Bridge Battle.⁹⁵⁷ Robert portrays the inhabitants of Nicaea as overcome with fainting, grief, misery, and howling: '*Pre nimio terrore exterriti sunt, et ultra non habentes spiritum, quasi iam mortui in terram corruerunt...undique luctus, undique miseria*'.⁹⁵⁸ The analogy here to the *chansons* is evident: the phrase '*usque ad mortem*', is reminiscent of the style of the *chansons* where people are described as nearly going mad, for example, *Fierabras*: '*a poi qu'il n'est desvé*'.⁹⁵⁹ Fainting in grief or anger is also common, for example, *Couronnement*, where William is insulted so much that '*a pou qu'il ne se pasme*'.⁹⁶⁰

Christians, too, are prone to excessive emotion. Throughout the genre, Emperor Alexios is usually portrayed as prone to violent anger and terror regarding the crusaders – a unique passage of the G manuscript of Baldric, even records him raging in envy at the crusader capture of Antioch.⁹⁶¹ Crusaders too are frequently portrayed as mourning deeply.⁹⁶² Bohemond (in the *Historia Belli Sacri*) and Godfrey (Charleville Poet) weep excessively for their fallen vassals, depicting them as perfect

⁹⁵² *GF*, 50; *PT*, 89; *HBS*, 67; *GN*, 209.

⁹⁵³ Susannah Giulia Brower, "Gender, Power, and Persona in the Poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil" (University of Toronto, 2011); *BB*, 60. Cf. *OV*, 94.

⁹⁵⁴ *GF*, 16; *HBS*, 29; *GN*, 152.

^{955*} *GF*, 42; *HBS*; *BB*, 52; *OV*, 86.

⁹⁵⁶ *RM*, 46.

⁹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 45; *GN*, 194; *OV*, 84. See also *AA*, 246.

^{958*} *RM*, 24.

^{959*} *Fierabras*, 241, 252.

^{960*} *Couronnement*, 131.

⁹⁶¹ *GF*, 11, 63; *PA*, 52v; *GP*, 58; *RM*, 18, 19; *GN*, 142; *AA*, 312; *OV*, 46; *BB*, 86, n.f.

⁹⁶² Beside those below, *PT*, 46; *HBS*, 25, 61; *GP*, 42-44, 100-102, 156; *RM*, 19, 59.

overlords.⁹⁶³ Robert depicts the despair of the wife of Walo of Chaumont-en-Vexin at her husband's death: she loses her colour as if turning to marbled stone. This rendering is aligned by Sweetenham to the contemporary *planctus* tradition.⁹⁶⁴ She also draws similarities to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but there is no evident linguistic or textual relationship.⁹⁶⁵ In fact, this portrayal is entirely in line with the stylistic conventions, observed above, of the Latin crusade texts, which are paralleled in the *chansons*.

The closest scene to the epic motif, portrayed across the genre, concerns Bohemond's kinsman and vassal, Guy of Hauteville. Accompanying Byzantine relief forces to Antioch, the fleeing Stephen of Blois meets Alexios' relief force at Philomelium, and erroneously reports that the crusaders have been defeated, and Bohemond, therefore, killed. The relief mission is called off. Guy, hearing this, practically explodes with misery, launching into a set-piece lament for his half-brother. In the *Gesta*, Guy '*coepit plorare atque vehementissimo ululatu plangere*' and afterwards '*nemo poterat consolari Widonem plorantem et ferientem se manibus suosque frangentem digitos et dicentem... "Heu! mihi tristis!"*' When the relief army withdraws, Guy and his men '*dolentes amarissime usque ad mortem*'.⁹⁶⁶ Baldric and Robert expanded on this, both picturing Guy clawing at his face with his nails, and Robert introducing a desultory faint.⁹⁶⁷ This vignette is typical of the crusade texts, which build upon motifs and stylistic features, reminiscent of the *chansons*, of the earlier texts and apply them in different locations and with differing levels of intensity.

SWIFT HORSES

In a process analogous to the attribution of positive adjectives to objects and weapons, horses are near invariably described as fast or swift in the *chansons de geste*, the function being to heighten the heroic credentials of the rider. Phrases such as '*corant destrier*',⁹⁶⁸ '*destrier isnel*',⁹⁶⁹ '*ignel cheval*',⁹⁷⁰ '*cheval*

⁹⁶³ *HBS*, 32; *GP*, 64.

⁹⁶⁴ See Caroline Cohen, "Les Éléments constitutifs de quelques planctus des X^e et XI^e siècles," *CCM* 1 (1958). Walo's lament varies significantly from the archetype.

⁹⁶⁵ *RM*, 50; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 140.

⁹⁶⁶* *GF*, 64-65; *PT*, 107; *HBS*, 83. Expanded in *GN*, 230-231; *RM*, 65. See Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 25.

⁹⁶⁷ *BB*, 76; *OV*, 106-108; *RM*, 65-66. Robert's twelfth-century marginalia also emphasize Guy's grief: "Roberti Monachi Historia Iherosolimitana," 816.

⁹⁶⁸* *Guillaume*, 125, 88; *Roland*, 156; *Raoul*, 168, 244, 334; *Pèlerinage*, 47.

⁹⁶⁹* *Raoul*, 170.

⁹⁷⁰* *Guillaume*, 72.

movent,⁹⁷¹ ‘.i. destrier fort et isnel, corant et aprivé’,⁹⁷² are the most common adjectival constructions surrounding horses, followed by emphatic positive adjectives such as ‘bon’.⁹⁷³ Such descriptions are commonly accompanied by a description of the horse being given free rein as a prelude to a devastating charge, the physical reins being loosened: ‘tost esleissant un ignel cheval’,⁹⁷⁴ ‘lascent les resnes a lor cevals curanz’,⁹⁷⁵ and ‘al bon cheval lascha les resnes’.⁹⁷⁶ The most ornate appearances of this *topos* in the *chansons* ascribe supernatural speed or endurance to particular horses.⁹⁷⁷ In the *Guillaume*, the dying pagan Alderufe delivers a paean for his stolen horse: ‘Obi! Florescele, (horses are often named) bon cheval... ne curt vent cum tu vas l’ambleure // ne oisel ne se tient volure!’⁹⁷⁸ Present in *Aspremont* are ‘les destriers coranz et arrabiz, qui plus tost corent que ne volent perdri’.⁹⁷⁹ Duggan identifies the ownership of ‘renowned horses’ as a ‘mythic trait’ which identifies the heroes of a *chanson de geste*.⁹⁸⁰

All three levels of engagement with this *topos* are replicated in the crusade texts. Across the genre, the speed of horses, particularly pagan steeds is emphasized. As in the *chansons*, very few other adjectives are ascribed to horses, except for, occasionally, ‘good’. For example, Raymond mentions the speed of the horses of both pagan and Christian combatants frequently, using the phrasing ‘*velocissimos equos*’, ‘*alacres equos*’,⁹⁸¹ and ‘*equos Turcorum pingues et currentissimos*’, mentioned when Kerbogha flees from battle (p.195) outside Antioch.⁹⁸² Albert also consistently stresses the speed of horses.⁹⁸³ At Nicaea, the pagans are ‘*equis insidentes cursu velocissimis*’.⁹⁸⁴ The Turks at Dorylaeum and Antioch possess ‘*equis velocioribus*’, ‘faster horses’.⁹⁸⁵ Although possibly a statement of Turkish tactical equestrian superiority, given that the Christian knights are able to catch and destroy them immediately afterwards, despite their hit-and-run tactics, the comparative can be seen as devoid of all genuine comparative function, acting as an emphatic positive. The speed of the Turks’ horses at Dorylaeum

⁹⁷¹* *Girart*, 59.

⁹⁷²* *Aspremont*, 512.

⁹⁷³ Jean Frappier, "Les Destriers et leurs Épithètes," in *La Technique littéraire des chansons de geste: Actes du Colloque de Liège (septembre 1957)*, ed. Maurice Delbouille (Liège: Université de Liège, 1959), esp. 96-97.

⁹⁷⁴* *Guillaume*, 78, 93.

⁹⁷⁵* *Roland*, 243.

⁹⁷⁶* *Gormont*, 16. See also *Fierabras*, 341.

⁹⁷⁷ Cf. *Guillaume*, 45.

⁹⁷⁸* *Ibid.*, 138.

⁹⁷⁹* *Aspremont*, 108. Cf. *Roland*, 173.

⁹⁸⁰ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 291-292.

⁹⁸¹* Obscured by the Hills’ loose translation. *RA*, 50, 80, 104.

⁹⁸²* *Ibid.*, 82.

⁹⁸³ *AA*, 94, 132, 134, 150, 192, 194, 226, 260.

⁹⁸⁴* *Ibid.*, 106.

⁹⁸⁵ *RM*, 25, 42. Also, *ibid.*, 23.

is corroborated by Ralph, who talks of the '*cursor equus*' and '*equo celeri*'.⁹⁸⁶ Baldric utilizes a subtly different formulaic phrase to describe Tancred's heroic charge at the river Vardar: '*rapidum calcaribus urgens cornipedem fulmineus advolat*'.⁹⁸⁷ The emphasis is placed on speed: *advolat* implies the flight of birds, *fulmineus*, a lightning bolt; the horse is explicitly described as swift.⁹⁸⁸

The descriptions of swift horses are often denser around 'epic' scenes. Gilo, paralleled by Robert and Orderic, portrays the victim of Godfrey's famed bisection as brought into battle by the '*equo celeri volatu*'.⁹⁸⁹ In Robert, the white knights (p.160) are riding horses of '*mire celeritatis*', 'miraculous speed'.⁹⁹⁰ Fulcher and Bartolf place significant emphasis both on Kerbogha's spurring on of his swift horse outside Antioch, described by the latter as an '*equum velocissimum*',⁹⁹¹ and the swift nature of other pagan horses at the same battle.⁹⁹² Here, as elsewhere, the density of motifs supports a meaningful relationship with the *chansons* more than simply the *topoi* in isolation. Fulcher's passage about Kerbogha's formulaic spurring of his swift horse (p.130) is among the few rhymed sections of his work. The description goes immediately on to describe how Kerbogha '*cogiat an fugiat*', perhaps analogous to the formulaic Old French '*il pense de fuir*'.⁹⁹³ In Bartolf's portrayal, Kerbogha ascends a small hill to observe the battle (p.169).

The emphasis on loosened reins, endemic within the *chansons de geste*, is found throughout the crusade texts;⁹⁹⁴ not only those based directly on the *Gesta*, which introduces the motif, but also in those traditionally considered independent.⁹⁹⁵ This emphasis has not been observed in other Latin histories of the same period. Most of these occurrences of loosened reins correspond closely with passages of epic subject matter, heroic single combat, and the headlong flight of pagans (p.195).⁹⁹⁶ Sometimes these passages are directly comparable to those in *chansons de geste*. For example, Robert

⁹⁸⁶* *Tancredus*, 32, 33. See also the '*velox equus*' of *ibid.*, 78.

⁹⁸⁷* *BB*, 19; *OV*, 44. Similar vocabulary to Prudentius' *Psychomachia* 253-254, which probably served as direct inspiration, although the conventions are in line with vernacular literature: see Neil Wright, "Epic and Romance in the Chronicles of Anjou," in *Anglo-Norman Studies 26: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2003*, ed. John Gillingham (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), esp. 179.

⁹⁸⁸ Phrasing repeated in *BB*, 46; *OV*, 78.

⁹⁸⁹* *GP*, 122. Cf. *RM*, 44. This detail is added to Baldric's narrative by Orderic: *OV*, 84.

⁹⁹⁰ *RM*, 51.

⁹⁹¹* *BN*, 504.

⁹⁹² *FC*, 256; *BN*, 505.

⁹⁹³* *FC*, 254. See Luker, *Use of the Infinitive*, esp.75.

⁹⁹⁴ In addition to those above, see *Fierabras*, 238, 242, 261.

⁹⁹⁵* The *Gesta*'s phrases '*laxatis loris*' and '*laxis frenis*' are replicated by many copyists. *GF*, 24, 96; *PT*, 58, 147; *HBS*, 35; *BB*, 36. Yet as early as Tudebode, supposedly derivative works were adding their own examples at moments of dramatic importance. *PT*, 67. The *HBS*, Gilo, Baldric, and Albert all add unique occurrences. *HBS*, 43, 54; *GP*, 114; *BB*, 41; *AA*, 40, 234, 314. Robert provides the most: *RM*, 23, 29, 47, 75.

⁹⁹⁶ Especially *GF*, 96; *PT*, 147.

writes of the pagans outside Antioch, *'laxis in girum frenis'*, almost identical to *Fierabras*, *'paiens s'en tornerent les frains abandonnez'*.⁹⁹⁷ In this passage, also from Robert, the motif is aligned with the lack of 'delay', another feature of the *chansons* (p.248): *'Quod ita absque dilatione contigit... laxatis loris et equos calcaribus urgentes insecuti sunt.'*⁹⁹⁸

Specific miraculous horses are not explicitly outlined in the crusade texts, but there is one 'named' horse. In the variant G manuscript of Baldric, the emir of Beirut is depicted *'equam caballis velociorem equitans, que lingua eorum pharissa dicitur'*.⁹⁹⁹ This is particularly interesting since this is the horse which the emir then rides in a classic *chanson*-style single combat against Tancred. Although it is uncertain whether *pharissa* refers to a type of horse, or the horse's specific name, the speed and individuality of the heroic horse are evident.¹⁰⁰⁰ The supernatural element of certain *chanson* mounts is evoked by Albert's description of horses who can run faster than the wind at Artah: *'equis in modum venti currentibus insidentes.'*¹⁰⁰¹ The only contemporary Latin parallel to this assertion is found in the genre of late eleventh-century *carmina*. For example, in the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum* (c.1087), horses captured from the pagans are *'euro vento leviores'*, and in the *Carmen campidoctoris*, El Cid's horse *'plus vento currit'*.¹⁰⁰² Explicit comparison to the wind is found, as cited above, in the *chansons*, and strengthens the case that the presentation of fast horses in the Latin Crusade texts is symptomatic of some resemblance to the *chansons*.

TEICHOSCOPY

The generic unity of the crusade histories is evidenced by their tendency to replicate certain set-piece scenes of a similar nature in a variety of different narrative locations. These set-pieces are often absent in contemporary Latin literature, but are paralleled closely in the *chansons de geste*. For example, the theme of combats being witnessed by groups of spectators from the walls of a nearby city has its

⁹⁹⁷* RM, 38; *Fierabras*, 238.

⁹⁹⁸* RM, 36.

⁹⁹⁹* BB, 71, n. r.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Perhaps related to Arabic *ف ر س*, 'mare'.

¹⁰⁰¹* AA, 184, 214.

¹⁰⁰²* Cowdrey, "Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum," 28; "Carmen campidoctoris," in *Chronica Hispana saeculi xii, pars I*, ed. Emma Falque Rey, Juan Gil, and Antonio Maya (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 108.

closest contemporary analogue in the *Couronnement*, where the Christian forces witness their hero William fight a courageous battle against the gigantic pagan, Corsolt.¹⁰⁰³

The *Gesta* and related texts depict the Christian women of Antioch, from the walls, secretly applauding Godfrey and the crusaders in their single combats against the Turks.¹⁰⁰⁴ Baldric, Robert, and Orderic (who is rather closer to Robert here than Baldric) all make the observers of the battle pagans, their reaction one of melodramatic despair (p.173) rather than concealed joy.¹⁰⁰⁵ In addition to this, Robert and Albert both introduce further scenes of teichoscopy. In both, the Christians mourn excessively the death of Roger of Barneville, watching his defeat from Antioch's ramparts.¹⁰⁰⁶ In Albert's account, the Christians at the wall also observe a single combat between a Christian knight and two pagan adversaries, from which the knight is saved by divine intervention.¹⁰⁰⁷ When Enguerrand of St. Pol kills a distinguished pagan in epic combat outside the walls of Antioch, the pagan's father and many other spectators observe the single combat from an adjacent river bank.¹⁰⁰⁸

Baldric provides one further occurrence of this motif, perhaps suggesting the influence of classical poetry. In his depiction of the siege of Tripoli, pagan women (*'mulieres, matres, et virgines'*) standing at the battlements, *'a pinnarum'*, mourn their husbands' defeat, but this time they are stirred in their hearts by feelings of admiration for the crusaders.¹⁰⁰⁹ Baldric here was possibly adopting the erogenous corruption of heroic teichoscopy found in Ovid (which he had certainly read) and Propertius, but equally the convention of pagan women being erotically interested in their Christian opponents is omnipresent in the *chansons de geste*.¹⁰¹⁰ Rubenstein described this additional scene as similar to a 'knightly romance'.¹⁰¹¹ Orderic also inserted his own unique occurrence of this motif, with pagan women observing and mocking the crusaders from the walls of Jerusalem, a feature Chibnall asserted to portray 'epic invention'.¹⁰¹²

¹⁰⁰³ *Couronnement*, 133, 149.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *GF*, 41; *PT*, 76; *HBS*, 55; *GN*, 192.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *BB*, 51; *RM*, 45; *OV*, 84.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *RM*, 59; *AA*, 288.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *AA*, 314.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 216.

^{1009*} *BB*, 99; *OV*, 148.

¹⁰¹⁰ Helen Lovatt, *The Epic Gaze: Vision, Gender, and Narrative in Ancient Epic* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), 232-236; Bancourt, *Musulmans*, 691-712.

¹⁰¹¹ Jay Rubenstein, "Poetry & History: Baudry of Bourgueil, the Architecture of Chivalry, and the First Crusade," *Haskins Society Journal* 23 (2014): 98.

¹⁰¹² *OV*, , xviii, 166.

In many of the texts, these descriptions surround epic formulaic combats. Other eleventh or twelfth century examples of this theme have not been evident. Although the *Iliad* might be considered the natural inspiration for such scenes, in the early twelfth century it was only known through its Latin counterpart, the *Ilias Latini*, which does not emphasize spectators at the walls as the Greek original does: in fact, the only observers of Hector's fate are his ancestors' shades.¹⁰¹³ In this context, the *chansons* seem the most likely inspiration.

SUN SHINING OFF THE ARMOUR

One of the most evident relationships between the *chansons de geste* and the crusade texts is the identical initial presentation of armies on the battlefield. Each genre devotes long descriptions to describing how the sun, rising or falling, illuminates the arms and armour of the combatants, in splendid detail. This example from *Guillaume* will demonstrate a stylistic trait present across the genre:

*Clers fu li jurz et bels li matins;
Li soleil raed, si est li jurz esclariz.
Des dur healmes qu'il unt a or sartid
Tres lur espalles tut li bois en reflambist.*¹⁰¹⁴

Perhaps the most famous example of this motif is found in *Roland* where Oliver looks out upon the advancing pagans:

*Devers Espaigne vei venir tel brunur,
Tanz blancs osbercs, tanz elmes flambius
Icist ferunt nos Franceis grant irur.*¹⁰¹⁵

¹⁰¹³ Marco Scaffai, ed. *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina* (Bologna: Pàtron, 1982). See Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in 13th-Century England: I. Texts* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), 67.

^{1014*} *Guillaume*, 45.

^{1015*} *Roland*, 151.

Another example is presented in *Aliscans*, where ‘*maint vert elme reluit et reflambie // De l’or qui luist est la terre esclaire*’.¹⁰¹⁶ The conventions of this motif are evident: the sun, often rising or setting, glimmers on the massed equipment of the armies, which itself shines and lights up the battlefield in a gold or burnished glow.

Similar descriptions of emerging armies are found consistently throughout the crusade texts, from the postulated eyewitness accounts onwards. Raymond describes the Christian forces outside Antioch with the words: ‘*Sole etiam refulgente in armis et clipeis.*’ The Hills described this motif as ‘*[un] effet dramatique provoqué par son art*’.¹⁰¹⁷ Before the Battle of Antioch, Bartolf describes how ‘*sole matutino in chypeos et loricas repercutiente, tertiam refulgens in aciem*’.¹⁰¹⁸ Gilo corroborates the formulaic scene at Antioch. A young knight witnesses the coming of Kerbogha’s army from the battlements: ‘*ardentes clipeos sol lumine percutiebat.*’ Editors have linked this with the *chansons de geste*, along with an additional occurrence of the motif at Jerusalem.¹⁰¹⁹ Baldric’s *Historia* introduces the epic combat whereby Godfrey formulaically bisects a Turk (p.139) with the phrase ‘*ab hereis casidibus ignis elucubratus scintillabat*’.¹⁰²⁰ But Albert, Guibert, and Robert are most persistent in their use of the motif.

Albert sets the scene for Dorylaeum with such an episode, evoking not only the *chanson* motif of glimmering arms, but also swift horses (p.176) and unrealistically ornate equipment (p.204):

*Iam dies clarissima illuxerat, sol radiis fulgebat lucidissimis, cuius splendor in clipeos aureos et vestes ferreas refulsit, signa et vexilla gemmis et ostro florida, erecta et hastis infixa coruscabant. Caballi celeres calcaribus urgebantur...*¹⁰²¹

Throughout Albert’s history, before Dorylaeum,¹⁰²² before the siege of Artah,¹⁰²³ and when the fleeing Soliman describes the sight of the Christian army to Kerbogha (p.171), similar scenes utilize the same motif. Even the mountains are said to glimmer with light at the crusader’s approach.¹⁰²⁴

Intriguingly, Robert’s *Historia* also has Soliman portraying the Christians using this motif, writing how ‘*Lancee illorum micabant ut coruscantia sidera, galee et lorice ut vernantis aurore lumina vibrantia*’.¹⁰²⁵

^{1016*} *Aliscans*, 59.

^{1017*} *RA*, 15, 57.

^{1018*} *BN*, 504.

^{1019*} *GP*, 176, 234.

^{1020*} *BB*, 47; *OV*, 80.

^{1021*} *AA*, 132.

^{1022*} *Ibid.*

¹⁰²³ *Ibid.*, 182, cf. 158.

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*, 256.

^{1025*} *RM*, 29.

Bull and Kempf indicate that this motif is ‘an engagement with the epic register’,¹⁰²⁶ an argument also invoked by Sweetenham, who links it explicitly to the *chansons*.¹⁰²⁷ In an earlier unique passage, Robert discusses the glory of the crusading army, writing: ‘*Nam quis carneus oculus loricarum, aut galearum, aut scutorum, aut lancearum, sole radiante, ferre poterat intuitum?*’¹⁰²⁸ When the crusaders first see action with the pagan enemies, the mere sight of the Christians’ gloriously shining arms is enough to encourage their opponents’ flight. Robert writes, of the Christians outside Nicaea, ‘*tot armorum preinium splendorem, suggerebat etenim flammantibus radiis sol fulgorem.*’¹⁰²⁹

Guibert also stresses the splendid shimmering of the crusaders at Nicaea, amidst a passage of Adonic verse. The close association with Robert the Monk, whose work contains identical themes at the same narrative point, unparalleled in the *Gesta*, has not been noted in scholarship.

Lux toracarum
Pulchrior haustis
Solibus ibat
Ereque flavo
Cassis et umbo
Limbus eodem
*Fulgidus extat.*¹⁰³⁰

Direct parallels outside the *chansons de geste* for this *topos* are very few. A biblical parallel, and possible inspiration, is provided by 1 Maccabees 6.39: ‘*ut refulsit sol in chypeos aureos et aereos resplenduerunt montes ab eis resplenduerunt sicut lampades ignis.*’¹⁰³¹ Evidence has already been presented regarding the relationship between the deeds of the Maccabees and the *chansons de geste*. If purely a biblical reference, the consistency and conventionality with which it is applied to the crusade texts is intriguing, as is the frequent use of an identical cliché in the vernacular epic. Once again, late eleventh-century *carmina*

¹⁰²⁶ Ibid., xv.

¹⁰²⁷ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 62.

^{1028*} RM, 14.

^{1029*} Ibid., 23, cf. 13, 73.

^{1030*} GN, 149.

^{1031*} Translation in Appendix C.

contain the only concordances: compare ‘*agri fulgent pleni radiantibus armis*’ in the *Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio*.¹⁰³²

The conclusion here is valid for all the topics discussed in this chapter, with the exception of the plunder motif: the frequency, intertextual malleability, and the repeated use of these motifs in passages of epic tone (Appendix B), are enough to suggest that these *topoi* constitute positive evidence for a relationship between the crusade texts and the *chansons de geste*.

¹⁰³²* Barlow, *Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio*, 10.

VI: PORTRAYAL OF PAGANS

Although the Christian and Muslim worlds had no shortage of contact and inter-cultural exchange before 1095, the First Crusade nevertheless brought about contact between them on an unprecedented scale.¹⁰³³ But the portrayal of Muslims and the inhabitants of the East in the crusade texts is, with a few exceptions, inaccurate, one-dimensional, and fantastic. Their depiction is based on cliché. This chapter demonstrates that, more than any other inspiration, the *chansons de geste* exerted a profound influence on the shaping of this clichéd image of diverse groups of easterners, considered as monocultural ‘pagans’.

Commentators have argued for the influence of vernacular epic on the portrayal of pagans in the crusade texts, although, once again, with little widespread analysis of a variety of *chansons*. Bennett had produced the most in-depth consideration,¹⁰³⁴ but academics as diverse as Rubenstein, Trotter, Bull, Morris, and Sweetenham have also highlighted the presentation of pagans as resonating with that in the vernacular epic. With the exception of Bennett, they have stopped short of explicitly claiming that crusade texts were basing their portrayal on the *chansons*.¹⁰³⁵ The inverse possibility, that crusaders’ perception of Muslims in the crusades influenced the twelfth-century extant versions of the *chansons de geste*, is made more unlikely by the flagrant irrationalism of details of pagan life in both Latin and vernacular texts, barely resembling the historical Islamic Levant: Muslims are idolatrous and polytheistic; modern understanding of Islam prohibits these beliefs.¹⁰³⁶ Magical, monstrous, and demonic pagan characters are omnipresent. Instead, the portrayals in both genres seem imaginary: constructed images of Othered difference and ‘lack’ of belief in the true God. As Duggan suggests:

¹⁰³³ See David Abulafia, "Trade and Crusade, 1050-1250," in *Cross-Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Goodrich, Sophia Menache, and Sylvia Schein (New York: Lang, 1995).

¹⁰³⁴ Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images."

¹⁰³⁵ Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?" 197; Trotter, "Review of 'The *Chanson d'Antioche*. An Old French Account of the First Crusade," trans. Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Farnham, Ashgate: 2011)," 255; Bull, "*Gesta Francorum*," 252; Morris, "*Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History," 63; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 40.

¹⁰³⁶ John V. Tolan, "Muslims as Pagan Idolators in Chronicles of the First Crusade," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. Michael Frassetto and David R. Blanks (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1999); Svetlana Loutchitskaja, "L'Image des musulmans dans les chroniques des croisades," *Le Moyen Âge* 105 (1999).

More likely is it that the *Roland* and other poems of a similar spirit contributed to laying the groundwork for the crusade, with their depiction of Muslims as idol-worshipping, barbarous caricatures... The portrayal of Muslim life found in the chronicles of the First Crusade is far closer to... the French epic than it is to historical reality.¹⁰³⁷

The alien and inimical nature of pagans may have been at the forefront of the crusaders' own motivations. From its commencement, the crusade sought to fight, at least in the eyes of some participants, against a generalized and vilified pagan Other as much as to engage in any serious liberation of the East or reconquest of Jerusalem. Amanieu of Louben's crusading charter reported his desire to 'fight and kill those opposed to the Christian religion', and Gerald of Cahors reported that Raymond of St. Gilles had gone on crusade to 'wage war on foreign peoples'.¹⁰³⁸ Achard of Montmerle similarly travelled to the East '*ad belligerandum contra paganos et Sarracenos pro Deo*'.¹⁰³⁹

Three important works have provided a structure for investigating conventional depiction of pagans in the *chansons de geste*, and, hence, crusade texts. The first is Bancourt's two-volume *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, which comprehensively outlines several different features of the traditional pagan world of the *chansons*. Reference will be made to his categories throughout this chapter. Norman Daniel's invaluable *Heroes and Saracens*, covering much of the same ground, has delineated clearly the expected portrayal of Muslims in Old French epic. Its unique contribution has been to assert that the one-dimensional portrayal of Saracens is not propagandistic in nature, a feature designed to create enmity and hate-filled Othering, but is designed predominately for entertainment, ridicule, and literary satisfaction.¹⁰⁴⁰ Suzanne Conklin Akbari has taken issue with Daniel's attempt to divide discussion of Saracens in medieval texts into 'fanciful' and 'realistic', arguing that the two were inextricably linked: the scholastic view fed into the epic and vice versa.¹⁰⁴¹ The debate on the intention

¹⁰³⁷ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 308.

¹⁰³⁸ Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Idea of Crusading in the Charters of Early Crusaders, 1095-1102," in *CC*, 156-157.

^{1039*} Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, eds., *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, vol. 5: 1091-1210* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1894), 51, no. 3703.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984).

¹⁰⁴¹ Susan Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2009).

behind the Saracen portrayal in the *chansons* and crusade texts continues today, but is not the main focus here.¹⁰⁴²

The following sections consider thematic and topical portrayals of pagans in the Latin Crusade texts with reference to their similarities to the *chansons de geste*.

BEASTS AND DOGS

The crusade texts consistently liken the pagan opponents of the crusaders to howling and gabbering beasts, particularly, canines. The *Gesta* tradition emphasizes the bestial nature of the pagans from their first introduction, at Dorylaeum.

*Continuo Turci coeperunt stridere et garrere ac clamare, excelsa voce dicentes diabolicum sonum nescio quomodo in sua lingua. Sapiens vir Boamundus videns innumerabiles Turcos procul, stridentes et clamantes demoniaca voce...*¹⁰⁴³

The phrasing *stridere et garrere ac clamare* casts the pagans as noisesome beasts. This portrayal of howling and baying pagans is paralleled closely in the *chansons*.¹⁰⁴⁴ For example, in *Roland*, the pagans ‘braient’ and ‘hennissent’.¹⁰⁴⁵ In the *Siège d’Orange*, they ‘huce clerement a hau ton’,¹⁰⁴⁶ and in the *Prise*, ‘glatir et uller’.¹⁰⁴⁷ Meredith-Jones identified bestial sounds as a key feature of the conventional *chanson* Saracen.¹⁰⁴⁸ The verbal formulation of ‘coepere’ + infinitive and the verbs exhibiting synonymia (p.241), and the use of *sapiens* as a weakened adjective (p.258) in the above passage further suggest a close relationship. Later, the *Gesta*, outside Antioch, repeats the exact same words: ‘coeperunt stridere et garrere ac clamare...’ adding ‘vehementissimo clamore’. Then, the pagans are made to cease their din: ‘non audebant clamitare vel garrere’.¹⁰⁴⁹ In this later passage, the pagans howl and weep dramatically (p.173).¹⁰⁵⁰ Both passages are among the densest in *topoi* which can be linked to the *chansons* (Appendix B).

¹⁰⁴² Margaret Jubb, "The Crusaders' Perception of their Opponents," in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), esp. 230-231

^{1043*} *GF*, 18; *PT*, 51; *HBS*, 30. Expanded in *GN*, 154.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Jessie Crosland, "The Diction of the Earliest *Chansons de geste*," *Modern Language Review* (1917): 66.

^{1045*} *Roland*, 250.

^{1046*} *Prise*, 258.

^{1047*} *Ibid.*, 189.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cyril Meredith-Jones, "The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste," *Speculum* 17, no. 2 (1942): 205.

^{1049*} *GF*, 40, 41; *PT*, 74,77; *HBS*, 54,55; *GN*, 190, 193. The account of Robert the Monk has the latter reference, but without the first. See *RM*, 46.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *GF*, 42; *HBS*, 56; *BB*, 52.

Other crusade texts partake equally in this clichéd portrayal of pagans. Fulcher depicts the Turks at Dorylaeum as ‘*ululatibus concrepantes*’, ‘howling noisily’.¹⁰⁵¹ William of Malmesbury, ordinarily following Fulcher, expands upon this motif: ‘*nescio quid dirum stridentes ululatibus in caelum actis diffugere*’.¹⁰⁵² In this, he is perhaps-not-coincidentally close to Robert, who writes at the same juncture ‘*clamosis vocibus nescio quid barbarum perstridere*’, and later, ‘*ululant, gemunt*’.¹⁰⁵³ Baldric not only follows the convention of howling pagans at Dorylaeum, but also describes their gnashing teeth.¹⁰⁵⁴ Ralph insists on the ‘barking’, ‘*latratu*’ of the ‘Turks at Dorylaeum’.¹⁰⁵⁵ So formulaic is the treatment of the pagans as jabbering monsters that it can be inverted for dramatic effect. Utilizing a technique which Sweetenham calls ‘mirroring’ of the normal situation, the pagan Soliman, fleeing Dorylaeum, describes the Franks: ‘*vociferant et strident dentibus, et aerem clamoribus implent*’.¹⁰⁵⁶

Dorylaeum is not an isolated occurrence. Even where the *Gesta* does not use this *topos*, other crusade texts do, applying a stylistic cohesiveness which suggests generic continuity. In Baldric’s account, the defenders of Jerusalem gabble in preparation for war.¹⁰⁵⁷ Guibert portrays, uniquely, the pagans’ howling at the Battle of Antioch.¹⁰⁵⁸ In Robert’s account of the Bridge Battle, pagans gnash their teeth and bark like dogs: ‘*Strident dentibus et more canum latrant*’.¹⁰⁵⁹

Like Robert above, many of the Latin texts compare pagans to dogs, an association profoundly associated with the *chansons de geste*.¹⁰⁶⁰ Gilo and Robert both describe the pagans involved in the murder of Walo of Chaumont-en-Vexin, a story only told by these two, as ‘*armati canes*’.¹⁰⁶¹ Robert refers to pagans as ‘rabid dogs’, having ‘beastly minds’,¹⁰⁶² throughout his history, a stylistic choice Sweetenham has described as a ‘common *topos* of the *chansons de geste*’.¹⁰⁶³ Gilo depicts the Turks at Dorylaeum advancing ‘*more canum grassando profanum*’.¹⁰⁶⁴ Shortly after, two consecutive lines

¹⁰⁵¹ *FC*, 194.

^{1052*} *WM*, 630. See also Kerbogha’s teeth grinding: *ibid.*, 636.

^{1053*} *RM*, 25, 27.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *BB*, 50; *OV*, 82.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Tancredus*, 26.

^{1056*} *RM*, 30. See Sweetenham, "Crusaders in a Hall of Mirrors," 54.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *BB*, 105; *OV*, 160.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *GN*, 240-241.

^{1059*} *RM*, 42. Robert also uniquely portrays howling at Nicaea: *ibid.*, 24.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, 107; Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 50-51.

^{1061*} *RM*, 50.

¹⁰⁶² Naus, "Robert the Monk and the Coronation," 9, 59. Analogous comments are also present in the twelfth-century marginalia: "Roberti Monachi Historia Iherosolimitana," 805.

¹⁰⁶³ Sweetenham, "Crusaders in a Hall of Mirrors," 55. Cf. *Guillaume*, 76.

^{1064*} *GP*, 80.

begin with '*dente canis*', 'dog's teeth', an attribute ascribed to the pagan opponents.¹⁰⁶⁵ Albert's *Historia*, although devoid of scenes of pagans barking or howling, portrays Antiochene pagans as '*canes remordaces*'.¹⁰⁶⁶ Similarly, Ralph refers to the pagan ex-ruler of Adana as '*homine, immo cane*'.¹⁰⁶⁷

The source of this cliché may reasonably be asserted as reality: shouts and battle-cries of a foreign enemy may seem like the howling of beasts, especially in nightmarish circumstances. Yet first-hand testimony is made more unlikely when it is considered that the *Gesta* author is believed to have been absent during one of the instances where he describes the bestial sounds, the 6th of March 1098.¹⁰⁶⁸ The consistency across multiple texts suggests a stylistic *topos*. However, a simple link with the vernacular epic is elusive. The *topos* of gentiles barking like dogs goes as far back, at least, as Augustine, and the comparison of pagans to animals is well established in the Biblical lexicon.¹⁰⁶⁹ Yet the density of allusions in the crusade texts is so strong that even the above-cited study takes them as its starting point.¹⁰⁷⁰ Although not certainly inspired by the *chansons*, the *topos* of 'pagans as dogs' is closely paralleled in the vernacular epic.

MONSTROSITY AND GIGANTICISM

The crusade texts and the *chansons de geste* both, in most cases, present pagan warriors as analogues of Christians. They too, are men, distinguished solely by lack of faith in God and especially marked by the parodic depiction of their customs as 'echoes' of Christian *mores*. But the *chansons* occasionally abandon this convention to depict individual pagans, or groups of pagans, as supernatural or monstrous in some regard, normally following a handful of standard mutations: bestiality (p.187), gigantism, hirsuteness, and orbital hypertelorism.¹⁰⁷¹

The crusade texts follow the same pattern. For example, Guibert describes a particular group of pagans, including the Agulani (p.231), as '*nequaquam gentibus sed portentis*'.¹⁰⁷² All three standard

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibid., 86.

^{1066*} *AA*, 192.

^{1067*} *Tancredus*, 39.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *GF*, 40, note 2.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Harald Dickerhof, "'Canum nomine gentiles designantur". Zum Heidentum aus mittelalterliches Bibellexika," in *Secundam regulam vivere. Festschrift für P. Norbert Backmund, O. Praem.*, ed. Gert Melville (Windberg: Poppe, 1978).

¹⁰⁷⁰ Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, 252.

¹⁰⁷¹ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 291.

^{1072*} *GN*, 209.

mutations mentioned above are found in the crusade texts. The pagan bisected by Godfrey (p.139) outside Antioch is described by many crusade texts, independently, as a giant. In a passage full of allusions to the *chansons*, Gilo depicts him terrifying Christians with ‘*mole sua*’, ‘his great size’.¹⁰⁷³ Robert, more explicitly linking this figure’s portrayal with gigantism, writes of him as ‘*unus ex eis audacior ceteris, et mole corporis prestantior, et viribus, ut alter Goliath, robustior*’,¹⁰⁷⁴ and, retrospectively, as ‘*giganteum gentilem*’, a ‘gigantic gentile’.¹⁰⁷⁵ Orderic, adding details to Baldric’s account, calls him a ‘*maximum bellatorem*’, ‘huge warrior’.¹⁰⁷⁶ Parallels for this in the *chansons* are endless. Take, for example, the eponymous pagan of *Fierabras*, standing fifteen foot tall,¹⁰⁷⁷ and the race of giants from Malprose in *Roland*.¹⁰⁷⁸ Baldric’s punning description of the pagans outside Antioch as ‘*gentes ingentes*’, either, ‘a huge number of people’, or, ‘huge people’, may also be a nod to this *topos*; *ingens* having a primary meaning of immoderate, monstrous.¹⁰⁷⁹ Similarly, in Albert’s *Historia*, a captured pagan leader outside Antioch is of unnatural stature (‘*statura procerem...corpulentum*’).¹⁰⁸⁰ Impressed by his positive attributes, the Christian leaders unsuccessfully try to convert him, then execute him outside the walls in sight of the pagan defenders.

Orbital hypertelorism, the phenomenon of having great space between one’s eyes, is also a commonplace mutation shared by the two genres. Albert’s account of Antioch’s fall is unique in its portrayal of the governor Cassian’s death. Captured and slaughtered by Syrian locals, his head is sent to Christian Antioch in a bag. When unveiled, it is monstrous in appearance: ‘*Caput vero magne grossitudinis erat, aures latissime et pilose, capilli cani, cum barba que a mento usque ad umbilicum eius profluebat*’.¹⁰⁸¹ This depiction, replete with flowing white hair (p.165), is closely aligned with the monstrous, gigantic pagans of the *chansons*.¹⁰⁸² The width of the head is specified, a detail paralleled in Ralph’s *Tancredus*. Here, an expedition led by Stephen of Blois, Godfrey and Bohemond succeeds in returning to camp

¹⁰⁷³ *GP*, 122.

^{1074*} *RM*, 44.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *OV*, 84.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Fierabras*, 255. But he is not strictly a giant: see Marianne J. Ailes, "Giants and Outsize Warriors: Difference and Assimilation in *Geste du roi*", in *The Chanson de geste and its Reception: Essays Presented to Philip E. Bennett by Members of the Société Rencesvals*, ed. by Marianne J. Ailes, Anne Elizabeth Cobby, and Peter S. Noble, British Rencesvals Publications, 5 (Edinburgh: Société Rencesvals British Branch, 2012), pp. 1-18.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Roland*, 240. Cf. *Couronnement*, 77, 153; *Raoul*, 409.

¹⁰⁷⁹ *BB*, 41.

^{1080*} *AA*, 410.

^{1081*} *Ibid.*, 286.

¹⁰⁸² Cf. William W. Kibler and François Suard, eds., *Huon de Bordeaux* (Paris: Champion, 2003), 274; *Couronnement*, 77.

over seven hundred pagan heads ‘*cuius oculorum distantia semipes fuit*’.¹⁰⁸³ In fact, by error or for the sake of emphasis, this story is included twice, the second time it being elucidated that there is only one especially gigantic head: ‘*ab oculo ad oculum semipedalem distantiam habens*’.¹⁰⁸⁴ Compare this with the description of the pagan emir Falsarun in *Roland*: ‘*Entre dous oilz mult out large le front // grant demi de pied mesurer i pout hom*’.¹⁰⁸⁵ Even the specifics are identical. Another example is found in *Aspremont*, where the pagan king Jaumont is fifteen feet tall, with ‘*entre .ii. iauz plaine paume devant*’.¹⁰⁸⁶

The variant G manuscript of Baldric’s *Historia* contains an intriguing addition to the narrative whereby Tancred captures two Libyan runners, drawn to Ascalon to witness the Franks fight. Described as ‘*cursores velocissimos*’, they are long-haired, dressed in purple, and carrying javelins: ‘*Non erant rasi, ut Turci, sed comati, ut Galli*’.¹⁰⁸⁷ Their monstrosity is evident in their abilities: ‘*Tante autem velocitatis erant, quod equi nisi optimi et velocissimi capere eos cirrendo [sic] non poterant*’.¹⁰⁸⁸ This is clearly supernatural. The *chansons* present monstrosity of an identical nature: Malprimis de Brigant in the *Roland* can run faster than a horse.¹⁰⁸⁹ Compare also the late twelfth-century Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*, where the Saracen giant Ascopart (p.237) can run faster than a bird on the wing.¹⁰⁹⁰ Long hair is also conventional in the *chansons*. The *Roland*’s Chernubles has hair flowing down to the ground. Similarly, in a phrase which Grocock and Siberry link to the *chansons de geste*, Gilo describes the enemies at Antioch as a *gens conspicienda capillis*, ‘a race distinguished for their long hair’, with the archetypal Turkish raider, *iuvenis crinitus*, a ‘young, long-haired man’.¹⁰⁹¹

This short section has demonstrated that the monstrousness found within the Latin crusade texts is entirely idiomatic of the *chansons de geste*, with all the major deviations of pagans in the *chansons* represented.

^{1083*} *Tancredus*, 53.

^{1084*} *Ibid.*, 56.

^{1085*} *Roland*, 159.

^{1086*} *Aspremont*, 334.

¹⁰⁸⁷ The long hair is also found on the character Chernubles of Munigre, see *Roland*, 150.

^{1088*} *BB*, 116, n. k.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Roland*, 146.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Judith Weiss, ed. *Boeve de Haumtone and Gui de Warewic: Two Anglo-Norman Romances* (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 58; "The Date of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*," *Medium ævum* 55 (1986).

¹⁰⁹¹ *GP*, 118; *Roland*, 150.

LISTS OF PAGAN RACES

The armies the crusaders faced on their expedition were doubtless composed of varied ethnic and cultural groups. However, the crusade texts treat the names of these groups with casualness and imprecision: Turks are encountered in the Balkans, Seljuks in Jerusalem, and Paulician heretics deep into Islamic territory.¹⁰⁹² For example, Raymond uses ‘*Turci et Arabes*’ outside Antioch, ‘*employés indifféremment*’, according to the Hills.¹⁰⁹³ In part, this must have been due to the unfamiliarity of the Christians with specific divisions among their opponents. Nomenclature was frequently drawn from classical knowledge, or perhaps from Byzantine categorizations.¹⁰⁹⁴ But this transposability of pagan ethnonyms without regard to historical reality is, again, most closely shared by the *chansons*. This same imprecision in vernacular epics leads to Saracens and Slavs fighting in Normandy under Viking leadership, and Hungarians in the Pyrenées fighting for Moors.¹⁰⁹⁵ Some scholars have suggested the crusade texts’ presentation of lists of pagan races is connected to the *chansons*. Bull, for example, draws parallels between these lists and ‘the long, heavily distorted, and exoticizing lists of enemy peoples that appear in *chansons de geste*’.¹⁰⁹⁶

The most famous example is the long introduction of the pagan army in *Roland*, where the squadrons of pagans are delineated (p.167):

E la terre est de Nubles e de Blos

...de Bruns e d’Esclavos,

...de Sorbres et de Sorz

...d’Ermines e de Mors

*...l’altre est de Turcs, e la terre de Pers.*¹⁰⁹⁷

¹⁰⁹²* Raymond uses ‘Slavs’ with a weakened sense close to the *chansons*, essentially synonymous for eastern pagan. In the Montecassino Chronicle, Hungarians and Turks are specifically aligned: ‘*Unnorum, quos nunc Turcos vocamus*’. RA, 35. *ibid.*; Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 2; Hoffmann, *Montecassino Chronicle MGH SS 34*, 478. Cf. *Guillaume*, 171.

¹⁰⁹³* RA.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Morton, "Encountering."

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Gormont*, 16 and *passim*; Moffat, *The Châteauroux Version*, 169. See John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 105-134.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Bull, "Western Narratives," 24. Also Bernard Gicquel, *Généalogie de la Chanson de Roland, suivi des sources et modèles* (Paris: Publibook, 2003), 249.

¹⁰⁹⁷* *Roland*, 239.

The races are often presented in couplets, linked by cumulative conjunctions.¹⁰⁹⁸ But this can be transmuted to include adjectives and create triple-item phrases; as in, ‘*paien et Sarrazin // Tur et Persant et felon Bedoïn*’;¹⁰⁹⁹ or refer to Christian forces: ‘*Tant s’esbahirent François et Poitevin // Et Loberanc, Flamainc et Angevin*’.¹¹⁰⁰

This exact feature is present in the *Gesta*. At Dorylaeum, a passage already dense in similarities to the *chansons* (Appendix B), the pagan forces are presented three times (perhaps the influence of *laissez similaires* in the *chansons*) with near-identical methods of presentation.¹¹⁰¹ The Anonymous first talks of a ‘*multitudo Turcorum et Arabum et Saracenorum, et aliorum quos enumerare ignoro*’, then expands: ‘*numerus Turcorum, Persarum, Publicanorum, Saracenorum, Agulanorum, (p.231) aliorumque paganorum trecenta sexaginta milia extra Arabes*’.¹¹⁰² The literary nature of this *topos* is evident.¹¹⁰³ If the author truly does not know the names of the other pagan races, why delineate them shortly afterwards? The intention is to promote an idea of multitudinous races: perhaps the *gentes* of Isaiah 60.12 who will be laid waste for not serving the Kingdom of God. The *Gesta* reuses this listing of pagan enemies so frequently throughout that Hill referred to it as ‘the Author’s formula for “enemies”’.¹¹⁰⁴ Before the climactic Battle of Antioch, for example, the *Gesta* depicts ‘...*Turcos, Arabas, Saracenos, Publicanos, Azimitas, Curtos, Persas, Agulanos, et alias multas gentes*’.¹¹⁰⁵ Other times, the formula is as simple as ‘*Turcos, Arabes et Saracenos*’,¹¹⁰⁶ directly analogous to phrases such as ‘*Turꝥ e Persanz e Arabizꝥ*’, found in the *chansons*.¹¹⁰⁷ The technique is copied wholesale into those works based on the *Gesta*.¹¹⁰⁸

The other eyewitness sources make use of identical methods of presentation. Tudebode delineates the forces at Ascalon thus: ‘*Turcorum, Sarracenorum, et Arabum, et Agulanorum, et Curtorum, et Asupatorum, Azimitorum, et aliorum paganorum*’, and uses similar phrases, independently, elsewhere.¹¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹⁸ Cf. *Aliscans*, 45, 186.

^{1099*} *Prise d'Orange*, 157.

^{1100*} *Aspremont*, 340. Cf. *Girart*, 115.

¹¹⁰¹ Edward A. Heineman, *L'Art métrique de la chanson de geste: Essai sur la musicalité du récit* (Geneva: Droz, 1993), 227-236.

^{1102*} *GF*, 19-20; *PT*, 53-54. Reworked in *HBS*, 31; *BB*, 32; *GN*, 155, 157; *OV*, 58. Expanded in *RM*, 27. *HH* adds classical ethnonyms: *HH*, 426.

¹¹⁰³ For ethnonyms in pairs or lists: *GF*, 2, 3, 6, 9, 26, 30, 43, 47, 77; *PT*, 33, 61; *HBS*, 66.

¹¹⁰⁴ *GF*, 88, n.3.

^{1105*} *Ibid.*, 45, 49; *BB*, 56, 60; *GN*, 208-209; *HH*, 434. The *HBS* inserts cumulative conjunctions: *HBS*, 63, 67. Robert and Orderic rearrange these into rhyming couplets: *RM*, 58; *OV*, 88, 96.

¹¹⁰⁶ *GF*, 84-85, 88; *BB*, 105; *GN*, 260, 273; *OV*, 160.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Gormont*, 28. Cf. *Fierabras*, 337.

¹¹⁰⁸ *GF*, 21, 30, 77, 83; *HBS*, 42; *BB*, 41; *RM*, 37; *GN*, 173, 252, 258.

^{1109*} *PT*, 115-116, 147; *HBS*, 91, 92, 100, 102; France, "Ripoll Manuscript," 651.

Raymond, Tudebode, and the *Historia Belli Sacri* introduce the Byzantine army in couplets: ‘*Turci et Comani, Husi et Tanaces, Pincenati et Bulgari*.’¹¹¹⁰ All three present slightly amended or reordered lists, arguing against direct copying.¹¹¹¹ Fulcher presents the same *topos* at Ascalon, twice describing the ‘*Turci et Arabes, nigri quoque Aethiopes*.’¹¹¹² Bartolf adds to the second of these formulations ‘...*et Sarracenis, et Aegypto et Mesopotamia, omnique Africa*.’¹¹¹³ Throughout Bartolf’s work, deviations from Fulcher provide additional examples of this motif.¹¹¹⁴ Even sources considered historiographically separate from Latin ‘chronicles’ such as Stephen of Blois’ second letter, and Matthew of Edessa’s Chronicle, utilize the same approach.¹¹¹⁵

The remaining crusade histories all present pagans in this unique way, unreplicated in the other contemporary Latin texts investigated for this thesis. The Charleville Poet,¹¹¹⁶ Gilo,¹¹¹⁷ Ralph,¹¹¹⁸ Albert,¹¹¹⁹ and Orderic present new occurrences of this motif absent in their assumed sources, normally maintaining paired linking using cumulative conjunctions, for example, Orderic: ‘*Turci et Persæ, Arabes et Agareni*.’¹¹²⁰ In the application of this *topos*, Albert shares intriguingly similar emphases to other eyewitness texts; agreeing with Fulcher on the presence of black Ethiopians at Ascalon,¹¹²¹ and with Raymond on the core components of the Byzantine emperor’s guard: Pechenegs, Cumans, and Turcoples.¹¹²² As with many other motifs, the intertextuality and consistency with which this *topos* is applied suggest a unity within the genre: a unity completely conventional to the *chansons*.

¹¹¹⁰* RA, 38.

¹¹¹¹ PT, 44; HBS, 23.

¹¹¹²* FC, 308, 311-312.

¹¹¹³* BN, 517.

¹¹¹⁴ Ibid., 495, 500, 504, 515. Choice of races in some of these, although not presentation, may be influenced by Acts 2.9.

¹¹¹⁵ *Epistulae*, 150; Dostourian, *Matthew of Edessa*, 167.

¹¹¹⁶ GP, 6.

¹¹¹⁷ Ibid., 220, 236.

¹¹¹⁸ *Tancredus*, 75.

¹¹¹⁹ AA, 20.

¹¹²⁰* OV, 14.

¹¹²¹ AA, 462, 464, 468.

¹¹²² RA, 55; AA, 310.

FLIGHT AND PURSUIT

Another pervasive feature of the Latin crusade text genre is the treatment of precipitous flight. The reality of the fighting must have been quite different, with large numbers of Crusaders evidently killed in warfare.¹¹²³ This section examines this rhetorical motif, and considers its relationship to the *chansons de geste*, alongside other cultural perceptions of pagans being inclined to flee. What militates against this simply being a reflection of crusading reality is that the entire gamut of crusade texts use near-identical scenes, with similar language, at different times. Here, as elsewhere, the genre possesses stylistic unity reminiscent of the *chansons*.¹¹²⁴

The crusade narrative is centred around three pagan leaders: Soliman, Kerbogha, and the Fatimid ruler of Cairo. Each in turn is confronted by the Christians, and flees; none of them ever fight hand-to-hand, instead seeking refuge in flight. Fleeing, rather than combat or defeat, is the crucial element. The histories emphasize these three characters' flights accordingly. Ekkehard's short account clarifies that Nicaea was only captured '*fugato praedicto Solomano principe*'.¹¹²⁵ Stephen of Blois' first letter likewise stresses Soliman's flight and the lengthy pursuit by Crusaders.¹¹²⁶ Similarly, the second letter of Anselm of Ribemont mentions the flight of the pagan leaders, providing no details on the fighting.¹¹²⁷ The *Gesta* does not even bother to introduce Soliman at the battle around Nicaea, only later emphasizing his flight from the city.¹¹²⁸ Similarly, Antioch's pagan governor, Cassian, is only introduced by the *Gesta* to immediately flee and then be captured and killed in flight.¹¹²⁹ Fulcher memorably describes Kerbogha's flight as being as swift as that of a deer, intriguingly the same words used by *Aspremont* to describe the mythically fast (p.189) pagan race of Floriadés: '*isnel sont comme cerf*', 'they are as fast as deer.'¹¹³⁰

In many of these precipitous flights, the pagans are so desperate to escape that they jettison their equipment. Raymond portrays Saracens fleeing from the forces of Raymond Pilet, who are pursuing, while shedding their equipment (which he suggests is a custom among them): '*primo proiciunt*

¹¹²³ France, *Victory*, 143-167.

¹¹²⁴ Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 110.

^{1125*} *EA*, 22.

¹¹²⁶ *Epistulae*, 139. Stephen's portrayal is almost identical to *RA*, 43.

¹¹²⁷ *Epistulae*, 160.

¹¹²⁸ *GF*, 22.

¹¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹¹³⁰ *FC*, 256. Cf. *Aspremont*, 426.

*arma, post haec vestimenta, deinde subsellia.*¹¹³¹ Ralph's *Tancredus* also, in a verse section, depicts a similar ejection of saddlecloths, this time outside Antioch: '*ut mortem evadat, nec sellas solvere tardat // ensibus et pharetris etiam fugit illa solutis.*'¹¹³² The letters, in particular that of the inhabitants of Lucca, mention the *topos* as well.¹¹³³ Stephen of Blois' second letter portrays the pagans fleeing after the battles in *Romania*, '*dimissis sarcinis et saumariis suis*'.¹¹³⁴

The flight of Soliman and the pagans after the battle of Dorylaeum is well-attested and heavily stressed. In the *Gesta's* account, a large force of 360,000 pagans flee at once, *statim*, before the charge of the Christians, without fighting. The path of their flight is described: '*per compendia montium et per plana loca.*' The *Gesta* describes pagans as fleeing for four days and four nights.¹¹³⁵ Specifics of the route are intertextually paralleled across texts: in Fulcher ('*per montes et valles*') and Bartolf ('*per montes et colles*').¹¹³⁶ Fulcher presents the flight as semi-miraculous, writing: '*quasi momento subitaneo Turci omnes visibus nostris dorsa fugitivi dederunt.*' He also reveals that the pagans fled for three days, despite not being pursued,¹¹³⁷ a possible cross-reference to Bartolf's history, who has them fleeing for the same number of days while pursued by Sts. George and Demetrius.¹¹³⁸ Other accounts present different durations for the pagans' flight: Guibert one; Raymond two; Robert four; and the *Historia Belli Sacri* variously maintains one, three, and four as the correct figure.¹¹³⁹ Dorylaeum is not unique as a venue for emphasizing supernaturally long pursuits. Kerbogha's flight after the Battle of Antioch is equally stressed, the pursuit which follows continuing for the entire day, or, in Raymond, until sunset, *ad occasum solis*.¹¹⁴⁰ Raymond depicts Turks fleeing from the Foraging Battle, while Robert of Flanders pursues them for two miles, scattering their corpses everywhere.¹¹⁴¹

The following table demonstrates in which engagements various texts portray the pagans as fleeing entirely without fighting, denoted **X**, and while shedding their equipment, denoted **E**.

^{1131*} *RA*, 142. Robert portrays analogous immediate flight before Pilet outside Jerusalem: *RM*, 97.

^{1132*} *Tancredus*, 79.

¹¹³³ *Epistulae*, 167. See the table below. Christians similarly shed their equipment in accounts of the Foraging Battle by Raymond and Guibert: *RA*, 51; *GN*, 174-175.

^{1134*} *Epistulae*, 150.

^{1135*} *GF*, 20, 22; *PT*, 54-55. The text is contradictory on whether they are pursued the entire way.

^{1136*} *FC*, 198; *BN*, 496.

^{1137*} *FC*, 198; *WM*, 630.

¹¹³⁸ *BN*, 496.

^{1139*} *HBS*, 31-33; *RA*, 45; *GN*, 158; *RM*, 29. Raymond ascribes the miraculous pursuit to nameless saints (p.165) stressing that he had no eyewitness knowledge of it, with the words '*sed non vidimus*'.

¹¹⁴⁰ *FC*, 263; Dostourian, *Matthew of Edessa*, 172; *RA*, 82.

¹¹⁴¹ *RA*, 52.

Extended pursuit by Christians is denoted **P**. Passages dense in other motifs which this thesis considers epic, delineated in Appendix B, are bounded by braces.¹¹⁴²

Text	Peasants' Crusade	Bardar River	Nicaea	Dorylaeum	Battles Outside Antioch	Lake Battle	Battle of Antioch	Jerusalem	Ascalon
<i>Gesta</i> ¹¹⁴³			{X}	{XP}	X	X	{X}	X	{X}
Tudebode ¹¹⁴⁴				{XP}	X	X	{X}		{X}
HBS ¹¹⁴⁵				{XP}	X	X	{X}		
Raymond ¹¹⁴⁶				{XP}	PE			E	
Ekkehard ¹¹⁴⁷			X						
Fulcher ¹¹⁴⁸				{XP}			{XP}		{X}
Bartolf ¹¹⁴⁹				{XP}			{EP}		{X}
Baldric ¹¹⁵⁰									{X}
Guibert ¹¹⁵¹				{XP}	XE			X	
Robert ¹¹⁵²			{X}	{XXP}	{XE}		{X}	X	{X}
Gilo ¹¹⁵³	XE				{E}		{P}		
Ralph ¹¹⁵⁴		XE		{X}			{E}		
Albert ¹¹⁵⁵				{X}			{X}		
Orderic ¹¹⁵⁶									{X}
Henry									
William ¹¹⁵⁷				{XP}			{X}		

These related *topoi* were hardly unique to the crusade texts. Various pagan races are asserted to be likely to flee, even without conflict, in earlier Latin texts. Firstly, in the continuations of Fredegar, the Gascons are accustomed, '*solito more*', to flee immediately.¹¹⁵⁸ Almost identical terms are used in the c.1087 *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*.¹¹⁵⁹ The *Descriptio qualiter*, linked to both *chansons* material and crusading themes, describes how Charlemagne proceeded to Jerusalem: '*Postea vero, fugatis paganis, ad*

^{1142*} Outside of the parameters of this table, other texts present additional examples. For example, The *Narratio Floriacensis* discusses the pagan opponents at Ascalon, '*qui more solito fugae subsidio*'. The HBS adds two more headlong flights outside Ma'arrat al-Numan. Guibert's *Dei gesta per Francos* insists on the immediate flight of pagans outside Ereghli, and when the crusaders first arrive at Antioch. Neither scene is in the *Gesta*, Guibert's source. "Narratio Floriacensis," 360; HBS, 91, 92; GN, 161, 169. Cf. GF, 24, 28.

¹¹⁴³ *Gesta Francorum*, 20, 22, 31, 37, 47, 70, 91, 95.

¹¹⁴⁴ PT, 66, 72, 112, 146.

¹¹⁴⁵ HBS, 43, 51, 88.

¹¹⁴⁶ RA, 45, 82.

¹¹⁴⁷ EA, 22.

¹¹⁴⁸ FC, 256, 263, 316.

¹¹⁴⁹ BN, 517.

¹¹⁵⁰ BB, 117.

¹¹⁵¹ GN, 174, 278.

¹¹⁵² RM, 23, 26, 44, 75, 108. In the last instance, it is the watching boats that flee, rather than the footsoldiers.

¹¹⁵³ GP, 44, 110, 192.

¹¹⁵⁴ *Tancredus*, 10-11, 34, 79.

¹¹⁵⁵ AA, 132, 332.

¹¹⁵⁶ OV, 182.

¹¹⁵⁷ WM, 638.

¹¹⁵⁸ Wallace-Hadrill, *Fredegar with Continuations*, 115.

¹¹⁵⁹ Cowdrey, "Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum," 26. The text bears a close resemblance to the *Gesta* (see 21-22) and the *chansons*: see John V. Tolan, "Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum," in *CMR*, 224.

urbem [Jerusalem]...*advenit*.¹¹⁶⁰ A letter, probably written by Odilo of Cluny to Henry III, c.1046, listed how various enemies fell back in the wake of Christian power: '*Slavus grunniat, Ungarus strideat...Sarracenus turbetur et fugiat*'.¹¹⁶¹ The list ostensibly presents stereotypical behaviour from each ethnonym, providing an example from long before 1095 where Saracens, witnessing Christian might, conventionally 'tremble and flee'. One crusade text also deals with the pagan's 'flighty' reputation: Robert puts the insult '*pariatores ad fugam quam ad prelium*' into the mouth of Adhémar at the Battle of Antioch.¹¹⁶² It is possible also that this motif possesses Biblical roots: a future study by Bull into the *Gesta*'s use of Biblical plot architectures and *lexis* is anticipated.¹¹⁶³

It has been observed that the pagans in the earliest *chansons de geste*, too, flee often and without reason.¹¹⁶⁴ In the *Roland*, 100,000 Saracens (comparable with the *Gesta*'s 360,000 from Dorylaeum) flee the battlefield at the sight of a heroic blow by the eponymous hero.¹¹⁶⁵ Later, the avenging Charlemagne brings about a supernaturally prolonged sunset for the Christians to pursue fleeing pagans all the way to their boats.¹¹⁶⁶ The *Châteauroux Roland* portrays pagan flight and pursuit in the midst of the battle of Roncesvalles where the Christians '*Trençent cez piez et meins, testes et cors: // Tresc'a Marsilie va li trains de mors*'.¹¹⁶⁷ The crusade texts likewise emphasize that the pursuit after Dorylaeum persisted for one full day, until sunset; and the trail of cut up corpses evokes Raymond's depiction of the pursuit after Dorylaeum and the Foraging Battle.¹¹⁶⁸ The *subsellia* in Raymond, paralleled by Stephen and Ralph, translated as 'saddle bags' by the Hills but more probably 'saddlecloth', aligns closely with that saddlecloth, besmirched with faeces, shed by Theobald in *Guillaume*. Theobald, a Christian, is fleeing out of pure cowardice, and his abandoning of a valuable piece of equipment is lambasted by his peers.¹¹⁶⁹ The consistent traits demonstrated in the table above are entirely in line

¹¹⁶⁰* "Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit," in *Die Legende Karls der Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gerhard Rauschen (Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot, 1890), 109.

¹¹⁶¹* Dating is debated. Other major possibilities are 980, and 1013-14. George Györffy, ed. *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 427-428.

¹¹⁶²* RM, 74.

¹¹⁶³ Bull, "Robert the Monk and his Source(s)," 135, n.36.

¹¹⁶⁴ Crosland, "Diction," 66.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Roland*, 186.

¹¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 208.

¹¹⁶⁷* Moffat, *The Châteauroux Version*, 243.

¹¹⁶⁸ RA, 45-46, 52.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Guillaume*, 50-51.

with the conventions of the *chansons*, although it is likely both genres belong to a larger tradition of treating pagans as fleeing desperately without engaging.

CASTING DOWN TO THE DEMONS

The next motif in the crusade texts which displays concordances with the *chansons de geste* is that of pagans, defeated in battle, being cast down to hell. Hell is naturally an appropriate place for pagans to meet their fate, but strikingly, the crusade texts depict a physical or metaphorical gathering or reception of souls, administered by Satan himself, and his lackeys. In the *Gesta*, when crusaders and pagans fight in the Bridge Battle, ‘*Ibi receperunt sempiternum interitum cum diabolo et angelis eius.*’¹¹⁷⁰ Tudebode and the *Historia Belli Sacri* are more explicit, specifying that they ‘*reddiderunt infelices animas*’ and changing ‘*angelis eius*’ to ‘*Satan ministris*’.¹¹⁷¹

Similar accounts are found in *Tancredus* (where Tancred is four times portrayed as casting Saracens he overturns during single combats down to the underworld),¹¹⁷² and Gilo, where classical synonyms for the underworld, like Tartarus, disguise the analogous nature of the motif.¹¹⁷³ Robert the Monk, in the only single combat described during the battle of Antioch, has Hugh of Vermandois cast one particularly brave pagan, in formulaic combat (p.138), ‘*diis infernalibus*’, ‘to the infernal gods’.¹¹⁷⁴ Similarly, in a later battle outside Jerusalem, pagans are cast down ‘*neci perpetue*’, ‘to eternal death’, suggestive of a similar theme.¹¹⁷⁵

Identical themes are evident across the *chansons de geste*, most prominently in the *Roland*. Pagan characters being snatched down to hell, either upon death or before it, was conventional within the genre.¹¹⁷⁶ In the *Roland*, the main pagan adversary, the king Marsilie, dies of grief and ‘*l’anme de lui as vifs diables dune?*’¹¹⁷⁷ Pagans felled on the field of battle, such as the wicked Malprimis de Brigal, have

^{1170*} *GF*, 41.

^{1171*} *PT*, 76; *HBS*, 55.

¹¹⁷² *Tancredus*, 10, 56, 79, 96.

¹¹⁷³ *GP*, 86, 90.

¹¹⁷⁴ *RM*, 75.

¹¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹¹⁷⁶ Jean-Louis Roland Bèlanger, *Damediens: the Religious Context of the French Epic. The Lohrain Cycle Viewed Against Other Early French Epics* (Geneva: Droz, 1975), 51-55; William Wistar Comfort, *The Character Types in the Old French Chansons de geste* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Modern Language Association of America, 1906), 78-79.

^{1177*} *Roland*, 255.

their soul snatched away: *'l'anme de lui en portet Sathanas.'*¹¹⁷⁸ Specific mention of Satan in this passage makes it directly analogous to Tudebode and the *Historia Belli Sacri*, almost as close as translation. A similar phrase, *'l'anme de lui en portent aversers'*, is found in the *Roland* a few *laissez* later.¹¹⁷⁹ *Aversers* could mean any diabolical force, but likely means the great adversary, Satan.

This motif is not confined to *Roland*. In *Guillaume*, living devils are evoked to snatch pagan corpses from the battlefield.¹¹⁸⁰ In *Raoul*, devils, with similarly formulaic language, carry away a wicked soul: *'L'alme de lui en porterent maffét.'*¹¹⁸¹ Even Latin texts such as the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, which exhibit a curious relationship to the *chansons*, describe 'pagan' Anglo-Saxons being cast down *'ad tenebras'*, 'to the shades', and *'ad orcum'*, 'to the underworld'.¹¹⁸² Consistent use of this *topos* by selected crusade texts suggests a close relationship to the *chansons de geste*, in outlook, inspiration, or genre.

DESIRE FOR CAPTIVES

Throughout the Latin texts of the First Crusade, strong emphasis is placed on pagan desire to take captives to the Far East. This is representative of historical reality to some extent: captives were taken in war and slavery of Christians was commonplace.¹¹⁸³ Similarly, the assertion that it was in Muslim 'nature' to capture Christians was conventional in eleventh- and twelfth-century miracle stories.¹¹⁸⁴ Yet vernacular tradition, especially that surrounding the crusade, likewise placed great emphasis on pagan desire for captives, the captives themselves, and their adventures in captivity.¹¹⁸⁵ The *Chétifs*, one of the texts of the Old French Crusade Cycle excluded from this thesis by reason of the extant text's later date, is concerned solely with captives seized by pagans in the progress of the First Crusade and was an important part of the tradition of the expedition.¹¹⁸⁶ In this context, references to Christians' captivity in the Latin crusade accounts, particularly when they are taken to the Far East or later rescued, should be investigated with reference to their relationship with vernacular material.

^{1178*} *Ibid.*, 161.

^{1179*} *Ibid.*, 171.

¹¹⁸⁰ *Guillaume*, 187.

^{1181*} *Raoul*, 402, cf. 71.

¹¹⁸² Barlow, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, 28, 32.

¹¹⁸³ Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (Oxford: OUP, 1990), esp. 63-65.

¹¹⁸⁴ Bull, "Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem," 36.

¹¹⁸⁵ Cf. the entire plot of *Prise*.

¹¹⁸⁶ Carol Sweetenham, *The Chanson des Chétifs and Chanson de Jérusalem* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2016, forthcoming). Also, Urban Tigner Holmes Jr and William M. McLeod, "Source Problems of the *Chétifs*: A Crusade *Chanson de geste*," *Romanic Review* 28 (1937).

Across the crusade textual corpus, emphasis is placed on the captivity into which the survivors of the Peasants' Crusade are placed. This is the same juncture at which the *Chétifs's* heroes are captured in the later poem. The *Gesta* and related texts ascribe their capture to the Turks, stating that they: '*conducebant suos in domum suam, alios in Corosanum, alios in Antiochiam, alios in Aleph...*' Across texts, the motif is repeated almost verbatim for different groups of Christians.¹¹⁸⁷ The captives were scattered across the pagan world in slavery, and to its heart: Coroscane (p.228). Orderic adds the detail that 'Count Bertold' was captured and taken into captivity, perhaps to be associated with 'Bertold of Neuffen' named in the same context within the problematic sixteenth-century *Zimmerische Chronik* (which purports to be based on an earlier text).¹¹⁸⁸

Raymond also discusses those captured on the Peasants' Crusade. He writes: '*...arma quae ibi ceperant et captivos ad nobiles suae gentis et Sarracenorum longe ea mittebant, scribentes... nichil valere Francos in bello.*'¹¹⁸⁹ Notwithstanding the focus on captives being distributed around pagandom, emphasis is focused on the captured arms being used as evidence for the Franks' martial inferiority. In a different narrative location, the *Gesta* similarly depicts seized Christian weapons being mocked by pagans, shown to Kerbogha before Antioch.¹¹⁹⁰ Amidst events occurring within the pagan camp (p.208), the Anonymous describes three crusader weapons being seized, held up as objects worthy of scorn by Kerbogha and his men. They are then sent, along with a hubristic letter, to Coroscane (p.228), where they serve as evidence for the supposed inferiority of the Christian forces. Bancourt discussed the possibility that the rusty weapons motif is a conscious reference to *Aspremont*, a view supported by Sweetenham, who links it unambiguously to the *chansons*.¹¹⁹¹ Similarly, the passage in Raymond has been identified as one '*nicht ganz frei?*' of the influence of '*Liedereinwirkung?*' by Clemens Klein.¹¹⁹²

Throughout the *Gesta* tradition, emphasis is placed on pagan desire to provide captives for the East.¹¹⁹³ The fate of the crusaders whom Kerbogha anticipates capturing at Antioch will be '*deduci*

^{1187*} *GF*, 4, 5; *PT*, 36; *HBS*, 16; *BB*, 15; *RM*, 12; *GN*, 126; *OV*, 28, 38, 40.

¹¹⁸⁸ Alan V. Murray, "The Chronicle of Zimmern as a Source for the First Crusade: The Evidence of MS Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Don. 580," in *FCOI*, 97 and passim.

^{1189*} *RA*, 45.

¹¹⁹⁰ *GF*, 51; *HBS*, 70; *BB*, 62; *RM*, 60; *GN*, 211; *OV*, 96. Cf. *AntiocheDuparc*, 336-337.

¹¹⁹¹ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 236-239; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 39. A point of caution in Marianne J. Ailes, "The Admirable Enemy? Saladin and Saphadin in Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte*," in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. Norman Housley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 53.

^{1192*} Klein, *Raimund von Aguilers*, 97, note *. Klein, following Kugler, was referring to a hypothesised proto-*Antioche*.

¹¹⁹³ Cf. *GF*, 33; *GN*; *RM*, 5, 17, 37.

in Corrozanam in captivitatem nimiam, which he later emphasizes will be ‘perpetual’.¹¹⁹⁴ The Turkish relief force for the besieged in Nicaea are described as bringing ropes to lead Christians off to Coroscane in captivity, and Soliman, their leader, repeats his then-failed intention to capture the Franks and bind them together in chains when he later comes across Arabs in his flight from the same city.¹¹⁹⁵ Pagans bring chains and ropes into battle in various situations across the genre, with which Christian captives might be retained and transported back east. Albert presents this scene as Kerbogha rather hubristically advances on Antioch;¹¹⁹⁶ Bartolf, Ekkehard, and Tudebode when the Emir of Cairo advances at Ascalon;¹¹⁹⁷ and the Charleville Poet at Edessa.¹¹⁹⁸ All scenes take place, naturally, from a pagan viewpoint, and could not have been observed by eyewitnesses (p.208).

At Dorylaeum, too, captives are taken. Raymond and Albert portray Soliman as being forced to give up captives when he is forced to flee from the battle, the latter depicting the *‘puellas et iuvenes et omne quod asportare vel abducere sperabant’*.¹¹⁹⁹ Ralph also agrees that captives were taken during the battle at Dorylaeum, specifying that only young boys were seized.¹²⁰⁰ Raymond and Baldric go further, suggesting that captive women and young men were taken away for sexual or reproductive purposes, Raymond implying a pagan plot to breed a race of super warriors of Frankish descent.¹²⁰¹ Baldric writes instead that the pagans *‘filios et filias auferebant, et sic eis passim illudebant’*.¹²⁰² Albert likewise stresses the beauty and innocence of the young girls, nuns, and attractive boys, selected especially, presumably destined for harem service.¹²⁰³ In a unique account of the period after Antioch’s fall, Albert discusses the captivity of a Christian woman, whose husband Folbert having been decapitated, is traded by the lord of Azaz to a pagan knight.¹²⁰⁴ In the same account, before the Battle of Antioch, Kerbogha tells Peter the Hermit that he demands all beardless youths and female virgins among the Christians to be taken as slaves for Coroscane, and stresses that if they are not given, he will take them by

^{1194*} *GF*, 52, 67; *PT*, 109; *HBS*, 71, 86; *BB*, 63; *RM*, 60-61, 71; *GN*, 212, 236.

¹¹⁹⁵ *GF*, 15, 22; *PT*, 56; *HBS*, 27, 33. Replicated in *BB*, 24; *RM*, 29, 30; *GN*, 146, 159; *OV*, 52.

¹¹⁹⁶ *AA*, 258, 318, 336.

¹¹⁹⁷ *PT*, 143, 148; *BN*, 517; *EA*, 24; Pertz and Waitz, *MGH SS 6*, 210.

¹¹⁹⁸ *GP*, 144.

^{1199*} *RA*, 45; *AA*, 134.

¹²⁰⁰ *Tancredus*, 26.

¹²⁰¹ *RA*, 155, 157.

^{1202*} *BB*, 35.

¹²⁰³ *AA*, 36, 42.

¹²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 344.

force.¹²⁰⁵ This is almost identical to a similar episode in *Roland*, where Baligant promises Christian female captives to his men.¹²⁰⁶

Stories of individual or small groups of Christians seized by the pagans and kept in captivity are again consistent intertextually throughout the genre, in various narrative locations. In the *Gesta* tradition, Kerbogha detains a crusader garrison commander,¹²⁰⁷ described as *'capti et ligati'* in the *Historia Belli Sacri*.¹²⁰⁸ *Tancredus* portrays Christian captives in Kerbogha's camp during the Battle of Antioch, who provide information to the general on the advancing crusaders.¹²⁰⁹ In the *Historia Belli Sacri* uniquely, twelve (p.216) Christians, captured in *'Romania'*, are sentenced to death by the pagans inside Antioch, who plan to hurl them from a high tower after they refuse to apostacize.¹²¹⁰ In the same text, the Patriarch of Antioch is captured and then released after the fall of the city, where the Saracens had his legs bound so long he could barely walk.¹²¹¹ The variant G manuscript of Baldric uniquely portrays eleven crusaders, captured by a Turkish Emir, who led them deep into enemy territory, dissimulating conversion and promising to surrender his lands to them. The captives are then led off to the Sultan and the Caliph, ten being given to the former, and one to the latter. The Sultan, disdainful of the method of their capture (p.221), releases them and has them escorted to Edessa.¹²¹² The longest addition to the *Historia Belli Sacri* relates to shackled and manacled Christian captives in the Fatimid empire, forced by a wicked king to prove their faith through performing miracles.¹²¹³ One of them is Roger of Beauvais - Baldwin of Beauvais is among the three primary captives in the *Chétifs*.

This emphasized and consistent tendency to focus on pagan desire for captives, and the adventures of those captured and imprisoned, is closely paralleled in the *chansons*. In *Fierabras*, the eponymous Saracen giant boasts before battle that he will take Roland and Oliver captive after defeating any Christian champion offered him.¹²¹⁴ In *Guillaume*, an objective of the Christian forces is to free captives held on a pagan barge, a feat eventually achieved by the carnivalesque figure

¹²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 318.

¹²⁰⁶ *Roland*, 245-246. See Bancourt, *Musulmans*, II, 661.

¹²⁰⁷ *GF*, 51; *PT*, 90; *HBS*, 69; *BB*, 62; *GN*, 210; *OV*, 96. Cf. the variant scene in *AA*, 194.

^{1208*} *HBS*, 89.

¹²⁰⁹ *Tancredus*, 75.

¹²¹⁰ *HBS*, 46.

¹²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹²¹² *BB*, 86, n. f.

¹²¹³ *HBS*, 105-108.

¹²¹⁴ *Fierabras*, 239.

Rainouart.¹²¹⁵ Many use directly analogous phrasing. For example, in *Aspremont*, after the pagans have occupied Christian land, captives are: ‘*si acouplees con fussent liemier*.’¹²¹⁶ Alongside the concordances with *Roland* and *Aspremont* cited above, the treatment of captives in the crusade texts evidently bears some resemblance to the *chansons*.

SPLENDOUR

Both the pagan world of the *chansons de geste*, and that portrayed in the crusade texts, is full of sumptuous armour, equipment, and decoration. To a lesser extent this is also true of the Christian world. One example, which provides a starting point, is the miraculously tall and shining navy of Guinemer of Boulogne, with masts of purest gold, which sail to support the crusaders in Albert of Aachen’s account.¹²¹⁷ France links this surely unrealistic splendour with poetic sources such as that ‘which underlay the *Chanson d’Antioche*’.¹²¹⁸ Albert is the only crusade author to consistently talk about Christian splendour in arms and equipment. He also describes the exquisite helm ‘*auro et argento mire insertam*’ and hauberk of Herbrand of Bouillon, one of Godfrey’s knights.¹²¹⁹ Albert sets the scene for an approaching battle with description of the Christians’ gold shields (which the sun shimmers off – p.181), and standards bright with jewels.¹²²⁰ Predominately, however, this reliance on splendid gold, gem-encrusted equipment is a pagan trait.

A continuous thread of sumptuous descriptions of pagan armour characterizes the Latin First Crusade histories, even the would-be-eyewitness texts. Tudebode remarks, in a unique passage, on the four emirs completely clad in gold armour, leading gold-armoured horses, parading outside Antioch in a display of wealth to the crusaders.¹²²¹ The Hills believe that differences between words used in manuscripts (‘*gentuum*’ for ‘*genuum*’) in this passage suggest Old French linguistic influence.¹²²² Tudebode also, in a section unparalleled in the *Gesta*, reveals how pagan arms generally ‘*sunt bis, aut ter, sive quater collatam atque purgata ceu argentum aut aurum purissimum*’.¹²²³ Gold-barded swift (p.176)

¹²¹⁵ *Guillaume*, 175.

^{1216*} *Aspremont*, 202.

¹²¹⁷ *AA*, 158.

¹²¹⁸ France, *Victory*, 217-218.

^{1219*} *AA*, 352.

^{1220*} *Ibid.*, 132.

¹²²¹ *PT*, 103.

¹²²² *Peter Tudebode*, 79.

^{1223*} *PT*, 92; *HBS*, 71.

horses, and pure gold vases, are given as gifts from the Fatimid ruler of Cairo in the *Historia Belli Sacri*.¹²²⁴ The *Gesta* describes the belt and scabbard of the Antiochene governor Cassian as being worth the huge sum of sixty bezants.¹²²⁵ Baldric repeats the same story and valuation, with the added gloss, confirming its formulaicism: '*Gentiles enim ille huiusmodi faleris et fibulis valde gloriantur*'.¹²²⁶ Also in the *Gesta*, the Emir of Cairo's standard, captured at Ascalon by Robert of Normandy, is completely covered in silver, topped with a pure gold apple.¹²²⁷ Fulcher depicts the sumptuous riches of the same Emir after his defeat at Ascalon.¹²²⁸ Other texts independently present the same motif.¹²²⁹

The non-eyewitness texts are similarly consistent. In the *Tancredus*, Tancred defeats five Saracen knights in single combat.¹²³⁰ Ralph writes of their equipment, left behind by Tancred as a mark of moral spurning of wealth: '*equorum discursu libero* (p.176), *phalerato ornatu diviciae...aureo fulgore*'.¹²³¹ Gilo and Orderic portray the pagan whom Godfrey bisects outside Antioch as splendidly attired in armour, the latter describing his '*aurea lorica*'.¹²³² Albert's *Historia* stresses how pagan troops at Nicaea carried golden shields.¹²³³ Gilo portrays gem-encrusted clothes and golden houses falling to the Christians when they take Antioch.¹²³⁴ Ralph, in the same scene, substitutes golden household items instead.¹²³⁵ Baldric's *Historia* adds to the *Gesta* 'treasures of precious spoils' buried outside Antioch.¹²³⁶ In Gilo, the Emir of Homs sends a golden bow and shining spears to the crusaders.¹²³⁷

Bartolf and Fulcher picture the *Templum Domini* filled with gold, silver and precious stones, and, according to Bartolf, a golden band circumnavigating the wall, golden crowns, and golden drinking bowls.¹²³⁸ Similarly, the Temple is covered in gold and silver decorations, complete with a

¹²²⁴ *HBS*, 105.

¹²²⁵ *GF*, 48; *HBS*, 66; *RM*, 56; *GN*, 207. The value of these 'bizanteis' is almost impossible to ascertain. Bezants should properly refer to the Greek 'hyperpyron', introduced 1092. It could, however, equally refer to any large golden coin, including the devalued 'solidus' or 'nomisma'. Suffice to say it likely refers to a large golden coin of substantial value. See Michael F. Hendy, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium* (Northampton: Variorum, 1989).

^{1226*} *BB*, 59.

¹²²⁷ *GF*, 95; *PT*, 148; *BB*, 117; *OV*, 180-182; *RM*, 108. Equally sumptuous, the specifics vary slightly in *GN*, 297; *AA*, 468.

¹²²⁸ *FC*, 316-317. See also *WM*, 652-654.

¹²²⁹ *GF*, 97; *RM*, 108.

¹²³⁰ One hero dealing with a handful of enemy emirs is also a *chanson* commonplace: see William's duel with Aerfolé and Danebron in *Aliscans*, 82-94.

^{1231*} *Tancredus*, 97.

^{1232*} *OV*, 84; *GP*, 122.

¹²³³ *AA*, 106.

^{1234*} *GP*, 174.

¹²³⁵ *Tancredus*, 78. Cf. *HBS*, 14.

¹²³⁶ *BB*, 52.

¹²³⁷ *GP*, 220. A similar list is in *RM*, 91.

¹²³⁸ *BN*, 516; *FC*, 302-303. Cf. *AA*, 432-434.

full silver statue of Mohammed, in the *Historia Belli Sacri* and *Tancredus*.¹²³⁹ Bennett has convincingly linked the presentation of the Temple in the crusade texts to the vernacular epic.¹²⁴⁰ The same ideas are evident throughout the genre. The church of St. Peter at Antioch in a unique passage of the *Historia Belli Sacri* is despoiled of rightful Christian decorations and instead festooned with gold and silver.¹²⁴¹ Robert's *Historia* depicts Al-Afdal, rhapsodizing on the great temples he built, covered in beautiful images of Mohammed (p.211), shining with gold and silver, decorated with precious objects, more gold, and gems.¹²⁴²

Greek and Byzantines, too, are treated according to the conventions of the *chanson de geste* pagan. In Albert, the list of splendid gold and silver goods, '*preciosa opere et decore*' with which Alexios gifted Bohemond, is directly analogous to those examples cited regarding Islamic wealth.¹²⁴³ *Tancredus* continues the theme of exotic splendour at the same narrative juncture, where the eponymous hero demands from Alexios a miraculously large tent: '*Erat namque regi tentorium, quod, arte simul et natura mirabile, duplicem spectatori, iactabat stuporem: ad haec urbis instar.*'¹²⁴⁴ In both, the dual sumptuousness of adornment and crafting is emphasized. Again, the striking intertextuality of crusade histories is evident. In the *Historia Belli Sacri*, a similarly splendid tent of Kerbogha's is captured and sent to Bari by Bohemond as a trophy.¹²⁴⁵ Albert describes not only the same tent of Kerbogha's, complete with turrets, and space for two thousand men, but also '*papiliones mirifici decoris et operis*' captured at Dorylaeum.¹²⁴⁶ When the crusaders are invested in the siege of Antioch, an Armenian prince sends Godfrey a '*tentorium miri operis et decoris*', over which the crusaders then squabble.¹²⁴⁷ A long tradition of pagan tents of miraculous nature ran through the medieval period, from the Royal Frankish annals (ninth century), where Charlemagne receives similar tents from the Persians, containing an array of

¹²³⁹ *HBS*, 123-124; *Tancredus*, 107.

¹²⁴⁰ Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 101-104.

¹²⁴¹ *HBS*, 61.

¹²⁴² *RM*, 107.

^{1243*} *AA*, 90.

^{1244*} *Tancredus*, 22.

¹²⁴⁵ *HBS*, 89.

^{1246*} *AA*, 136, 336.

^{1247*} *Ibid.*, 262.

full-size halls and coloured fabrics, to the extended passages in the Old French Crusade cycle.¹²⁴⁸ Within this, depictions in the *chansons de geste* are dominant.¹²⁴⁹

All the above themes are found, often with direct textual parallels, in the *chansons*. Compare, for example, Albert's *Historia*, when Soliman describes the Christian army to his peers: '*Horum vestes ferree, clipei auro et gemmis inserti et variis colorum floribus depicti, galee in capitibus eorum splendentes super solis splendorem coruscant.*'¹²⁵⁰ Alongside a passage already bearing signs of epic inspiration (p.181), the shields are directly analogous with those conventionally wrought with flowers in the *chansons*: the '*targe florie*',¹²⁵¹ or '*escu paint a flors*'.¹²⁵² Helmets interwoven with gold and gems, as discussed earlier, can be fruitfully compared to the traditions of the vernacular epic. Oliver in *Fierabras* has a '*elme genmez*', 'a gem-encrusted helmet'.¹²⁵³ Raoul in *Raoul* has a helm with a golden and gemmed nose-guard, a golden scabbard, golden-hilted sword, and similar golden saddle, shield, and lance with golden point and fixings.¹²⁵⁴ *Guillaume*, similarly, dresses characters in silver hauberks and engraved golden helmets.¹²⁵⁵ The '*auro et argento mire insertam*' of Albert is almost a translation of Roland's '*lacent cil elme as perres d'or gemmes*'.¹²⁵⁶

Monastic writers of the period immediately preceding the crusade do not similarly engage in this motif, but Latin texts linked to the folk epic, such as the *Milstätter Exodus* and the late-eleventh century *Carmen campidoctoris* do. The former adjusts the narrative of the Biblical story to insert lengthy passages about the equipment of the Israelites and Egyptians.¹²⁵⁷ The *Carmen* depicts its hero in a helmet with bands of silver and amber, and a gold-wrought shield.¹²⁵⁸ The motifs outlined in this section, omnipresent in the crusade texts, are analogous to those found within these epics.

¹²⁴⁸ "Annales Regni Francorum," 84; Susanne Friede, "Un Héros et sa Tente: la Tente du Sultan dans la *Chanson de Jérusalem*," in *L'Épopée romane : Actes du XV^e congrès international Rencesvals, Poitiers, 21-27 août 2000*, ed. Gabriel Bianchiotto, Germain Eba'a, and Claudio Galderisi (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 2002).

¹²⁴⁹ Linking the two genres in this regard: Sweetenham, "The Old French Crusade Cycle," 424.

¹²⁵⁰* *AA*, 256.

¹²⁵¹* Moffat, *The Châteauroux Version*, 196, 358.

¹²⁵²* *Roland*, 183; *Aspremont*, 232. Cf. Thomas, *Renaut de Montauban*, 497.

¹²⁵³ *Fierabras*, 245.

¹²⁵⁴ *Raoul*, 28-30. See also 34.

¹²⁵⁵ *Guillaume*, 44.

¹²⁵⁶* Above and *Roland*, 168, cf. 152.

¹²⁵⁷* Dennis H. Green, *The Milstätter Exodus: A Crusading Epic* (Cambridge: CUP, 1966), 92-94. Green described the *Exodus* as '*une épopée des précroisades*' in his preface to the book. The extant text is probably early twelfth-century. For dating, see 296-305. The text is Edgar Papp, ed. *Die Altdeutsche Exodus* (Munich: Fink, 1969), 97-98.

¹²⁵⁸ "*Carmen campidoctoris*," 108.

AMONG THE PAGANS

Although the *Gesta*, Tudebode, and the other ‘eyewitness’ texts present themselves as first-hand, uncomplicated accounts of the crusade, and have predominately been treated as such by historians, they are anything but. None are straightforward ‘war diaries’ from a single perspective; all present scenes from different narrative viewpoints. The unstable narratorial voice in the *Gesta* is not constrained to the Christian camp. With Tudebode, Fulcher, and Raymond, the authors themselves limit passages in the first person, and any individual knowledge, to short sections inserted into impassive, coherently ‘third-person’ accounts. The array of scenes taking place solely among the pagans, with no possible Christian witnesses, are evidence of this. Participants on the crusade could not possibly have the detailed information about events within the pagan camp. That even these earliest texts carefully establish a narrative utilizing multiple settings and parallel storylines suggests analogy with some type of literature which exhibits the same features. Hagiography and traditional monastic historiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries do not do this, mainly due to their primary focus on one character or location. Here, crusade authors or redactors are unashamedly ‘literary’; their imaginations regarding the world of the Saracens is unbound.

Although it is possible to rehabilitate the eyewitness status of the texts by asserting the existence of ‘camp gossip’, this is unconvincing because of the uniformity and all-pervasiveness of the same stories across a range of texts composed at different times, with different motivations, and different stylistic impulses.¹²⁵⁹ If camp stories had become sufficiently crystalized into epic traditions to be recollected in similar (but not identical) ways over a broad temporal and geographic area then the proposed camp-fire stories become analogous to the ‘news-bearing songs’ proposed by Ménendez-Pidal.¹²⁶⁰ These multiple viewpoints, some within the pagan camp, are ever-present in the *chansons de geste*. Yuval Harari has argued that the crusade histories’ portrayal of scenes ‘among the pagans’ was reminiscent of *Roland*.¹²⁶¹ This section will examine these scenes among the pagans, and assess them with reference to the *chansons*.

¹²⁵⁹ Lees, *Gesta Francorum*, xxviii.

¹²⁶⁰ Menéndez-Pidal and Louis, *La Chanson de Roland*, 456-465.

¹²⁶¹ Harari, "Eyewitnessing," 87-91 and passim. Also, Alan V. Murray, "The Siege and Capture of Jerusalem in Western Narrative Sources of the First Crusade," in *JG*.

The *Gesta* devotes nearly a quarter of its length to scenes set solely among pagans. These scenes are replete with other motifs discussed in the current thesis (see Appendix B), and can be closely aligned with epic themes. Throughout, the pagans speak in an oddly stilted, exoticizing style.¹²⁶² Largely, they are replicated in other ‘eyewitness’ texts, demonstrating again the intertextuality of the genre. The first scene is Soliman’s flight from his defeat at Dorylaeum, and his tearful encounter (p.173) with 10,000 Arabs, to whom he reports the Christian might.¹²⁶³ Then, when Antioch falls, the Anonymous depicts the death of the defeated governor, Cassian, at the hands of Armenian locals.¹²⁶⁴ But the *Gesta* indulges most freely in this *topos* when discussing Kerbogha and his relief force for Antioch. In the *Gesta*’s longest set-piece, Kerbogha meets the fleeing Sensadulus, son of Cassian, in a near-replica of Soliman’s earlier encounter with the Arabs. The text then records: a discussion between the pagan leader and an emir; the scene where Kerbogha is shown and mocks captured Christian weapons (p.200); a letter, cited supposedly verbatim, sent to Coroscane mimicking Christian diplomatic and social structures (p.216); and a long deviation on the conversation between Kerbogha and his mother (p.219), where she acts as a prophetic seer.¹²⁶⁵ Although the text then returns to a crusader narrative viewpoint, when the climactic Battle of Antioch occurs, the opening stages are viewed from the pagan camp, gauging Kherbogha’s reactions, rather than from any individual Christian force.¹²⁶⁶ It is this passage which France asserts ‘follows the poetic tradition of imaginary exchanges amongst the enemy’.¹²⁶⁷

The other sources add further details to all these encounters, none of which could have been personally witnessed. In Cassian’s death scene, Ralph records the conversation between a local farmer and Cassian himself.¹²⁶⁸ Orderic adds further detail about Cassian’s death: describing how he stopped overnight in a hut, and how a group of twenty Syrian-Armenians were responsible for his death.¹²⁶⁹

¹²⁶² *GF*, xvi.

¹²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 22; *HBS*, 33; *BB*, 34; *RM*, 29; *GN*, 159; *OV*, 63. Albert does not include his conversation with the relief force, but we still hear insider information about his flight: *AA*, 136.

¹²⁶⁴ *GF*, 48; *HBS*, 66; *RM*, 56; *AA*, 286; *GN*, 207.

¹²⁶⁵ *GF*, 50-56; *PT*, 92; *HBS*, 67-69; *RM*, 59-64; *GN*, 208-216; *BB*, 60-67; *OV*, 94-96; *FC*, 220; *WM*, 632. The scene is also in Stephen of Blois’ second letter. Hagenmeyer and Fink suggest Stephen was using Fulcher; if this is true, it was probably a redaction closer to Bartolf, which parallels the content exactly: *Epistulae*, 150-151; Fink and Ryan, *Fulcher*, 93; *BN*, 497. Sensadulus’ flight is intriguingly included in Dostourian, *Matthew of Edessa*, 170.

¹²⁶⁶ *GF*, 68-69; *HBS*, 87-88; *BB*, 80; *RM*, 73; *AA*, 330-332; *Tancredus*, 75; *GN*, 238; *OV*, 112; *WM*, 638.

¹²⁶⁷ France, *Victory*, 288.

¹²⁶⁸ *Tancredus*, 64.

¹²⁶⁹ *OV*, 94.

Albert combines the scenes of Soliman and Sensadolus appealing to their allies into one: they collectively address both Kerbogha and the Sultan of Coroscane (p.228).¹²⁷⁰ Fulcher and Raymond parallel the *Gesta's* witnessing of the Battle of Antioch from the pagan point-of-view, naming the emir who discusses with Kerbogha the composition of the advancing Christian battalions Amirdalis.¹²⁷¹ Robert, Ralph, and the G manuscript of Baldric all make this figure instead an apostate Christian,¹²⁷² or group of Christian captives (p.200) in the case of *Tancredus*.¹²⁷³ Fulcher, Bartolf, Raymond, Robert, Ekkehard and William discuss the arrival of the Emir of Babylon before Ascalon, his hearing of the Franks' success, and the assembly of his forces. Raymond and Ekkehard stress his intention to capture Christians alive (p.200). Robert recites his long, epically-themed speeches, which he claims to know from a virtuous pagan apostate (p.221).¹²⁷⁴

The embassy sent to Kerbogha before battle, while strictly witnessed by Peter the Hermit, is similar to this motif, and dense with features reminiscent of the *chansons*. Compare, for example, *Aspremont*, where Duke Naimes travels alone to the pagan camp to deliver similar demands of immediate withdrawal, setting a date for battle.¹²⁷⁵ In Bartolf's account, but not Fulcher's, Kerbogha and Peter discuss the validity of God. Following a harsh exchange of words, Kerbogha draws his sword, threatening Peter, insisting the Christians convert or die.¹²⁷⁶ There are resemblances here to Marsilie in *Roland*, who threatens Christian emissaries with his javelin, half-mad with rage.¹²⁷⁷ But Bartolf is not the only text to preserve this detail: Robert, Gilo, and Anselm of Ribemont's second letter portray the scene, with Anselm and Gilo recording the detail of the drawn, threatening sword.¹²⁷⁸ Robert emphasizes Kerbogha's resentful speech, delivered after the Christian ambassadors depart.¹²⁷⁹

Other texts in the tradition introduce their own unique scenes among the pagans. Tudebode, Guibert, and the *Historia Belli Sacri* all recount tales of Christian martyrdoms inside Antioch, which

¹²⁷⁰ *AA*, 250-260.

¹²⁷¹ *FC*, 253; *RA*, 80.

¹²⁷² *BB*, 80, n. f; *RM*, 73. Sweetenham has compared this to Herluin's role in the *Canso*: Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 168, n. 22.

¹²⁷³ *Tancredus*, 75.

¹²⁷⁴ *BN*, 517; *FC*, 310; *RA*, 155; *RM*, 102, 104, 106; *WM*, 652; Pertz and Waitz, *MGH SS 6*, 210; *EA*, 24. Cf. *BB*, 118-119; *OV*, 182-184.

¹²⁷⁵ *Aspremont*, 182-184.

^{1276*} *BN*, 503.

¹²⁷⁷ *Roland*, 128. Cf. Owen, "Epic and History."

¹²⁷⁸ *Epistulae*, 160; Grocock, "A Critical Edition" 182-184.

¹²⁷⁹ *RM*, 71.

could not have been witnessed by the crusaders since all those present were explicitly martyred. Tudebode and the *Historia Belli Sacri*, discussing the death of Rainald Porchet in this situation, recount *verbatim* his words to Cassian.¹²⁸⁰ Ralph, Albert, and the *Historia Belli Sacri* all depict councils and meetings between Muslims within Antioch, with both the *Tancredus* and the *Historia Belli Sacri* reporting the words of the parties involved—the *Historia Belli Sacri* and Albert’s *Historia* portray Cassian’s distressed torment (p.173).¹²⁸¹ Orderic’s text describes, complete with quotations, a conference held inside Jerusalem between the emir ‘*Guinimundus*’ and his nephew ‘*Frigolendis*’, and their men.¹²⁸² Hilarius, the pagan apostate-turned-pagan-again (p.221) whom the *Historia Belli Sacri* deviates from his narrative of Antioch’s siege to introduce, travels to the courts of the pagan rulers of Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli and Shaizar, where his betrayal of the crusaders is portrayed in some detail, including reported speech.¹²⁸³ Later, when the Lake Battle has been lost, pagans seek out this same apostate in his tent and seek vengeance on him for misleading them, again with direct speech.¹²⁸⁴ Throughout, the crusade texts seem informed about scenes taking place away from the perspective of the crusaders themselves.¹²⁸⁵ In this way, they resemble the *chansons*, which portray pagan council scenes extensively, and present much of their narrative from the pagan viewpoint.¹²⁸⁶

PAGAN RELIGION

Superficially, portrayals of pagan religion in the *chansons de geste* and the crusade texts are not particularly closely aligned. The *chansons* consider the pagans polytheistic; having three (occasionally more) main Gods, a parody of the Trinity: Mohammed, Apollo/Apollon, and Tervegant.¹²⁸⁷ The crusade texts, with one exception, do not mention the latter names.¹²⁸⁸ But closer investigation reveals many similarities between the depictions of the two genres: polytheism is common throughout the

¹²⁸⁰ *PT*, 80; *HBS*, 46, 58; *GN*, 199.

¹²⁸¹ *HBS*, 39, 52-53, 61; *Tancredus*, 59; *AA*, 194, 226, 248-250.

¹²⁸² *OV*, 166. Linked by Chibnall to vernacular epic. See *ibid.*, xvii. The nephew occupies an important position in the *chansons*: William Oliver Farnsworth, *Uncle and Nephew in the Old French Chansons de Geste. A Study in the Survival of Matriarchy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913).

¹²⁸³ *HBS*, 49.

¹²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹²⁸⁵ Grocock, "A Critical Edition" 38; *Tancredus*, 12-13, 81; *AA*, 34, 38, 94, 102, 344-350.

¹²⁸⁶ E.g. the pagan council scene at *Roland*, 126-137.

¹²⁸⁷ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 355-386.

¹²⁸⁸ Although in Anselm of Ribemont’s letter, pagans invoke Baphomet during battle. *Epistulae*, 159. Likewise, manuscript B of Raymond once reads Bahumeth instead of Mohammed.

crusade texts. In the *Gesta*, for example, the Emir of Babylon swears by Mohammed and all his gods.¹²⁸⁹ Robert's *Historia* portrays pagan belief in 'infernales dii', 'infernal gods'.¹²⁹⁰ Tudebode, in a passage on the martyrdom of Rainald Porchet replete with references to the *chansons*, clarifies the state of the pagan religion when Cassian demands of the captured Christian knight: 'crede Malphumet et nostris aliis diis.'¹²⁹¹

In a similar fashion, the crusade texts misinterpret Mohammed as a God himself, rather than a prophet, in direct conflict with actual Islamic teaching. Robert the Monk has a pagan emir swear 'Per Mathomum, preceptorem meum' despite the fact that swearing by the prophet is prohibited in Islam.¹²⁹² The Emir of Babylon does the same, referring to him as 'preceptor noster et patrone', addressing him in rhetorical accusations.¹²⁹³ In *Tancredus*, Kerbogha worships 'deum Mahumet'.¹²⁹⁴ Very few of the, mainly Muslim, inhabitants whom the crusaders encountered would have exhibited signs of polytheism. None would describe Mohammed as a god. These then, are literary motifs, bearing little resemblance to the lived experience of the First Crusade.

Among the most striking elements of the *chansons* is the point-blank refusal to treat pagan systems of worship as fundamentally different from the Christian: they are merely deficient in their worship for Christ. *Roland* describes the emir Marsilie 'ki Deu nen aime'.¹²⁹⁵ Later, a Saracen, Abisme, 'ne creit en Deu le filz seinte Marie',¹²⁹⁶ not so much implying lack of faith in God as in the Trinitarian son.¹²⁹⁷ The people from Occian le Desert, 'est une gent ki Damnedeu ne sert', again demonstrate not lack of belief in God, but a fundamental deficiency of religious devotion.¹²⁹⁸ In *Gormont*, King Louis bemoans that his pagan opponents do not believe sufficiently in the Creator.¹²⁹⁹ The *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum* similarly lambasts pagan opponents for not believing in the Holy Trinity and the divine nature of the Son, but not specifically for atheism.¹³⁰⁰

¹²⁸⁹ *GF*, 96; *PT*, 147.

¹²⁹⁰ *RM*, 70.

^{1291*} *PT*, 80.

^{1292*} *RM*, 51, cf. 60, 73. Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 5, Book 58, Number 177.

^{1293*} *Ibid.*, 106, 107.

^{1294*} *Tancredus*, 73.

^{1295*} *Roland*, 111.

^{1296*} *Ibid.*, 176.

¹²⁹⁷ Misinterpreted as atheism by Ian Short, ed. *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990), 127; Glyn Sheridan Burgess, ed. *The Song of Roland* (London: Penguin, 1990), 76.

^{1298*} *Roland*, 239, cf. 240.

¹²⁹⁹ *Gormont*, 36.

¹³⁰⁰ Cowdrey, "Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum," 27.

The crusade texts fully participate in this pre-existing conception of eleventh-century paganism. In Ralph's *Tancredus*, the Turkish spearmen at Dorylaeum are emphasized as '*non opis imploratores ad salutem*'.¹³⁰¹ Lack of desire for God, not their alternative religion, is portrayed. The *Gesta* and Tudebode emphasize how the pagans at Dorylaeum and at Jerusalem do not believe in God using a single adjective, becoming substantive in form, *incredulos*, which could be associated with Old French *mescreant*, misbelieving.¹³⁰² In Guibert and Robert's version of Urban II's speech at Clermont, pagan departure from Christ is emphasized: Guibert stating that '*a nostrae credulitatis communione desciscunt*',¹³⁰³ and Robert referring to them as '*gens prorsus a Deo aliena*'.¹³⁰⁴ Urban, or Robert, follows this with a quotation of Psalm 78.8, a verse on the subject of those lax in performing divine worship.

The *Gesta* provides the most information on how the Turks would be equals of the Christians, if not for their religion:

*si in fide Christi et Christianitate sancta semper firmi fuissent, et unum Deum in trinitate confiteri voluissent Deique Filium natum de Virgine matre, passum, et resurrexisse a mortuis et in caelum ascendisse suis cernentibus discipulis, consolationemque Sancti Spiritus perfecte misisse; et eum in caelo et in terra regnantem recta mente et fide credidissent, ipsis potentiores vel fortiores vel bellorum ingeniosissimos nullus invenire potuisset.*¹³⁰⁵

Evidently, the pagans' belief system differs in their failure to accept Christ, the Trinity and the Virgin birth. No aspersions are cast on their belief in God himself. Likewise, Kerbogha's insults against Christianity at Antioch (p.208) are restricted to Christ and St. Peter, rather than God.¹³⁰⁶ He expresses disdain for the idea of returning, *reddere*, to Christological worship, supporting a portrayal of pagans as lapsed Christians lost in idolatry.

Across the genre, texts concur on the pagans' alienation from Christian religion. Orderic describes them as '*a Christianitate descisse*'.¹³⁰⁷ Kerbogha is described by Fulcher as 'at war' against God from afar.¹³⁰⁸ The Charleville Poet speaks of the pagans as '*refugas fidei*', literally, those departed from

¹³⁰¹* *Tancredus*, 26.

¹³⁰² *GF*, 20, 88, 89; *PT*, 54.

¹³⁰³* *GN*, 114.

¹³⁰⁴* *RM*, 5.

¹³⁰⁵* *GF*, 21; *PT*, 55; *HBS*, 32-33; *BB*, 33.

¹³⁰⁶ *Tancredus*, 73.

¹³⁰⁷* *OV*, 62.

¹³⁰⁸ *FC*, 256.

the faith.¹³⁰⁹ In twelfth-century marginalia to Robert's account, Kerbogha's mother is described as knowing well the books of the prophets and of Moses. She specifies further that God is angry with their race since they ignore His voice.¹³¹⁰ A lack of obedience is to blame for pagan misfortunes.

Few specifics about the pagan religion itself are evident in the crusade texts. Those that exist normally link it to devil worship.¹³¹¹ Their mosques are described as *diabolicum atrium*, 'a hall of the devil', or *domo diabolica*, 'a house of the devil'.¹³¹² The *Historia Belli Sacri* uniquely describes the building of three 'oracula diabolo' in St. Peter's, Antioch.¹³¹³ Raymond, the only exception, is aware of the basic distinction between Shia and Sunni Islam, namely the consideration of Ali ibn Abi-Talib as the first Imam.¹³¹⁴

For a religion which is in reality strictly aniconic, both *chansons* and Crusade texts visualize the worship of idols, particularly based on Mohammed. The *Roland* contains this poignant scene, which exaggerates the pagan idolatry, a literal exaltation, to a semi-comic level:

*En Sarraguce fait suner ses taburs,
Mahumet levent en la plus halte tur:
N'i ad païen ne l'priet e ne l'aort.*¹³¹⁵

Since there is no qualifying noun confirming that this is a representation of Mohammed, it allows the possibility that Mohammed himself is lifted up as an idol; perhaps a comment on Mohammed's status as a 'false idol' in his own right. The expectation of pagans worshipping golden statues of Mohammed raised on high is shared by both *chansons* and crusade literature.¹³¹⁶ Robert's account portrays the Emir of Babylon as having invested in shrines, '*pulchrisque de te imaginibus decoratis*',¹³¹⁷ in a rhetorical address to Mohammed. Fulcher similarly describes an '*idolo in nomine Mahomet facto*', and then later discusses

¹³⁰⁹ *GP*, 18.

¹³¹⁰ "Roberti Monachi Historia Iherosolimitana," 811.

¹³¹¹ Itself formulaic of the *chansons*: Genette Ashby-Beach, "Le Diable et ses représentations dans quelques chansons de geste," in *Le Diable au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses universitaires de Provence).

¹³¹² *GF*, 42, 75; *PT*, 77, 117; *HBS*.

^{1313*} *HBS*, 61.

¹³¹⁴ *RA*, 110.

^{1315*} *Roland*, 145.

¹³¹⁶ Otto Söhring, "Werke bildender Kunst in altfranzösischen Epen," *Romanische Forschungen* 12 (1900); Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 387-417. E.g. *Roland*, 213; *Aspremont*, 222; *Fierabras*, 338.

^{1317*} *RM*, 107.

how the ‘*Saraceni legem suam idolatriae superstizioso ritu exercebant*’, in the *Templum Domini*.¹³¹⁸ The Charleville continuator, describing the depredations of Christian worship in Jerusalem, rhapsodizes on ‘*Domini violans polluta per idola templum*’, describing the force which defeats the Peasants’ Crusade as the ‘host which venerates idols’.¹³¹⁹

Furthermore, the *Tancredus* depicts Tancred’s encounter with pagan idolatry in the Temple of Solomon.

*Stabat in excelso simulacrum fusile throno,
Scilicet argentum grave....
...“quid sibi vult praesens, quae stat sublimis, imago?
Quid sibi vult haec effigies? Quid gemma? Quid aurum?”...
... Nam gemmis totus et ostro
Mahummet redimitus erat, radiabat et auro...¹³²⁰*

He initially mistakes the statue for a classical effigy, erroneously identifying Apollo.¹³²¹ This scene contains many parallels with those examples of pagan idolatry in *Roland*. Mohammed, again included without a direct qualifying phrase such as ‘image of’, is raised on high in order to be worshipped. Much like the statues which Baligant orders made, it is resplendent in gold and silver. The levitating golden statue of Mohammed in the *Antioche* is emblematic of the same motif and tradition, and, like that in *Tancredus*, is studded with gold and gems.¹³²² Leclercq has argued that Fulcher and Ralph’s accounts, neither of whom were eyewitnesses, were ‘without doubt’ based on the *chansons*.¹³²³ Payen, similarly, has highlighted Ralph’s description of Saracen idols as ‘*un indice d’une influence épique*’.¹³²⁴

^{1318*} *FC*, 290.

^{1319*} *GP*, 4, 38.

^{1320*} *Tancredus*, 107. Paralleled in *HBS*, 123-124.

¹³²¹ *Tancredus*, 107.

¹³²² Carol Sweetenham, "A Twentieth-Century Levitron in a Thirteenth-Century *Chanson de geste*," in *Epic Connections/Rencontres épiques*, ed. Marianne J. Ailes, Philip E. Bennett, and Anne Elizabeth Cobby (Edinburgh: Société Rencesvals British Branch, 2015). For the connection, see Edgington, "Romance," 42.

¹³²³ Leclercq, *Portraits croisés*, 203-204.

^{1324*} Payen, "Légende épique," 1058.

ECHOES OF CHRISTIAN HIERARCHY

Presentation of pagans in the *chansons de geste* often approaches parody or corrupted reflection of the Christian world. The texts seem incapable of portraying societies and religion as different as opposed to deviant: paganism is a corruption of the natural order. Non-Christians live structurally in a way shaped by the medieval European sociocultural experience. The crusade texts, too, portray pagan life as existing fundamentally within a cultural framework modelled on Christian hierarchies and society. They share key warrior values and inhabit a shared world of motifs and significations.¹³²⁵ Of course, a natural way to experience a culture markedly different from one's own is to contextualize the unknown within the familiar, but certain topical and stylistic elements of this process within the two genres under consideration militates against this resemblance being solely coincidental in all cases.

The Twelve Peers, Christian magnates who comprise Charlemagne's closest vassals, are the heroes of the *chansons de geste*.¹³²⁶ Across the vernacular epic, pagan groups of twelve knights are evident as well, a weak imitation of the Christian heroes. The most famous example is the twelve pagan barons entrusted to Aelroth, the nephew of Marsilie in the *Roland*, where they act as a counterfoil to the Christian Twelve Peers, entrusted to Roland, the nephew of Charlemagne. The text makes this comparison explicit by apposition of ideas from Marsilie's voice: '*Eslisez mei duze de voz baruns / / Si m'cumbatrai as duze cumpaignuns.*'¹³²⁷ Consider also the twelve sons of Burel, a pagan emir, described in *Guillaume*.¹³²⁸

The crusade texts also depict groups of twelve knights, both pagan and Christian; Bennett has linked these occurrences with the *chansons*.¹³²⁹ In the *Gesta*, and most of the texts following its narrative framework, Antiochene forces in the Bridge Battle where Godfrey performs his heroic bisection, a passage already dense with *chanson*-style motifs (see Appendix B), are led by twelve pagan emirs.¹³³⁰ Both Baldric and Robert add details pertinent to this conclusion: Baldric asserting that these pagan knights were virtuous and brave (p.221);¹³³¹ Robert adding that the twelve, sent to Cassian by

¹³²⁵ Jubb, "Crusaders' Perception."; Sweetenham, "Crusaders in a Hall of Mirrors."

¹³²⁶ One example among thousands: *Fierabras*, 260.

^{1327*} *Roland*, 146.

¹³²⁸ *Guillaume*, 52.

¹³²⁹ Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 114.

¹³³⁰ *GF*, 41; *PT*, 76; *HBS*, 55; *AA*, 246; *GN*, 192; *HH*, 434.

¹³³¹ *BB*, 51; *OV*, 84.

the King of Babylon, were led by Cassian's own son.¹³³² This adds a central figure to whom the 'peers' are entrusted, like the *Roland's* Aelroth. Twelve figures occur elsewhere in the genre. In Raymond's account, twelve Christian knights assist Godfrey in fighting 150 Turks outside Antioch.¹³³³ Throughout his *Historia*, Albert portrays twelve pagan advisors or emirs. For example, Soliman is entrusted twelve pagan *legatis*, messengers, by Cassian, to accompany him to Kerbogha and Coroscane, in a scene among the pagans (p.208).¹³³⁴ He also describes twelve pagan elders of Edessa, and twelve slaves to the pagan lord of Azaz.¹³³⁵ Although twelve companions is an eternal theme, and could be evoking the Apostles, the links with other epic motifs suggest that this *topos* should be considered evidence for a relationship between the *chansons* and the crusade texts.

The genres resemble each other also in their portrayal of games of chess. Among the most memorable scenes of the crusade narrative is that of Kerbogha unconcernedly playing chess while the Christians advance against his forces, a scene presented independently by two texts considered to be broadly independent in source material: Fulcher,¹³³⁶ and Raymond,¹³³⁷ and expanded upon by Ralph, who stated that *'fame est'*, 'it is well known'.¹³³⁸ Bartolf also portrays Kerbogha: *'in tentorio suo quiete ac secure sedens scaccis ludebat.'*¹³³⁹ A near-contemporary pictorial representation of two figures playing chess in the context of a crusade siege is depicted in a set of murals in the canonical quarter of Le Puy-en-Velay.¹³⁴⁰

Clemens Klein associated this scene in Raymond with the *Liedereinwirkung*, the 'influence of songs', which he thought derived from earlier versions of the *Antioche*, or possibly the 'Lost Lotharingian Chronicle'.¹³⁴¹ Duparc-Quioc described this scene as an *'élément épique'* in Fulcher's and Raymond's narratives.¹³⁴² The *Rolandslied*, a twelfth-century Middle-High-German adaptation of the *chanson* tradition, portrays Charlemagne in a position analogous to the crusade texts, playing chess distractedly before commencement of battle.¹³⁴³

¹³³² *RM*, 46. Cf. *GP*, 381-382.

¹³³³ *RA*, 93.

¹³³⁴ *AA*, 248.

¹³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 168-70, 356, 366.

¹³³⁶ *FC*, 253. Cf. *WM*, 636.

¹³³⁷ *RA*, 80.

¹³³⁸ *Tancredus*, 75.

^{1339*} *BN*, 504.

¹³⁴⁰ My thanks again to Dr Lecaque for his observations here.

¹³⁴¹ Klein, *Raimund von Aguilers*, 97, note *.

^{1342*} Duparc-Quioc, "Composition," 235-236.

¹³⁴³ Dieter Kartschoke, ed. *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad* (Frankfurt: Reclam, 1970), 34.

Chess is also mentioned in Robert the Monk, during an idealized courtly scene, where the crusaders outside Antioch prepare to welcome Egyptian ambassadors. They decorate their tents, stage a game of quintain, and games of chess and dice, ‘*alee, scaç*’. In addition to this, the elders are described as seated together in council while youths exercise their martial skills.¹³⁴⁴ Scenes exactly like this, almost translation, appear in the *chansons*.¹³⁴⁵ Compare *Roland*:

*Sur palies blancs siedent cil cevaler,
As tables jüent pur els esbaneier,
E as eschecs li plus saive e li viell,
E escremissent cil bachelor leger.*¹³⁴⁶

The *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* likewise repeatedly tells us of the court of the emperor playing chess:

*Set mil chevaliers i troverent seant,
A peliçuns ermins, blianz escariment.
As eschés e as tables se vunt esbaneant.*¹³⁴⁷

Albert’s account of the crusade contains an anecdote about a dice-playing couple, who, in the view of companions, are gambling in a pleasant apple orchard. The woman is beautiful; the man high-born. Suddenly, they are fallen upon by Turks, and the woman captured. The setting is clearly courtly, and the game of dice can be likened to the games of chess played between Tristan and Isolde, Lancelot and Guinevere.¹³⁴⁸ Although this scene would be described more as ‘romance’ than ‘epic’, the two genres have been shown to be, in the twelfth century, interlinked and mutually dependent.¹³⁴⁹ The Crusade texts are clearly engaging in these broader literary traditions.

^{1344*} RM, 49.

¹³⁴⁵ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 136.

^{1346*} *Roland*, 115.

^{1347*} *Pèlerinage*, 44, see also 42.

¹³⁴⁸ Elizabeth Lapina, "Gambling and Gaming in the Holy Land: Chess, Dice and Other Games in the Sources of the Crusades," *Crusades* 12 (2013): 127; AA, 210.

¹³⁴⁹ Kay, *The "Chansons de geste"*; Stein, *Reality Fictions*.

Throughout the crusade texts, the pagan world is contextualized within a Christian framework. Leaders of the opposing armies, especially the Caliph, are referred to as the ‘pope of the Turks’.¹³⁵⁰ Guibert makes it clear that ‘*habent enim et papam suum, ad instar nostrum*’.¹³⁵¹ The *Gesta* and its tradition also refer to the Caliph as ‘*illorum apostolico*’.¹³⁵² It may not be a coincidence that ‘*apostolies*’ in the Old French epic is the most common vocabulary for the pope of Rome.¹³⁵³

Pagan emissaries and political figures often mimic and replicate the terms and forms of Christian diplomatic. Sweetenham discussed how the conventional salutations of Egyptian emissaries in Robert’s *Historia* were ‘straight out of a *chanson de geste*’.¹³⁵⁴ Hill emphasizes that the scene whereby Kerbogha negotiates the handover of the citadel of Antioch with Sensadulus (p.208) uses ‘contemporary Frankish terms’, such as giving homage, ‘*faciam hominum*’ and holding the citadel as a liege-man, ‘*in tua fidelitate custodiam*’. Shortly afterwards, another emir, described as peaceful and truthful (p.221), negotiates guardianship of the citadel in similar terms: ‘*intres in fidelitatem meam*.’ Since the conversation, in Hill’s own words, is fictitious, the author is framing the pagans within an imaginary echo of the Christian world.¹³⁵⁵ This understanding is supported by Rubenstein, who adds that this ‘narrative technique again connects the chronicles to vernacular sources and their depiction of Muslims as distorted reflections’, before directing the reader to Daniel’s *Heroes and Saracens*.¹³⁵⁶ Echoes of Christian hierarchy and cultural *mores* are equally evident among the pagans in both the *chansons* and the crusade texts.

SORCERERS AND SORCERESSES

Certain female pagans in the crusade texts make use of magic or supernatural arts. The most notable, often linked in scholarship to vernacular epic literature, is Kerbogha’s mother.¹³⁵⁷ As an astrologer,

¹³⁵⁰ *RA*, 110; *RM*, 60; *EA*, 13.

^{1351*} *GN*, 208, 211.

¹³⁵² *GF*, 49, 51-52; *PT*, 88; *Peter Tudebode*, 65; *HBS*, 67, 71; *BB*, 60, 63; *OV*, 94.

¹³⁵³ Cf. *Girart*, 10, 11; *Aspremont*, 76, 112.

¹³⁵⁴ Sweetenham weakens her point by citing the *Canso* at this point, a work with an uncertain direct textual relationship to Robert’s *Historia*: Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 136.

^{1355*} *GF*, 50-51.

¹³⁵⁶ Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?", 198-200, in particular n.110.

¹³⁵⁷ Duke, "Study of the Problems," 95-96; Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 110-111.

she prognosticates the future defeat of her son through her observations.¹³⁵⁸ Robert the Monk provides most detail, ascribing to her several means of prognostication: animal entrails, astrology, sorcery, the positioning of shoulder blades, etc.¹³⁵⁹ Albert omits Kerbogha's mother entirely, replacing her in her role with summoned '*magos, ariolos, et aruspices deorum*'.¹³⁶⁰ The *chansons de geste* contain similar figures who inform pagan commanders of their forthcoming doom. For example, the unnamed pagan seer in *Gormont* who prophesizes that Isembart should not go to war in France, or he will face defeat, an eventuality which happens when the prophet's advice is disregarded.¹³⁶¹ Kerbogha's mother, or equivalents, are not the only soothsayers in the First Crusade tradition. The Ripoll manuscript presents a pagan prophet predicting Jerusalem's fall to the Christians.¹³⁶² In Albert's *Historia*, the crusaders find pagan books in Kerbogha's camp after the Battle of Antioch, in which are contained '*nefanda carmina ariolum et aruspicum cum caracteribus execrabilibus*'.¹³⁶³

There are, in addition, two examples of offensive magic in the First Crusade tradition. The first, reported by Raymond, regards two Saracen women at the defence of Jerusalem: '*duae mulieres petrariam unam de nostris fascinare vellent ...animabus excussis incantationes avertit*'.¹³⁶⁴ Secondly, the Charleville Poet adds a section into Gilo's account of the capture of Nicaea, referring to witchcraft in two lines: '*Protinus irati in gentilia monstra recurrunt // Cuncta profanari magica vertigine dicunt*'.¹³⁶⁵

Grocock and Siberry translate as follows: 'They immediately had recourse to their heathen marvels // they said that everything was being defiled by whirling witchcraft.' This is unsatisfactory, as it has the immediate problem that it is not at all clear what the pagan inhabitants would consider witchcraft. Two alternate possibilities are that '*magica vertigine*' is a reference to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 6.480, with 'wheel of fortune' replacing 'whirling witchcraft'. More likely, however, this passage depicts the inhabitants casting, '*dicunt*', magic spells, '*cuncta magica*', creating a whirlwind, '*vertigine*', which then, on the next line, pushes out the Christians from the city, throwing them about, '*proturbantes*'. This does however provoke the problem of translating *profanari*, except to resolve it rather weakly and tenuously

¹³⁵⁸ *GF*, 55; *PT*, 95-96; *HBS*, 74; *BB*, 64; *GN*, 215; *OV*, 96. For a cautious treatment of this figure: Natasha R. Hodgson, "The Role of Kerbogha's Mother in the *Gesta Francorum* and Selected Chronicles of the First Crusade," in *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001).

¹³⁵⁹ *RM*, 63-64.

^{1360*} *AA*, 258.

¹³⁶¹ *Gormont*, 43.

¹³⁶² France, "Ripoll Manuscript," 645.

^{1363*} *AA*, 336.

^{1364*} *RA*, 149.

¹³⁶⁵ *GP*, 74.

as '[which are] to be dedicated [for the purposes of the spell].' Regardless, the '*gentilia monstra*' upon which the defenders relied carries the implication of dark arts.

Even the earliest *chansons de geste* contain magic users.¹³⁶⁶ For example, the *Roland* relates the story of Sigorel, '*l'encantëur ki ja fu ten enfer: // par artimal l'i condoist Jupiter.*'¹³⁶⁷ In the twelfth-century 'Woolaton Hall' variation of *Aspremont*, necromancy is used to make statues of Mohammed float in the air.¹³⁶⁸ Guiborc in *Guillaume* has a magical mastery of potion-making.¹³⁶⁹ Floripas, in *Fierabras*, has a greenhouse where she grows mandrakes.¹³⁷⁰ *Girart* portrays sorcerers at the Byzantine court creating rain at the behest of their master.¹³⁷¹ Bancourt has specifically aligned the depiction of Kerbogha's mother in the crusade texts with the clichés of the *chansons*; it seems logical to extend this conclusion to the range of magic users portrayed within the crusade accounts.¹³⁷²

THE VIRTUOUS PAGAN KNIGHT

The presentation of pagans in the *chansons de geste* is curiously mixed and nuanced: although certain individuals are monstrous and othered (p.189), and the general masses of enemy are a wicked corruption of Christian sociocultural structures (p.216), individual pagans can be virtuous, noble, or valiant in war. This *topos* is so evident as to be one of the defining character types of the *chanson*.¹³⁷³ This section focuses on several sections of the crusade texts where similar 'noble pagans' are described, examining their close relationship to the *chansons*. In this regard, this section takes inspiration from Bennett and Harari, who have aligned the *Gesta's* treatment of pagan opponents with 'admiration' to the *Roland*.¹³⁷⁴

Throughout the early *chansons*, redemption for pagan characters is heavily dependent on their future or previous conversion: pagans can only be 'tolerated' by the texts themselves when they have admitted the superiority and moral right of Christianity. The unconverted, unapologetic Saracen is

¹³⁶⁶ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, II, 600-612.

^{1367*} *Roland*, 166.

¹³⁶⁸ Louis Brandin, ed. *La Chanson d'Aspremont, vol. 1*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Champion, 1923), 122-123.

¹³⁶⁹ *Guillaume*, 155.

¹³⁷⁰ *Fierabras*, 306.

¹³⁷¹ *Girart*, 16.

¹³⁷² Bancourt, *Musulmans*, II, 613-616.

¹³⁷³ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 293-294.

¹³⁷⁴ Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 115; Harari, "Eyewitnessing," 91.

rarely accorded much respect.¹³⁷⁵ The function of this admiration for the enemy is to exalt the worth of Christian warriors in defeating, and converting, such valourous opponents.¹³⁷⁶ Although it is tempting to see increased respect for Islamic enemies as deriving from the lived experience of the Crusader States, of growing intercultural esteem, and positive Levantine interaction there, there is no discernible or significant link between date and circumstance of composition and treatment of virtuous pagans.¹³⁷⁷

Typical examples of this motif are to be found in nearly every *chanson*. These virtuous pagans are deficient only through lack of belief in God (p.211): *Roland* presents Blancandrin, a wise pagan knight who ‘*de vassalage fut asez chevaler*’.¹³⁷⁸ In the same work, there is also the handsome Margariz de Sibilie, (‘*N’i ad paien tel chevalerie*’),¹³⁷⁹ the virtuous and warlike vassal Grandonie,¹³⁸⁰ and the Emir from Balaguez (‘*De vassalage est il ben alosez, // Fust chrestiens, asez oust barnet*’).¹³⁸¹ In *Fierabras*, the title character ‘*mout fust beau chevalier, s’i voulsist Deu amer*’.¹³⁸² The Saracen Iaumont, in *Aspremont*, is treated positively, and even echoes Roland’s behaviour by refusing to blow a horn to summon help.¹³⁸³ The same ideas, of deficiency in belief preventing pagans from constituting perfect knights, reoccurs across the texts. For example, in *Gormont*, possibly the earliest *chanson*, we find:

Tant mar fustes, rei baron!

Se creissiez al Creator,

Meudre vassal ne fust de vus. ¹³⁸⁴

The Latin crusade texts, so often considered as dehumanizing, othering propaganda for the holy war movement, actually depict more nuanced and positive views of individual pagans than ordinarily

¹³⁷⁵ Marianne J. Ailes, "Tolerated Otherness: The 'Unconverted' Saracen in the *Chansons de geste*," in *Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Sarah Lambert and Helen J. Nicholson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); "Chivalry and Conversion: The Chivalrous Saracen in the Old French Epics *Fierabras* and *Otinel*," *Al-Masaq: Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea (The Medieval Mediterranean: Cultures in Contact)* 9 (1996). A table of virtuous Saracens in several early *chansons* is provided by "Tolerated Otherness," 4. A classic study is presented in Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, 23-46.

¹³⁷⁶ Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, 126.

¹³⁷⁷ Cook, "Les Épopées de la croisade," 104; Margaret Jubb, "Enemies in the Holy War but Brothers in Chivalry: The Crusaders' View of their Saracen Opponents," in *AER*, 251, 259; Ailes, "Tolerated Otherness."

^{1378*} *Roland*, 112.

^{1379*} *Ibid.*, 149.

¹³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

^{1381*} *Ibid.*, 147.

^{1382*} *Fierabras*, 255, cf. 257. Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 331-332.

¹³⁸³ *Aspremont*, 326; Jubb, "Enemies in the Holy War," 251.

^{1384*} *Gormont*, 36.

assumed.¹³⁸⁵ The *Gesta*, amidst a long passage containing several reminiscences of the *chansons*,¹³⁸⁶ asserts the positive qualities of the crusaders' opponents. It ascribes to them the virtues of '*prudentiam, militiamque et fortitudinem*', saying that if not for their lack of belief in God, Jesus and the Trinity, '*potentiores vel fortiores vel bellorum ingeniossimos nullus invenire potuisset*'.¹³⁸⁷ Baldric expands, describing the Turks as '*indubitanter viri sunt ingeniosi, callidi, et bellicosus*', stressing their shared heritage and equality with French knights.¹³⁸⁸ The crusaders may well have been impressed by their enemies in reality, but stylistically the textual portrayal of the accounts is near-identical to the *chansons*, with the asserted *caveat* that they were lacking in faith.¹³⁸⁹ Similar sentiments are expressed by Robert regarding the defenders of Antioch, who writes that they would have been equals in war if not enemies of the Christian name.¹³⁹⁰

Even the crusaders' arch-opponent, the atabeg Kerbogha, is treated positively by Albert's *Historia*, which calls him '*homini magnifico*', 'a magnificent man',¹³⁹¹ and the G manuscript of Baldric, which depicts his defined sense of honour: he orders the decapitation of a Turk who punched Peter the Hermit in the neck, since '*bonitas et iustitia Corboranni tanta est*' that he would not permit the shaming or striking of a messenger.¹³⁹² Notwithstanding the positive adjectives about Kerbogha's moral proclivities, the attribution of a moral code in line with Christian *mores* is revealing. The Charleville Poet depicts an almost identical scene, depicting the Egyptian Vizier refusing to allow the execution of emissaries since it would be a '*dampnum probitatis militieque*'.¹³⁹³ Albert is similarly complimentary about Soliman, writing that he was '*vir nobilissimus sed gentilis*', among other compliments.¹³⁹⁴

Often the virtuous pagans display some other features analogous to the *chansons*: Baldric raves about the valour of the twelve pagan peers (p.216) who die outside the gates of Antioch;¹³⁹⁵ and Albert depicts a pagan giant (p.189) who is captured by the Christians: a '*vir prudens, nobilis, et*

¹³⁸⁵ A more negative view is found in Flori, *Chroniqueurs*.

¹³⁸⁶ Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 115.

^{1387*} *GF*, 21; *PT*, 55. In slightly different vocabulary, *HBS*, 32; *GN*, 159.

^{1388*} *BB*, 33. Cf. also *OV*, 62.

¹³⁸⁹ See Duke, "Study of the Problems," 90-91.

¹³⁹⁰ *RM*, 35.

¹³⁹¹ *AA*, 316.

^{1392*} *BB*, 79, n. q. It is tempting to hypothesize that Albert and Guibert were aware of the plot of the *Cbétifs*, where Kerbogha converts.

^{1393*} *GP*, 158.

^{1394*} *AA*, 94, 250, 254.

^{1395*} *BB*, 51.

strenuus.¹³⁹⁶ In the same text, a pagan ‘*miles illustrissimus*’ falls in love with the captured Christian wife of Folbert in typical courtly style, struck by her beauty, immediately inflamed with desire and yearning.¹³⁹⁷ Albert also writes of a pagan ‘*miles...ferocissimi animi et cordis*’ defending Antioch, and a long scene portrays his madly heroic action of throwing away his shield, before being killed by Godfrey personally.¹³⁹⁸ The act of a virtuous pagan throwing away his shield to repel Christian attack is paralleled in the text of the Ripoll manuscript, where an unarmed, unprotected pagan prevents the success of a Christian assault via grappling hook.¹³⁹⁹

Both Fulcher, who calls him a ‘*miles probissimus*’, and Raymond attribute positive characteristics to Amirdalis, the pagan with whom Kerbogha discusses the charging crusader army at Antioch (p.208).¹⁴⁰⁰ The *Gesta* tradition is similarly positive about Kerbogha’s lieutenant to whom he entrusts Antioch’s citadel. This is concordant with the converted Saracen motif of the *chansons*, since he later converts to Christianity, with 300 of his men in Robert and Gilo.¹⁴⁰¹ Tudebode, for example, writes that the emir is ‘*opere prudentissimum, nullumque magis veracem et fortissimum hic modo reperire nequeo*’.¹⁴⁰² In the *Historia Belli Sacri*, the white-haired (p.165) pagan Hilarius converts, willingly seeking baptism from Bohemond and living among the Christians (although he later returns to his old faith and lives among the pagans (p.208)).¹⁴⁰³ Even in later texts, new virtuous pagan figures are introduced. Orderic uniquely provides evidence for ‘Cosan’, a ‘*nobilis heros et potens de Turcorum prosapia*’, joining the Christian ranks at Jerusalem, who ‘*in Christum fideliter credebat*’.¹⁴⁰⁴

The most eminent ‘virtuous’ pagan is Pirrus, betrayer of Antioch.¹⁴⁰⁵ A Turkish emir inside Antioch, he becomes a close ally of Bohemond’s and desires apostasy before handing over the city to the crusaders.¹⁴⁰⁶ In Robert’s *Historia*, Pirrus conducts a conversation about the virtues of the

^{1396*} *AA*, 410.

^{1397*} *Ibid.*, 344.

^{1398*} *Ibid.*, 118.

¹³⁹⁹ France, "Ripoll Manuscript," 642, 646.

^{1400*} *FC*; *RA*.

¹⁴⁰¹ *GF*, 71; *PT*, 113; *BB*, 84; *OV*, 116; *GN*, 242; *HH*, 438; *GP*, 192; *RM*, 78.

^{1402*} *GF*, 51; *PT*, 90-91; *HBS*, 69, 70, 89; *BB*, 62; *GN*, 210.

¹⁴⁰³ *HBS*, 48.

^{1404*} *OV*, 158.

¹⁴⁰⁵ For this tradition, see Levine, "Pious Traitor." *GF*, 44; *PT*, 82; *HBS*, 62; *BB*, 53; *GN*, 201; *OV*, 86; *HH*, 434; "Narratio Floriacensis," 357; *RM*, 51; *FC*, 231; *BN*, 499; *RA*, 64; *GP*, 192; *WM*, 636.

¹⁴⁰⁶ His ethnicity varies. The opinion that Raymond calls him a renegade Christian is based on Rosalind Hill’s reading of the defective *Recueil*; Only one manuscript of Raymond calls him ‘*Turcatus*’; the others simply call him a Turk. *Tancredus* and Anna Komnene make him a disgruntled Armenian. *Tancredus*, 62; Frankopan and Sewter, *Alexiad*, 342-343. In the Hebrew tradition, Pirrus is Persian. He also appears in Arabic texts. Ernest A. W. Budge, ed. *Bar-Hebraeus: The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus, Being the First Part of his Political History of the World* (Oxford: OUP, 1932), II,

Christian religion with Bohemond, nearly identical to that in the Latin *chanson* adaptation, the *Pseudo-Turpin*, where Roland and the Saracen giant Ferraguz discuss their respective religions.¹⁴⁰⁷ The *Historia* marvels at his remarkable faith and trustworthiness, *'Nunc vero de infideli processit fides, et de extraneo familiaris et integra dilectio.'*¹⁴⁰⁸ Similarly, Fulcher wonders at his grace, calling him *'Turco, gratia sua praelecto'*, and making him the recipient of divine visions.¹⁴⁰⁹ Although a traitor, he is redeemed by Christian virtue and his conversion, hence the oxymoronic statements of several of the crusade texts: Gilo describes him as *'traditor ille beatus'* and *'bone traditor urbis'*;¹⁴¹⁰ Ralph *'sanctus proditus'*;¹⁴¹¹ and Fulcher describes his betrayal as *'fraudem et non fraudem'*.¹⁴¹²

Once Pirrus has betrayed the city, he converts. In Raymond,¹⁴¹³ manuscript G of Baldric,¹⁴¹⁴ and Albert,¹⁴¹⁵ he takes the baptismal name Bohemond after his crusader friend. Albert's account is garbled, and at times it seems as if there must be two pagan converts called 'Bohemond' – one who is Pirrus. He introduces the pagan betrayer (having previously mentioned an identically-named convert-spy), and then reintroduces him, giving a different reason for his change of allegiance (the capture of his son). Edgington suggests this may be the influence of lost oral material.¹⁴¹⁶ I would observe that the double introduction is reminiscent of the *laissez similaires* of the *chansons*, which repeat previous action and include backstory often lost in the original introduction.¹⁴¹⁷

Bohemond is a common name for virtuous (and not-so-virtuous) pagan converts. Robert ascribes knowledge of the enemy camp at Ascalon to the testimony of a pagan apostate called Bohemond.¹⁴¹⁸ It is uncertain if this is the converted Pirrus. Guibert, for example, provides an afterlife for Pirrus/Bohemond, where he turns against his new faith. After the crusade, he lures a party of Christian knights into an ambush by promising riches from his land, and, although some escape, he

234; Hamilton A. R. Gibb, ed. *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi* (London: Luzac, 1932), 45; "Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep par Kemal ed-Din," in *RHC Or.* 3, 580.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Meredith-Jones, *Pseudo-Turpin*, 152-155.

^{1408*} *RM*, 56.

^{1409*} *FC*, 231. See also *RA*, 159.

^{1410*} *GP*, 164, 166.

^{1411*} *Tancredus*, 62.

^{1412*} *FC*, 230-231.

¹⁴¹³ *RA*, 159.

¹⁴¹⁴ *BB*, 84, n. s.

¹⁴¹⁵ *AA*, 234.

¹⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 270, 272, n. 31, 274.

¹⁴¹⁷ William S. Woods, "The Symbolic Structure of *La Chanson de Roland*," *PMLA* 65, no. 6 (1950).

¹⁴¹⁸ *RM*, 104, 106.

is able to kill and capture many of the Christians. Following this, he deserts Christianity.¹⁴¹⁹ Close resemblances are evident here to another virtuous pagan story, found in the G manuscript of Baldric, where an unnamed pagan dissimulates conversion in order to lure 300 crusaders into an ambush, leaving only eleven alive who are taken as captives to the Sultan and Caliph, evoking the spirit of the *Chétifs*.¹⁴²⁰ There, they are freed by the noble Sultan, who is 'virtuously' disdainful of the deception used to capture them.

Although on the whole there are few women characters in the early *chansons de geste*, the female equivalent of the virtuous pagan knight in the *chansons* is the pagan princess, who falls in love with the Christian counterpart who is the enemy of her culture.¹⁴²¹ As with the men, conversion is a crucial element of redemption.¹⁴²² These *belles sarrasines* are conventionally portrayed with a fairly limited range of adjectives and attributes: white, beautiful, and yearning for romantic awakening.¹⁴²³

The crusade texts make limited use of these topical motifs. When pagan women are mentioned, it is to fulfil one of three roles: mourning relatives (p.173); pagan magicians (p.219); or pagan woman romantically interested in the crusaders. Baldric and Orderic both report Saracen women being erotically intrigued by the crusader knights fighting before them during the advance on Jerusalem.¹⁴²⁴ Although not strictly included in his First Crusade narrative (Bohemond's captivity occurred later) Orderic's story of Melaz and Bohemond provides key evidence as to Orderic's sources, stylistic influences, and topical interpretation of crusading material.¹⁴²⁵ In this epic and inventive digression, Bohemond is captured in Anatolia and held in pagan captivity, before being helped and released by Melaz, a beautiful Saracen princess who takes a shine to him.¹⁴²⁶ The story is nearly identical to the plot of *Prise*, in its entirety (p.35); Bancourt identifies how Orderic's account

¹⁴¹⁹ GN, 250-251.

¹⁴²⁰ BB, 86, n. f.

¹⁴²¹ *Roland* and *Gormont* particularly lack women; other later *chansons*, even within the twelfth century, portray more. Compare Orable/Guibourc in the *Guillaume/Aliscans/Prise d'Orange*, and Floripas in *Fierabras*.

¹⁴²² E.g. the pagan queen and her retinue in *Aspremont*, 190-192, 660.

^{1423*} Kay, *The "Chansons de geste"*, 20-36. For an array of examples, see Jacqueline de Weever, *Sheba's Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic* (New York: Garland, 1998).

¹⁴²⁴ BB, 99; OV, 148.

¹⁴²⁵ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 293. Sweetenham, drawing a modern opposition over a medieval non-issue, noted that Orderic's inclusion of the story shows lack of hesitation in combining 'realistic' and 'fantasy' scenes: Sweetenham, "Crusaders in a Hall of Mirrors," 53.

¹⁴²⁶ OV, xviii.

replicates exactly the themes of the epic tradition.¹⁴²⁷ The overarching narrative has a long history, of which Orderic and the *Prise* are key turning points, but which is rooted in ancient themes.¹⁴²⁸

Albert in particular uses scenes with references to epic and courtly traditions. He writes of the '*uxor nobilissima*', 'most noble wife', of Soliman, captured trying to escape from Nicaea.¹⁴²⁹ Albert later returns to the theme of a beautiful Christian princess, wife of Folbert of Bouillon, who, on her husband's death, is captured by Turks.¹⁴³⁰ After this, a dashing pagan knight (p.221) falls in love, or perhaps lust, with her at first sight, urgently entreating his lord to grant her to him in marriage (p.208). Although not replicated in the *chansons*, these narratives are likely influenced by vernacular traditions.

Beyond these examples mentioned above, the crusade texts continue to present situations where virtuous pagans play a number of roles: the valiant martial opponent;¹⁴³¹ the convert who provides verification of information within the pagan camp;¹⁴³² the revealer of enemy plans;¹⁴³³ and the willing convert to the Christian cause in peacetime.¹⁴³⁴ Not only do the crusade texts participate in the *chansons* conventions of virtuous pagan knights, they do so predominately in passages of already epic style, with close textual similarities between modes of expression across the genres. This chapter has presented a range of ways in which the same is true for the entire portrayal of pagans in the Latin crusade texts.

¹⁴²⁷ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, II, 691-712.

¹⁴²⁸ Alberto Montaner Frutos, "La Historia del capitán cautivo y la tradición épica de frontera," in *Studia Hispanica Medievalia VII: Actas de las VIII Jornadas Internacionales de Literatura Española Medieval y de Homenaje al "Quijote"* (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 2006).

¹⁴²⁹ *AA*, 124-126.

¹⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 344. Cf. *Prise*, 183.

¹⁴³¹ *AA*, 260, 216, 242.

¹⁴³² *RA*, 46.

¹⁴³³ *GP*, 78; *AA*, 104, 108, 110, 458-460.

¹⁴³⁴ *GP*, 232; *RM*, 94.

VII: TOPONYMS, ETHNONYMS, AND CHARACTER NAMES

This thesis has so far discussed topical and formulaic resemblances between Latin First Crusade texts and the *chansons de geste*, concerning themes and motifs utilized by both genres. This chapter instead examines linguistic and nomenclative resemblances, specifically the use of names in the crusade accounts either directly replicated in the *chansons*, or which show strong indications of being influenced by them. Given the problematic compositional dating of the early *chansons*, or at least of their extant versions, it is impossible to demonstrate that *chansons* traditions of naming were the same, or even present, before 1095. Conversely, it is not straightforward to ascribe use of a number of conventional names in the *chansons* to the experience of the crusade.¹⁴³⁵ Even names of races which the medieval West predominately came to know after the expedition cannot be unproblematically derived from experience of the First Crusade since trade, commerce, mass pilgrimages, and service in Byzantine or Southern-Italian Norman armies must have made many individuals familiar with Anatolian and Near-Eastern races.¹⁴³⁶ What this chapter more modestly aims to do is stress that both genres make similar use of a variety of common names of characters, ethnonyms, and toponyms, and were thus engaging in a shared culture of naming characters, places, and peoples.

COROSCANE

In the majority of Latin Crusade texts, the pagan homeland is known by the name of Coroscane.¹⁴³⁷

This is also the name given to the mythical origin of pagan races in the *chansons de geste*.¹⁴³⁸ The *Gesta*

^{1435*} Bancourt decried identifying *chanson* names with historical reality as '*jamais sans risque*': Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 2. Other attempts to link names in the *chansons* to historical events have been tendentious: cf. Gaston Paris, "Noms des peuples païens dans *La Chanson de Roland*," *Romania* 2 (1873): 331; Boissonnade, *Du nouveau*, 168-236; Grégoire and deKeyser, "La *Chanson de Roland* et Byzance," 265; Albert Prioult, "Au sujet des notions géographiques de Turol," *Les Lettres romanes* 2, no. 3 (1948): 287-295.

^{1436*} Cf. the 1096 crusading charter of Fulk le Réchin who conflates Pechenegs with Levantine Muslims, seeing the crusade as an expedition '*ad depellendam Pincinnatorum perfidiae persecutionem*', Charles Urseau, ed. *Cartulaire Noir de la Cathédrale d'Angers* (Paris & Angers: Picard & Grassin, 1908), 127.

¹⁴³⁷ *Epistulae*, 151, 161, 284; *FC*, 261; *BN*, 497.

¹⁴³⁸ See Alan V. Murray, "Coroscane: Homeland of the Saracens in the *Chansons de geste* and the Historiography of the Crusades," in *AER* (although it is only found in a limited number of early texts).

records the name ten times,¹⁴³⁹ associating it with other epic *topoi*, such as the desire for captives (p.200), who are always to be held there, and the destination for fleeing pagans (p.195).¹⁴⁴⁰ Albert's *Historia*, exhibiting few discernible textual links to the *Gesta* tradition, uses Coroscane in identical narrative locations: the capital of the pagan world, the refuge of fleeing Turks, and, uniquely, the homeland and principality of Kerbogha (p.235).¹⁴⁴¹ Ekkehard depicts the Seljuk Turks as pouring out of the northern lands of Coroscane.¹⁴⁴²

The identification of this toponym initially seems straightforward: Khurāsān, a province of medieval Persia, served as a proxy-homeland for the Seljuk Turks and was influential in the politics of the Middle East throughout the medieval era. But it is unlikely any crusaders were practically aware of such a distant location; its usage in texts clearly positions it as an imagined, idealized, and projected place.¹⁴⁴³ Alan Murray has demonstrated how the name, while linked to Khurāsān, probably also contains reminiscences of the eschatological birthplace of the Antichrist, Chorozaïm, mentioned in the seventh-century Pseudo-Methodius, and *Chorazîn* found in Matthew 11:21 and Luke 10:13.¹⁴⁴⁴ Murray uses the study of Coroscane to demonstrate how mutually interwoven various 'genres' of medieval literature were the eschatological, the historiographical, and the vernacular epic. The development of the toponym stemmed both from this nexus of traditions and popular familiarity instilled by the crusader's contact with Khorāsān, a toponym which they were attuned to pick up because of its resemblance to the traditional 'Cor-' names of the *chansons*.¹⁴⁴⁵

Others have argued instead that the name Coroscane was derived from Byzantine historiographical traditions. Anna Komnene uses the term frequently, and the word is found in texts from the ninth century onwards.¹⁴⁴⁶ But how would a predominately French body of authors, mostly non-participants, engage with such a specialized vocabulary so all-pervasively? Guibert provides

¹⁴³⁹ Various *Corosanus/Corrozana*. See Gavigan, "Syntax," 18. The spelling difference is consistently the former before Nicaea, and solely the latter afterwards – of potential interest given the increase in epic motifs in the Antiochene section.

¹⁴⁴⁰ *GF*, 4, 5, 15, 39, 49, 50, 51, 52, 67; *PT*, 36, 37, 49, 73, 89, 91, 93, 113; *HBS*, 16, 27, 52, 67, 68, 71, 86; *GN*, 126, 146. Baldric adds a unique occurrence: *BB*, 15, 61, 69; *OV*, 38, 96. Cf. *RM*, 59.

¹⁴⁴¹ *AA*, 34, 248, 250, 252, 264, 312, 318, 332.

¹⁴⁴² *EA*, 13; Pertz and Waitz, *MGH SS* 6.

¹⁴⁴³ Ruth Harvey, "Marcabru and the Spanish *Lavador*," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 22, no. 2 (1986): 131-132; Murray, "Coroscane," 180.

¹⁴⁴⁴ "Coroscane," 177-184.

¹⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 180-181.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Diether R. Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis, eds., *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001), 81; Frankopan and Sewter, *Alexiad*, 306-307; Morton, "Encountering," 65-66.

crucial evidence here. He uses the word, but comments on its non-classical nature; he believes ‘*Caucasum*’, ‘the Caucasus’ to be synonymous. In his preface, he writes: ‘*Corozaniam quiddam novi nominis vocitamus, ubi, vocabulorum vetustas quoniam pene prorsus oblitterata delituit.*’¹⁴⁴⁷ This is testament to the fact that Guibert thought this name was widely-known and also that it is post-classical in derivation. He later writes: ‘*dicunt autem quidam terram circa Caucasum Corozaniam corrupto a rudibus nomine appellari.*’¹⁴⁴⁸ Guibert’s comments are elucidating. If ‘Coroscane’ was newly introduced sophisticated Byzantine-influenced vocabulary picked up on the First Crusade, why was it so widespread among ‘*rudibus*’, ‘the uncultivated’ fewer than ten years later, so much so that the old word had been forgotten? His description makes much more sense in the context of Coroscane being an idea popularized before the expedition by vernacular traditions.

Raymond also uses a variant, *Corrozana*, during part of a speech from St. Andrew to Peter Bartholemew, which describes those ‘*qui ambulaverunt in Corrozanam ut deum Turcorum adorarent*’, who must under no circumstances be allowed to join the Antiochene church.¹⁴⁴⁹ The Hills misleadingly translate this as ‘those who have followed the Koran to worship Allah of the Turks’, understanding the word *Corrozana* to refer to paganism, or even the Koran, through metonymy. However, there is no reason to translate this *Corrozana* differently to that preceding it, and make it symbolic rather than literal in meaning, especially when paired with the verb *ambulare*, to walk. A more believable translation portrays instead persons travelling to Coroscane to pay tribute to a God who is resident there, a motif paralleled in the *Antioche*, where Sensadulus travels to *Coroscane* and witnesses Mohammed held in suspension in the midst of a temple at the pagan court, kings ‘adoring’ him.¹⁴⁵⁰ The Chronicle of Aleppo also reports the story, omitting any mention of *Coroscane*.¹⁴⁵¹ The Raymond quotation, in context, suggests a pre-existing tradition to which the *Antioche* is also connected, of a physical Mohammed being worshipped in Coroscane. We have already seen how pagan gods could be represented as marvellous idols in the *chansons* (p.211). Coroscane functions just as much as an imagined Saracen homeland in the crusade texts as it does in the *chansons*, whether the naming of it

^{1447*} *GN*, 83.

^{1448*} *Ibid.*, 208.

^{1449*} *RA*, 87.

¹⁴⁵⁰ *AntiocheDuparc*, 248-252.

¹⁴⁵¹ "La Chronique d'Alep," 578.

was inspired by eschatological literature, interaction with Seljuk/Byzantine diplomacy, or by analogy with an already-extant place name in the *chansons*.

AGULANI

The ‘*Agulani*’ in the crusade texts are the most intriguing of the pagan races, present in the genre from its earliest stages (the *Gesta*) and exhibiting characteristics which depict them as semi-monstrous or at least unnervingly bizarre. In the *Gesta*, they fear no weapons, and are ‘*undique cooperti ferro et equi eorum*’. Strangely, they use no weapons in war ‘*nisi solummodo gladios*’, ‘except only swords’. Hill ascribes the portrayal of the pagans at this point as indicative of contemporary Frankish imagination about the pagans, ascribing them to ‘rumours which were being passed around in the Frankish army’.¹⁴⁵² They appear five times in the *Gesta*; other texts of the tradition mention similar specifics.¹⁴⁵³ An intriguing addition of the G manuscript of Baldric adds a conclusion to their scenes, where all others only introduce them: he portrays them defeated by the crusaders, taking their own lives in dramatic *seppuku*, digging into their entrails with knives.¹⁴⁵⁴

The etymology of Agulani has been much discussed. Hagenmeyer oddly aligned the term to ‘*anguis*’, snake, a supposed reference to lamellar armour.¹⁴⁵⁵ Evelyn Jamison argued for a reading as a corruption of *Agareni*, the children of Hagar.¹⁴⁵⁶ This argument is supported by twelfth-century marginalia of Robert the Monk, which includes among a description of the pagan enemies of the Christians outside Antioch, ‘*Agulani aut Agareni*’.¹⁴⁵⁷ Henri Grégoire believed these Agulani were Arabic *al-ghulam*, Hellenized to *goulamios*, a class of slave warriors in Islamic armies, a theory reinforced by the ethnonym’s spelling in Tudebode, ‘*Gulani*’.¹⁴⁵⁸ To this complex array of etymologies, I would add one further possibility: that it is a corruption of ‘*aquilonari*’, or ‘*aquilani*’. *Aquilonari* is found in Ekkehard’s account as the origin of the Seljuk Turks, meaning North-north-eastern.¹⁴⁵⁹ Q and G are, in this pronunciation, both velar stops, and the only difference in modern IPA is whether they are

^{1452*} *GF*, 20, 45, 49. For Hill’s comments, see 49.

¹⁴⁵³ *PT*, 54, 89, 147; *HBS*, 31, 67; *BB*, 32, 56, 60; *RM*, 27; *GN*, 209; *OV*, 58, 88, 96. They appear in *HH*, but there it is the *publicani* who bear only swords: *HH*, 426.

¹⁴⁵⁴ *BB*, 82, n. e.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, xxi.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Jamison, "Some Notes," 186.

^{1457*} "Roberti Monachi Historia Iherosolimitana," 778.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Grégoire, "De Marsile à Andernas." *PT*, 147.

¹⁴⁵⁹ *EA*, 13.

voiced or unvoiced. Latin and Old French exchange consonantal formations such as qu-, k-, and c- almost interchangeably. This would hypothetically evoke Jeremiah 1:14 and Isaiah 14.13, which talk of an unspeakable race emerging ‘*ab aquilone*’ who blockade the Holy sites, especially Jerusalem.¹⁴⁶⁰

Certain elements of their portrayal are reminiscent of the vernacular epic. Firstly, two interpretations are possible of their being ‘covered’ in iron in the *Gesta*.¹⁴⁶¹ Either they were dressed completely in iron armour, or their skins were mythically constructed of iron. The latter interpretation is paralleled in the *Roland*, where the people from Occian: ‘*Durs unt les quirs ensemment cume fer: // Pur ço n'unt soign de elme ne d'osberc.*’¹⁴⁶² Consider also the portrayal of Tabur of Canaloine in the *Guillaume*, a monstrous character, with claws and beak.

Ne porte arme for le bec et les ungles

...

En treis meitez la banste li fruisse

*Le quir fud dur, ne volt entamer unques.*¹⁴⁶³

Like the *Agulani*, he has skin as hard as iron, need not fear weapons, and carries no conventional arms himself. Robert adds the detail that the *Agulani*’s steeds could not stand to bear those carrying lances or standards, and hated being around armed men.¹⁴⁶⁴ The spurning of traditional weapons is indicative of ‘wild’ characters in the *chansons de geste*.¹⁴⁶⁵

The name *Agulani*, too, is close to a conventional name for pagans in the *chansons*, *Agolant*, found, among other examples, in *Aspremont*.¹⁴⁶⁶ Similar names are found across the corpus of *chansons*: for example, *Aquilans* in the *Prise*.¹⁴⁶⁷ Both Bennett, and, more recently, Loutchitskaja have explicitly linked the *Agulani*, as an ethnocultural group, to the use of *Agolant* in the *chansons de geste*.¹⁴⁶⁸ The

^{1460*} Jeremiah 1:14. Robert, seemingly aware of this tradition, discusses those who ‘*ad aquilonem devenit*’. *RM*, 11.

¹⁴⁶¹ Later texts broadly make it clear that they were ‘dressed’ in iron.

^{1462*} *Roland*, 239-240.

^{1463*} *Guillaume*, 181.

¹⁴⁶⁴ *RM*, 58. I do not agree with Sweetenham’s translation which has the *Agulani* not bearing any weapons, even swords; this relies on translating *nisi solummodo* differently in the *Gesta* and the *Historia*: Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 150.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Cyril Aslanov, "The Comic as a Factor of Integration: The Rehabilitation of Otherness in the *Song of William*," *Crusades* 7 (2008): 5. See Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 75.

¹⁴⁶⁶ *Aspremont*, 725. See Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 43.

¹⁴⁶⁷ *Prise*, 258.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 109. Svetlana Loutchitskaja, "*Barbarae nationes*: les Peuples musulmans dans les chroniques de la première croisade," in *APC*, 103.

combination of *chansons* motifs embodied in the *Agulani* (spurning of weapons, possibly supernaturally ferrous skin), combined with the similarity of their name to one conventional in the epic genre, suggest that, whatever the precise etymology of the term, the *Agulani*'s portrayal is related to that of the *chansons*.

TAFURS

Another group of warriors who spurn traditional weapons on the crusade exhibit nomenclative and representational similarities to figures in the *chansons de geste*. Although only mentioned in one Crusade text, the mysterious Tafurs of Guibert's account are extensively discussed, and much academic speculation has been built on their puzzling portrayal. Guibert describes them thus: '*genus, quod nudipes quidem incederet, arma nulla portaret ... sed nuditate ac indigentia omnino squalidum universos prederet, radicibus barbarum et vilibus quibusque nascentiis victitaret...*' The Tafurs, led by a 'king', properly a Norman knight gone rogue, were useful to the crusaders because they helped in siege warfare, logistics, and terrorizing pagan opponents, who believed they were cannibals, by putting on mock 'corpse meals' for defenders of towns. The name is also explained by Guibert: a barbarian word for '*trudennes*', seemingly Old French for rambler or beggar.¹⁴⁶⁹ The Tafurs are replicated directly in the *Antioche*, where their role is expanded in line with epic tradition.¹⁴⁷⁰

The historicity and semiotics of these unusual figures has divided academics.¹⁴⁷¹ Norman Cohn characterized the *Tafurs* as an association of the poor, influenced, but also in reaction to, Marxist understandings of medieval social 'classes', but a conception of the Tafurs as a defined segment of the crusader army is unevidenced in the Latin texts.¹⁴⁷² The etymology of Tafur is uncertain. Whether the term emerged from the people recorded by Guibert, or the people were called after a term with a pre-defined meaning, is unclear.¹⁴⁷³ Yet there are similarities with characters in the *chanson* tradition. Lexically, Tafur is close to Tabur, whose appearance in *Guillaume* we have just seen, spurning weapons

¹⁴⁶⁹* GN, 310-311. There is no clear Old French corroboration for this; only Guibert.

¹⁴⁷⁰ *Antioche*, 59; *AntiocheDuparc*, 568

¹⁴⁷¹ See Hatem, *Les Poèmes épiques des croisades*, 177-237, 326-350; Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, 14.

¹⁴⁷² Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 2nd ed. (London: Paladin, 1970), 42-49; John France, "Patronage and the Crusade's Appeal," in *FCOI*, 7.

¹⁴⁷³ Carol Sweetenham, "The Count and the Cannibals: The Old French Crusade Cycle as a Drama of Salvation," in *JG*, 326-328.

and monstrous in desire for flesh for his toothed beak, replicating the cannibalism and disdain for arms found in Guibert's portrayal. Secondly, Alfred Adler has noted that the Christian hero Rainouart in *Guillaume*, a pagan kitchen boy who later converts and is miraculously strong and brutal, spurns weapons and shoes, and fights only with a giant club, bears much similarity to the crusading *Tafur*. He ascribes this to Guibert having drawn on an early *Antioche* tradition.¹⁴⁷⁴ Although it is difficult to resolve whether the name and themes derived from the crusade, or the crusade conversely provided the epic with the themes, close analogies are evident here.

DATIEN PIRRUS

Orderic Vitalis names the figure known as Pirrus in the other Latin crusade accounts *Pirrus Datianus*.¹⁴⁷⁵ The *Antioche* concurs, naming him Datien.¹⁴⁷⁶ Duparc-Quioc discusses the episode, integrating it as evidence for the existence of a proto-*Antioche* influencing Orderic.¹⁴⁷⁷ A concordance can be found in the Old French *Roman de Thèbes*, c.1150.¹⁴⁷⁸ Here is included a story about a traitor named *Daire le Roux*, who betrays his city after his son strikes up a friendship with one of the virtuous besiegers. He hands over his tower by running a rope ladder down the wall, as does Pirrus in the crusade tradition. Given that we know from Guibert that the name 'Pirrus' signifies, in Greek, 'Rufus', or 'The Red', analogous with Old French 'Le Roux', this similarity is too great to be coincidental. *Datien* is not quite *Daire*, but is admittedly close.

Dominique Battles, following and extending the arguments of J. J. Salverda de Grave, argues unconvincingly that the *Thèbes* was using motifs lifted from the texts discussing the First Crusade to contemporize the classical story of Thebes' siege.¹⁴⁷⁹ Nearly all of the motifs she identifies are more likely to be attributed to the widespread semiotics of the *chansons de geste* in the twelfth century. The concordance with *Datianus Pirrus* is puzzling. Again, arguments of direction of influence and primacy

¹⁴⁷⁴ Alfred Adler, "Renouart and the Composition of the *Chanson de Guillaume*," *Modern Philology* 49, no. 3 (1952): 162.

¹⁴⁷⁵ *OV*, 86-87, n.4.

¹⁴⁷⁶ *Antioche*, 243, note 408.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Duparc-Quioc, "Composition," 236.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Dominique Battles, *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes: History and Narrative in the OF Roman de Thèbes, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Lydgate* (New York & London: Routledge, 2004), 34-37.

¹⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; J. J. Salverda de Grave, "Recherches sur les sources du *Roman de Thèbes*," in *Mélanges de philologie romane et d'histoire littéraire offert à M. Maurice Wilmotte, professeur à l'Université de Liège, à l'occasion de son 25^e anniversaire d'enseignement* (Paris: Champion, 1910).

can rarely be resolved with such fluid states of composition. *Daire le Roux* is possibly a reminiscence of the crusade story, as told by a tradition closer to the extant *Antioche* and Orderic's narrative than to the more canonical 'eye-witness' accounts. It is equally possible that Latin crusade accounts were describing the betrayal of Antioch in terms completely conventional to Old French literature, even to the extent that the names bear resemblance. The writer of the *Thèbes* was utilizing the style of the *chansons*: even a cursory look at the text confirms this. The same is true of the crusade accounts, and the presence of *Pirrus Datianus* in Orderic confirms the interplay between Latin and vernacular literature, especially since the portrayal of this same character across the Latin crusade texts owes so much to the style of the *chansons* (p.208).

CORBARAN

The most significant pagan opponent of the crusade narratives is Kerbogha, the leader referred to by the *Gesta* as *Curbaram*, by Tudebode as *Curbaan*, *Corbaga* by Raymond, and *Corbagath* by Fulcher.¹⁴⁸⁰ His name, although broadly reflective of the historical figure's pronunciation in Arabic, uses the clichéd, conventional, and idiomatic template of the *chansons de geste*, where pagan personal names frequently begin with the prefix 'Cor-'.¹⁴⁸¹ For example, Corsolt in *Couronnement*, Corboclé in *Aliscans*, and even, with exchanged velar stops, Gorhant in the *Aspremont* conform to this model. 'Cor-' carries implications not only of strength and size, but also 'horned'. Bennett has identified this formulation of Kerbogha's name as betraying the influence of the *chansons* upon the crusade texts.¹⁴⁸²

BOTRENTHROT

The *Gesta* and Tudebode introduce an unidentified valley: the '*vallem de Botrenthrot*'.¹⁴⁸³ Exactly the same name is found in the *Roland*, whence the first ranks of the pagan king Baligant's soldiers hail.¹⁴⁸⁴ Two possible identifications (Butrinto in Epirus, Butentrot in Cappadocia) are plausible: the *Roland*'s

¹⁴⁸⁰ *GF*, 49, and passim; *PT*, 88, and passim; *RA*, 66; *BB*, 60.

¹⁴⁸¹ Alfred Noyer-Weidner, "Zur 'Heidengeographie' im Rolandslied," in *Verba et vocabula : Ernst Gamillscheg zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Stimm Von Hellmut and Julius Wilhelm (Munich: Fink, 1968), 390.

¹⁴⁸² Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 108-109.

^{1483*} *GF*, 24; *PT*, 58; *HBS*, 35; *BB*, 35; *GN*, 162; *OV*, 66.

¹⁴⁸⁴ *Roland*, 238.

usage has more often been aligned with the former.¹⁴⁸⁵ Albert expands on the place name: '*valles Buotentrot, superatis rupibus per portam que vocatur Judas.*' This alignment with Judas, as noted by Edgington, 'reinforces the probability that Albert was influenced by the *chanson*', since several manuscripts of *Roland*, although not the earliest Oxford version, note that Botentrot was Judas' homeland.¹⁴⁸⁶

HISPANIA

Hispania is used loosely by the crusade texts in a manner reminiscent of that term's weakened meaning in the *chansons de geste*. Throughout the genre of Latin crusade histories, the term is used to refer variously to Clermont in France,¹⁴⁸⁷ the Levantine littoral,¹⁴⁸⁸ and the land in which Bohemond became famous, presumably Southern Italy,¹⁴⁸⁹ none of which we would associate with the normal translation of *Hispania*: Spain. Only the *Gesta* and Tudebode use it with the classical meaning which we would recognize as Spain, where they describe the land where William the Carpenter previously betrayed his peers.¹⁴⁹⁰ However, within the world of the *chansons*, geographical imprecision about what precisely constituted Spain was an important feature of the genre. Parts of modern France, particularly coastal regions in the south, and Italy were known under this name. Duggan has written that the crusade texts use of this imprecision was 'reflecting the influence of the early versions of the *Roland* and the William cycle.'¹⁴⁹¹ The Hills, too, ascribed this designation to the '*univers poétique*'.¹⁴⁹²

¹⁴⁸⁵ Grégoire and deKeyser, "La *Chanson de Roland* et Byzance."; Robert Fawtier, *La Chanson de Roland: Étude historique* (Paris: Boccard, 1933), 86.

^{1486*} *AA*, 144, and n. 16. A good summary in Leon Gautier, ed. *La Chanson de Roland: Texte critique, traduction et commentaire, grammaire et glossaire*, 19th ed. (Tours: Mame, 1890), 290.

¹⁴⁸⁷ *EA*, 15.

¹⁴⁸⁸ *RA*, 53, 89, 101. cf. one early manuscript of *MGH SS* 6, 209, n.***. Also, Daimbert of Pisa's letter: *Epistulae*, 170.

¹⁴⁸⁹ *RA*, 50.

¹⁴⁹⁰ *GF*, 34; *HBS*.

¹⁴⁹¹ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 308.

^{1492*} *RA*, 13.

AZOPART

The 'Azoparts' appear in a unique passage of Tudebode's *Historia* as *Asupati*, *Acuparti*, or *Achuparti* depending on manuscript. It is clear from context that they are Fatimid slave troops. The Hills relate their usage with that of 'Azopart', an ethnic grouping found in Old French literature.¹⁴⁹³ Albert of Aachen depicts the same people in identical context, where it is specified that they are '*gens nigerrime cutis de terra Ethiope, dicta vulgariter Azoparth*'.¹⁴⁹⁴ The adverb *vulgariter* could also signify 'in the vernacular' or 'in the common tongue'. The emphasis on their blackness is also found in the *chansons de geste*.¹⁴⁹⁵ The name *Azopart* is not to be found in any of the *chansons* which have been intensively studied for this thesis, but is commonly used in later twelfth-century *chansons*, perhaps underwritten by a prehistory as an oral motif.¹⁴⁹⁶ In 1941, Edward Armstrong noted that 'outside of the *chansons de geste*, examples of the word are exceedingly rare'.¹⁴⁹⁷ In this context, a relationship likely exists between the two genres over the shared use of the term.

OTHERS

Several of the crusade histories present extensive, lengthy lists of pagan princes, mostly when the leaders are arrayed against the crusaders in war. It has already been demonstrated how long lists of pagan races were formulaic within the *chansons* (p.192). The same was true for pagan leaders in the epic, presented in groups, often rhymed in pairs.¹⁴⁹⁸ Early drafts of Fulcher (not all manuscripts preserve the whole list), Bartolf, Tudebode, and Ralph all present differing lists of pagan places or leaders, with similar rhyming structures and lexical similarities to the *chansons*.

Fulcher's list is extremely long, and tentatively, but spuriously, linked by Hagenmeyer to several historical and hypothetical figures.¹⁴⁹⁹ The reduced list, as found in many of the later manuscripts, is more manageable, and consists of the names, in order: '*Amircaradigum, Miriatos, Comardigum, Amircai, Lachin, Bordagis*', and '*Caradigum*'. When considered alongside Bartolf, who

¹⁴⁹³ *PT*, 147. See Grégoire, "De Marsile à Andernas."

^{1494*} *AA*, 456, 464.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 67-72.

¹⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 22-23. E.g. Suchier, *Les Narbonnais*, I, 66.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Edward C. Armstrong, "Old-French "Açopart," 'Ethiopian'," *Modern Philology* 38, no. 3 (1941): 246. Armstrong's conclusion that the word Açopart must result from interaction in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem is pure speculation; no relevant or contemporary evidence is presented.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Cf. *Prise*, 165-166; "Roland."

¹⁴⁹⁹ *FC*, 193, 250-251.

includes some but not all of the names, in various forms, the names can be seen as formulaic.¹⁵⁰⁰ Bartolf has ‘*Amilchara et Digon, et Miriatbos, et Chonardigon*’.¹⁵⁰¹ Evidently, every second name rhymes, with an ‘-on’ ending, paralleled closely by the ‘-um’ ending in Fulcher. This could represent standard Latinate representation of the oblique ‘-on’ ending found in Old French proper names, i.e. *Dragon*, *Ganelon*.

Tudebode contains a similar lengthy list of Antiochene kings, and although the Hills’ attempts to link it directly to the *chansons de geste* by citing Langlois’ study of names in the latter genre were spurious, a few parallels are striking.¹⁵⁰² Firstly, of the fifty names, eight begin with ‘Mar-’ or ‘Mor-’, conventional prefixes in the *chansons*.¹⁵⁰³ A pagan king called *Nubles* could be aligned with a race of the same name in *Roland*, although it is admittedly also similar to the Levantine city Nablus.¹⁵⁰⁴ The Hill’s efforts were not entirely in vain, however, as they demonstrate convincingly that there are rhymed patterns within the list, suggesting an ‘appearance in verse, where such names were particularly useful to fill out lines...’ They also remarked on the prevalence of –and(us) endings, repeated at relatively regular intervals: ‘*Mirylandus, Brumandus, Brumandus, Rudandus, Gorbandus*’, etc. This ending is analogous to ‘-ant’ common in the *chansons* (e.g. *Gorbant, Agolant*), and, in its Latinate form, in Latin texts associated with them. In support of this, they cited Einhard’s famous Latinization of Roland as ‘*Hruodlandus*’.¹⁵⁰⁵

The *Tancredus* includes a list of unidentified place names between Dorylaeum and Antioch: ‘*Sephchet, Spitachbet, Dommith, Commith*...’¹⁵⁰⁶ These names evidently rhyme, in pairs. The –et ending of the first two is very typical of the *chansons*, comparable to the Old French rhymed ending ‘-é’.

Alongside including a similar list of the names of Kerbogha’s pagan allies,¹⁵⁰⁷ Albert of Aachen also includes the names of four pagan emirs supporting Cassian at Antioch: ‘*Adorsonius, Copatrix, Rosseleon, Cazcornuz*’.¹⁵⁰⁸ The third name is to be aligned with the ‘*Rouge Lion*’ of the *Antioche*, one of Kerbogha’s lieutenants.¹⁵⁰⁹ The final name is also epic in style, with Bancourt noticing that

¹⁵⁰⁰ BN, 504.

¹⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 496.

¹⁵⁰² Mainly because the Hills considered the *Antioche* an independent tradition: see p.12.

¹⁵⁰³ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 48.

¹⁵⁰⁴ *Roland*, 239.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Hill and Hill, *Peter Tudebode*, 97, n.26; PT, 120.

¹⁵⁰⁶ *Tancredus*, 45.

¹⁵⁰⁷ AA, 260, and n. 18.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 196.

¹⁵⁰⁹ The same character reappears in *ibid.*, 326.

many pagan names contained the element –cor, with associations of horned-ness.¹⁵¹⁰ These epic-styled lists provide evidence for the historiographical assertion that the genres of the *chansons de geste* and the Latin crusade histories are closely interlinked. This chapter has demonstrated that certain toponyms, ethnonyms, and character names, cited across an array of Latin texts, exhibit consistent parallels with the Old French epic.

¹⁵¹⁰ Bancourt, *Musulmans*, I, 47.

VIII: SYNTACTIC, STRUCTURAL, AND LEXICAL SIMILARITIES

This chapter examines the stylistic resemblances between the two genres under consideration with reference to vocabulary, phraseology, syntactical structure, and sentence composition. Some analysis in this field has already suggested links between the textual style of crusade texts and the *chansons*, but this has nearly exclusively focused on the *Gesta*, and, to a lesser extent, Albert's *Historia*.¹⁵¹¹ This chapter widens this consideration to incorporate the entire body of crusade texts, guided in its approach by the earlier studies.

Of the Latin texts, the *Gesta* has been the most extensively studied with regard to style. Analyses by Oehler, Witzel, and Gavigan have produced lists of the stylistic oddities of the Anonymous, many of which can be linked to the structure of the *chansons*.¹⁵¹² Witzel's list includes the following:

- Lengthy enumerations of geographical features, foods, beasts, offices, and peoples (p.192), etc, separated by *et*.
- Utilization of expressions of extreme joy or sorrow (p.173).
- Utilization of '*summo diluculo*'.¹⁵¹³
- Utilization of '*volens nolens*'.
- Use of the words '*burgus*', '*papilio*', '*saumarius*'.¹⁵¹⁴

Other crusade texts directly replicate these stylistic tendencies, or include analogous phrasings and style. With the exception of the expressions of extreme emotion, analysed comprehensively above, the remaining four motifs will be considered in this chapter and expanded into broader points: firstly, the use of duplication exhibiting synonymia in the crusade texts and the *chansons*; secondly, the use of formulaic motifs of temporal placement in a manner analogous to the vernacular epic; thirdly, alignment between phraseology in the crusade texts and the *chansons*; and finally, the widespread use of vocabulary with vernacular inspiration in the Latin histories.¹⁵¹⁵

¹⁵¹¹ Among others: Morris, "*Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History."; Minis, "Stilelemente."; Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images."; Edgington, "Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons*."

¹⁵¹² Oehler, "Studien."; Witzel, "Problème."; Gavigan, "Syntax."

^{1513*} Also noted as representative of the *Gesta*'s style in Morris, "*Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History," 63.

^{1514*} Witzel, "Problème," 322-324. See Gavigan, "Syntax," 18, 101.

¹⁵¹⁵ Since this chapter is lexical and syntactical rather than topical, its findings have not been depicted in Appendix B.

BINOMIALS AND SYNONYMIA

The *Gesta Francorum* applies an accumulative writing style: nouns, verbs, and adjectives are placed side-by-side, often in long lists, with coordinating conjunctions such as ‘*et*’, ‘*-que*’ and ‘*atque*’ between items. Often two verbs are used with basically the same meaning. This can strengthen the evocative impact whilst also performing a metrical function. This has been noted before by Witzel, as explained above, with reference to the *Gesta*, but the same technique is similarly consistently displayed in Albert’s *Historia*.¹⁵¹⁶ This *topos* was identified by Minis as one of the ways in which Albert’s *Historia* reflects *chanson de geste* style.¹⁵¹⁷ Baldric’s use of doubled verbs with the same endings has been noted by Biddlecombe, who attributes it to stylistic refinement, an unconvincing conclusion since the tendency is genre-wide.¹⁵¹⁸ Grocock and Siberry have demonstrated that the same technique is a feature of the Charleville Poet’s work, and that ‘in this his style recalls some of the linear features found in vernacular epic of the time’.¹⁵¹⁹ Similarly, the Hills, in their edition of Tudebode, associated the construction of lists with poetic material, providing as an example his list of Antiochene kings.¹⁵²⁰ David Douglas has discussed how occasional lists of paired place names found in Anglo-Norman historiography echo the ‘cadences’ of the *chansons*.¹⁵²¹ This section will demonstrate that the majority of crusade texts engage in this formulaic pattern.

Throughout the genre, long lists exhibiting accumulatio are common, for example, evidenced in lists of ecclesiastical offices (*cum suis archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, et presbiteris*);¹⁵²² sufferings of the crusaders (*miserias, paupertates, nuditates, persecutiones, egestates, infirmitates, fames, sites, et alia huiusmodi*);¹⁵²³ foodstuffs (*frumento, vino, bordeo, carne, farina, et caseis, omnibus bonis*);¹⁵²⁴ topographical features (*montes et colles et valles et omnia plana loca...*);¹⁵²⁵ and so on.¹⁵²⁶ This is not just within the *Gesta* and the texts which follow it; independent texts add new occurrences of the same stylistic technique. The

¹⁵¹⁶ Edgington describes him as ‘addicted to duplication’, *AA*, xxix.

¹⁵¹⁷ Minis, “Stilelemente,” 361.

¹⁵¹⁸ *BB*, xxxii.

¹⁵¹⁹ *GP*, xxv, xxix.

¹⁵²⁰ *PT*, 14.

¹⁵²¹ Douglas, “Song of Roland,” 106-109.

^{1522*} *GF*, 1, 4, 68; *PT*, 110; *HBS*, 4, 11, 12, 86-7; *GN*, 237; *HH*, 438; Pertz and Waitz, *MGH SS 6*, 367. The same is evident outside the *Gesta* tradition: *FC*, 183; *AA*, 2-4, 100.

^{1523*} *GF*, 1; *PT*, 32, slightly reworded; *HBS*, 13.

^{1524*} *GF*, 3, 34, 62; *PT*, 34, 70; *HBS*, 102.

^{1525*} *GF*, 19, 22; *PT*, 53; *HBS*, 31.

¹⁵²⁶ *GF*, 20, 23, 28, 66, 72; *PT*, 145, 149.

Charleville Poet includes lists of rivers,¹⁵²⁷ nations,¹⁵²⁸ crusaders,¹⁵²⁹ ports,¹⁵³⁰ and so on.¹⁵³¹ Fulcher can be observed outlining the races which took part in the crusade in a manner ‘all but lifted from the Oxford *Roland*’.¹⁵³² We have already observed how Fulcher portrays an equally long list of pagan opponents later in his account.¹⁵³³ In Albert’s version, the crusading forces are delineated in full: ‘*Francigene, Lotharingii, Alemanni, Bawarii, Flandrienses, et universum genus Theutonicorum...Nortmanni, Burgundienses, Britanni, Alemanni, Bawarii, Theutonici*’.¹⁵³⁴ If additional evidence were necessary regarding the closeness of this section to the *chansons*, *Girart* would provide it: ‘*Li Francoiz, e Normant e de Bretagne, // Borgignon, Loberenc e d’Alemaigne*’.¹⁵³⁵

However, lists are not where the closest similarity with the *chansons* lies, nor are they the most frequent verbal duplication in the crusade texts. Every individual major crusade text, to greater or lesser extent, exhibits the same focus on linking synonymous, or near-synonymous, nouns and verbs with coordinating conjunctions. This is not completely unparalleled in earlier Latin literature. An example from Albert, ‘*caedes et strages*’, used frequently by Edgington as evidence for Albert’s duplicating tendencies, is in fact paralleled in Quintilian V:10.71.¹⁵³⁶ However, the density of the duplicated synonyms across the entire genre betray a stylistic cohesiveness closely paralleled by the *chansons*.

Some of many examples follow. In the *Gesta*, we find phrases such as ‘*plorantes et lamentantes*’,¹⁵³⁷ ‘*stridere et garrere ac clamare*’,¹⁵³⁸ ‘*pugnantes et defendentes*’,¹⁵³⁹ ‘*laudantes et consulentes*’,¹⁵⁴⁰ ‘*fugientes et paventes*’,¹⁵⁴¹ ‘*laudavimus et magnificavimus*’,¹⁵⁴² ‘*triumphantes et gaudentes*’,¹⁵⁴³ ‘*orantes et*

¹⁵²⁷ *GP*, 6, 12.

¹⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 6, 12, 13.

¹⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 52-54.

¹⁵³² Gabriele, *Empire*, 157. For the list: *FC*, 203. Observe similar lists in *AA*, 12; *HH*, 424; *WM*, 608, 612; *EA*, 16.

¹⁵³³ *FC*, 250.

^{1534*} *AA*, 138. See similar lists of Christian races: *ibid.*, 200, 322, 328.

^{1535*} *Girart*, 13. Cf. *Charroi*, 68.

¹⁵³⁶ Edgington, "Critical Edition," 31; Edward Bonnell, ed. *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae libri duodecim*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1861), 213.

^{1537*} *GF*, 16.

^{1538*} *Ibid.*, 18, 40, 41; *PT*, 51.

^{1539*} *GF*, 19; *PT*, 52; *HBS*, 31.

^{1540*} *GF*, 19; *PT*, 53.

^{1541*} *GF*, 23; *PT*, 57; *HBS*, 34.

^{1542*} *HBS* has ‘*laudantes et magnificantes*’. *GF*, 31; *HBS*, 43.

^{1543*} *GF*, 39; *PT*, 73.

deprecantes,¹⁵⁴⁴ *occidebant et dilaniabant*,¹⁵⁴⁵ and even compound phrases such as *volumus et petimus dominari et regnare*.¹⁵⁴⁶ Tudebode directly parallels most of these, but also adds his own along identical lines; clearly both Tudebode and the *Gesta* share a stylistic approach relatable to the *chansons*. He uniquely adds phrases such as *gaudentes et exultantes*,¹⁵⁴⁷ *prohibentes et deludentes illos et dicentes*,¹⁵⁴⁸ *nocerent et contristarent*,¹⁵⁴⁹ *postulans et deprecans*,¹⁵⁵⁰ *persequentes ac superantes ac detruncantes*,¹⁵⁵¹ *ledere et angustari*,¹⁵⁵² as well as, in a similar manner to the *Gesta*, the compound *ceperunt subtiliter inquirere et investigare*.¹⁵⁵³ Albert, a supposedly independent text which was nevertheless early in the development of the genre, is perhaps the greatest user of duplicated syntactic nouns and verbs, with a few of many examples cited here: *intelligemus ac videmus*,¹⁵⁵⁴ *lugens et dolens*,¹⁵⁵⁵ *vastare et depredari*,¹⁵⁵⁶ *conturbati et exterriti*,¹⁵⁵⁷ *distrabunt et evellunt*,¹⁵⁵⁸ *stridore et tumultu*,¹⁵⁵⁹ *muros et menia*,¹⁵⁶⁰ *irrumperere et dispergere*,¹⁵⁶¹ *sonitu et strepitu*,¹⁵⁶² and *ruinam et stragem*.¹⁵⁶³

Other crusade texts exhibit the same technique, attracting less attention from scholars. Bartolf writes *adhaerebant et confluebant*,¹⁵⁶⁴ *se vallant et muniunt*,¹⁵⁶⁵ *defendere et custodire*,¹⁵⁶⁶ Fulcher, *trepidi et pavefacti*,¹⁵⁶⁷ *vastatam et depopulatam*,¹⁵⁶⁸ *vincere et destruere*,¹⁵⁶⁹ Raymond, *trucidaremur et collideremur*,¹⁵⁷⁰ *conturbant et confundunt*,¹⁵⁷¹ certain manuscripts of the *Historia Belli Sacri* add *latentes et*

1544* *GF*, 68; *HBS*, 87.

1545* *GF*, 89; *PT*, 64.

1546* *GF*, 24; *PT*, 59. Tudebode has *'flagitamus'*, 'we entreat' rather than *'volumus'*, 'we want'.

1547* *PT*, 49; *HBS*, 90.

1548* *PT*, 52.

1549* *Ibid.*, 57.

1550* *Ibid.*, 58; *HBS*, 35.

1551* *PT*, 72.

1552* *Ibid.*, 73; *HBS*.

1553* *PT*, 71; *HBS*.

1554* *AA*, 4.

1555* *Ibid.*, 44.

1556* *Ibid.*, 70.

1557* *Ibid.*, 240.

1558* *Ibid.*, 250.

1559* *Ibid.*, 266.

1560* *Ibid.*, 290, 376, 378, 406, 416, 424, 428.

1561* *Ibid.*, 328.

1562* *Ibid.*, 392.

1563* *Ibid.*, 416.

1564* *BN*, 493.

1565* *Ibid.*, 498.

1566* *Ibid.*, 501.

1567* *FC*, 195.

1568* *Ibid.*, 201.

1569* *Ibid.*, 249.

1570* *RA*, 59.

1571* *Ibid.*, 104.

insidiantes,¹⁵⁷² *putamus et credimus*,¹⁵⁷³ *plorare et ululare*,¹⁵⁷⁴ *dolentes et merentes*, and all manuscripts add *replebantur et cooperiebantur* referring to pagans covering the mountains (p.169).¹⁵⁷⁵ The Charleville Poet *feriuntque trucidant*,¹⁵⁷⁶ and Baldric, normally in reported speech, inserts phrases like *superare et vincere*, in this case in Soliman's address to the Turks.¹⁵⁷⁷

This duplication of Latin nouns and especially verbs is uncommon in contemporary Latin literature but omnipresent in the *chansons*. A few examples from the corpus demonstrate this: *le hauberc desmaele et demen*,¹⁵⁷⁸ *frent e eschantele*,¹⁵⁷⁹ *mulz chargiez et trossez*,¹⁵⁸⁰ *ai oi et escoute*,¹⁵⁸¹ *hauchiez et levez*,¹⁵⁸² *honnis et vergondez*,¹⁵⁸³ *fraint et troe*,¹⁵⁸⁴ *fier e pesant*,¹⁵⁸⁵ and *huchié et reclaimé*.¹⁵⁸⁶ In all these cases, the words are near synonyms, duplicated for the purposes of filling lines and emphasizing action, just as in the crusade texts. This provides evidence for a close stylistic link between the two genres.

DAWN BROKE AND EVENING FELL

It has already been discussed how the phrase *summo diluculo*, 'at first light' is one of the most commonly used in the *Gesta*, so much so that it becomes indicative of its textual style. Looking more widely at the entire corpus of Latin Crusade texts, they can be unanimously seen to utilize phrases of identical or similar meaning in analogous contexts, even when adding unique material or presenting episodes unparalleled elsewhere. Again, profound intertextuality of motifs and style is evident across the genre, and the features of this relationship, examined alongside the *chansons*, portray a close relationship to the latter.

^{1572*} *HBS*, 40, n.9.26(2).

^{1573*} *Ibid.*, 85.

^{1574*} *Ibid.*, 83.

^{1575*} *Ibid.*, 84.

^{1576*} *GP*, 36.

^{1577*} *BB*, 34.

^{1578*} *Gormont*, 2.

^{1579*} *Ibid.*, 4.

^{1580*} *Charroi*, 59.

^{1581*} *Ibid.*, 60.

^{1582*} *Fierabras*, 245.

^{1583*} *Ibid.*, 254.

^{1584*} *Ibid.*, 262.

^{1585*} *Gormont*, 2.

^{1586*} *Fierabras*, 264.

The *chansons de geste*, as a genre, emphasize the setting of a scene at the beginning of a *laisse*, often taking the form of a temporal depiction of the sun rising or being in the process of falling.¹⁵⁸⁷ The phrase ‘*clers fut li jor*’, ‘the day was clear’ as an opening of a *laisse* has been demonstrated as formulaic by Larry Crist in the *Roland*, and many *chansons* start new sections in similar ways, used to assert the ‘organization of the poem’.¹⁵⁸⁸ Some brief examples—in *Aliscans*, the illuminating sun reveals the pagans to William: ‘*L’aube est crevee et li jor esclaira*’.¹⁵⁸⁹ The hero of *Renaut of Montauban* fights while ‘*li jor fu bel et cler*’.¹⁵⁹⁰ The *Roland* is perhaps closest to certain crusade texts when it reads: ‘*Passet la nuit, si apert le cler jor*’.¹⁵⁹¹ As elsewhere, the only contemporary Latin texts which place so much emphasis on dawn before battle are those with an uncertain relationship to vernacular literature, for example, the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*. As the Normans land at Pevensey, Guy of Amiens writes: ‘*At postquam terris rutilans Aurora refulsit // Et Phebus radios sparsit in orbe suos*’.¹⁵⁹²

Returning to the crusade texts, passages in the *Gesta* depicting military action or actions of epic significance are frequently introduced by markers of the time of day at which the events occur: invariably dawn, dusk, or occasionally noon and midnight.¹⁵⁹³ Alongside ‘*summo diluculo*’,¹⁵⁹⁴ we find ‘*veniente die*’,¹⁵⁹⁵ ‘*orta die*’,¹⁵⁹⁶ ‘*mane autem facto*’,¹⁵⁹⁷ ‘*facto autem die*’,¹⁵⁹⁸ ‘*summo mane*’,¹⁵⁹⁹ all broadly meaning ‘dawn’, and ‘*sero autem facto*’,¹⁶⁰⁰ ‘*nocte superveniente*’,¹⁶⁰¹ ‘*occidente sole*’,¹⁶⁰² meaning ‘dusk’. Occasionally this striking motif passes through a night: ‘*Hoc factum est vespere. Mane vero facto*’ is a complex way of saying ‘the next day’.¹⁶⁰³ In Tudebode, a text which replicates nearly all the *Gesta*’s content, the same techniques are used, but crucially often expressed in different ways. For example, the *Gesta*’s ‘*sero autem facto*’ is replaced by ‘*sero superveniente*’,¹⁶⁰⁴ and the *Gesta*’s ‘*orta autem die*’ by ‘*Recedente autem nocte*,

¹⁵⁸⁷ William D. Paden, "Tenebrism in the "Song of Roland", " *Modern Philology* 86 (1989).

¹⁵⁸⁸ Crist, "Halt sunt li pui," esp. 93, 98.

^{1589*} *Aliscans*, 76.

^{1590*} Thomas, *Renaut de Montauban*, 269.

^{1591*} *Roland*, 257.

^{1592*} Barlow, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, 8, 32, cf. 34.

¹⁵⁹³ *GF*, 61; *PT*, 103.

^{1594*} *GF*, 16, 31, 33, 36, 88, 90, 95, 127; *PT*, 66, 68, 71, 77, 87; *HBS*, 29, 43, 45, 50, 57, 66, 99; *GN*, 272. Many of these in the *HBS* are unique passages, e.g. 57.

^{1595*} *GF*, 15.

^{1596*} *Ibid.*, 24.

^{1597*} *Ibid.*, 62, 92; *HBS*, 81.

^{1598*} *GF*, 79-80; *HBS*, 97.

^{1599*} *GF*, 90, 94; *HBS*.

^{1600*} *GF*, 6, 15, 35, 84, 94; *PT*, 71; *HBS*; *BB*, 97.

^{1601*} *GF*, 24; *PT*, 39, 59; *HBS*, 29, 35, 56, 81.

^{1602*} *GF*, 79; *PT*, 124.

^{1603*} *GF*, 10; *GN*, 140.

^{1604*} *PT*, 50; *HBS*, 18, 101.

luxque cepit paulatim insurgere.¹⁶⁰⁵ The *Historia Belli Sacri* and the *Peregrinatio Antioche*, two further texts with a close resemblance to the *Gesta*, display identical forms of variation, adding in new occurrences of this motif and replacing others.¹⁶⁰⁶ For example, the *Historia Belli Sacri* inserts a description of the dawn before the capture of Jerusalem with the unique phrasing *'clarescente die'*.¹⁶⁰⁷

This could be dismissed as a stylistic trait of the *Gesta* tradition if not for the equal usage of the motif by the other early texts, also in textual locations introducing action and war. In Fulcher and Bartolf, the battles at Antioch and Jerusalem take place *'summo mane'*.¹⁶⁰⁸ The assault on Jerusalem similarly takes place *'vespera superveniente'*.¹⁶⁰⁹ In the climactic scene of the first siege of Antioch, both use similar phrases to describe the growing dawn: *'aurora albescente'* and *'illucescente aurora'* respectively.¹⁶¹⁰ Sometimes, more complex phrases such as *'mane autem aurora clarescente'* place heavy emphasis on dawning.¹⁶¹¹ Likewise, Raymond also uses dawn imagery to open the Bridge Battle, the siege of Ma'arrat al-Numan, and the fall of Jerusalem, using *'mane autem facto'* in the same function.¹⁶¹² Before the capture of Antioch the words used are *'Cum diei aurora comparuisset'* and *'dies albesceret'*.¹⁶¹³ the latter is a parallel of Fulcher's *'aurora albescente'*.¹⁶¹⁴ In Albert's account, the picture is stylistically the same. The commencement of the engagement at Dorylaeum is accompanied by *'dies clarissima illuxerat, sol radiis fulgebat lucidissimis'*.¹⁶¹⁵ Throughout, Albert uses phrases like *'Mane autem facto'*,¹⁶¹⁶ *'vero die illucescente'*,¹⁶¹⁷ *'Prima diei aurora'*,¹⁶¹⁸ *'vespere terras operiente'*,¹⁶¹⁹ and *'Crastina vero luce exorta'*.¹⁶²⁰

In the later texts, which partake equally in the motif, the descriptions become longer and more classical in tone. Gilo, in his eloquent style, illuminates the aftermath of Dorylaeum with the phrase *'Solares ortus ubi Lucifer attulit ortus...'*,¹⁶²¹ with a similarly erudite formulation before Antioch.¹⁶²²

^{1605*} *PT*, 59.

¹⁶⁰⁶ *PA*, 52r, marked 50. Cf. *HBS*, 36.

^{1607*} *HBS*, 119.

^{1608*} *BN*, 513; *FC*, 252.

^{1609*} *BN*, 514.

^{1610*} *FC*, 234; *BN*, 500, see also 503.

^{1611*} *FC*, 173, cf. 312. Fulcher uses *'mane autem facto'* before Ascalon at p.312. Cf. *BN*, 495, 514, 517.

^{1612*} *RA*, 56, 98, 106, 147, 149.

^{1613*} *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 132.

^{1615*} *AA*, 132.

^{1616*} *Ibid.*, 70, 138, 156, 320, 418.

^{1617*} *Ibid.*, 128, 196.

^{1618*} *Ibid.*, 218, 224.

^{1619*} *Ibid.*, 272.

^{1620*} *Ibid.*, 82, 150.

^{1621*} *GP*, 90.

¹⁶²² *Ibid.*, 182.

Baldric expands the *Gesta's* 'nocte superveniente...summo diluculo' into 'Sole ruente nocteque terris incumbente...Crepusculo diei albescente'.¹⁶²³ Ralph and Guibert follow exactly the same pattern, augmenting simple vocabulary with complex and classical phrasing.¹⁶²⁴ Robert the Monk is the most overblown. The lengthiest exposition of this motif is, predictably, found before the Battle of Antioch, where he writes, in one of his works' few verse sections:

*Phosphorus aurore rutilos precesserat ortus,
Ipsaque rorifluo cum iam candore vibraret,
Solque venustaret flammanti lumine mundum.*¹⁶²⁵

Without a long and repetitive study, the full extent of this *topos* cannot be adequately outlined.¹⁶²⁶ Recent editors of Baldric and Robert's texts have explicitly linked their expansive musings on the dawning and setting sun as imaginative, inventive expansion on the *Gesta*. Bull has argued that, in Robert's work, this is a stylistic 'epic' motif.¹⁶²⁷ Biddlecombe claims that Baldric 'develop[ed]' the '*orta autem die*' of the *Gesta* into '*Aurora illuciscente*' out of classical awareness and 'suggesting new opportunities for the people of the East and even the dawning of a new era'.¹⁶²⁸ While this may be the case, the same is true of Fulcher and Bartolf, an 'eyewitness' tradition, which uses the same vocabulary in similar context. But both scholars' argumentation that 'authorial' invention in this regard is crucial, belies the rich tradition of dawn and dusk in the crusade texts, a tradition closely paralleled in the twelfth-century *chansons de geste*.

PHRASEOLOGY, GRAMMAR, AND SYNTAX

Some of the resemblances between Latin First Crusade texts and the *chansons* are best described as similarities in phrasing. These analogies require some care in their assertion, however. Since many of

^{1623*} *GF*, 16; *BB*, 27, cf. 96.

¹⁶²⁴ *Tancredus*, 25, 46, 73-74; *GN*, 153, 181, 185, 272, 282.

^{1625*} *RM*, 35.

¹⁶²⁶ *RA*, 148, 157; *GP*, 76, 92, 124, 164, 182, 204, 212, 224, 242-244; *BB*, 17, 20, 24, 39, 41, 96, 116; *RM*, 16, 17, 24, 28, 42, 46, 97, 98, 100; *AA*, 6, 34, 38, 106, 142, 164, 234, 282, 298, 320, 408.

¹⁶²⁷ Bull, "Robert the Monk and his Source(s)," 135.

¹⁶²⁸ *BB*, xxxi-xxxii, 36, 46; *GF*, 24; *OV*, 66, 78.

the authors were French, or at least francophone, they may have sought to express themselves in an idiom native to their mother tongue, but in a language, Latin, which was learnt afterwards. As such, this section merely highlights phrases found across the genre suggesting vernacular composition or inspiration, particularly with reference to syntactical structures of Old French literature of the period.

For example, the feature highlighted by Witzel, which serves as the starting point for this chapter, is the repetitive use by the *Gesta* of ‘*volens nolens*’. This consistent use of phrases meaning ‘whether he wanted to or not’ throughout crusade texts may bear some resemblance to the formulaic ‘*ou il vouldist ou non*’ found in Old French literature.¹⁶²⁹ The concessive negative formed by using *voleir* + *non* is a common grammatical structure of high medieval French texts.¹⁶³⁰

However, other phrases are more unique to the genre of the *chansons* rather than the language as a whole. The early *chansons* are consistent in their use of the concept of delay, even in jarring circumstances. Although phrases expressing unwillingness to delay and impatience with waiting, such as ‘*Il ne se volt de noient atargier*’,¹⁶³¹ and ‘*n’i vost plus demorer*’,¹⁶³² are most common before combat situations, even reading letters is accompanied by ‘*sanx plus de demorer*’.¹⁶³³ In *Fierabras*, Garin, Oliver’s squire, brings him his arms ‘*sanx point de demorer*’.¹⁶³⁴ These phrases are formulaic throughout the *chansons*: ‘*n’i volt plus atargier*’,¹⁶³⁵ ‘*Ne vot plus demorer*’,¹⁶³⁶ and ‘*poi i a demore*’,¹⁶³⁷ are three examples chosen at random, all meaning ‘he did not want to delay there’.

The crusade texts portray an identical obsession with avoiding delay. Particularly in Albert, but also across the genre, an unusually insistent obsession is evident with short superfluous phrases like ‘*sine mora*’,¹⁶³⁸ ‘*nec mora*’,¹⁶³⁹ ‘*sine tardatione*’,¹⁶⁴⁰ and ‘*sine dilatione*’,¹⁶⁴¹ all present in classical literature but ubiquitous here, holding the meaning ‘without delay’. More developed phrases evidence the same

¹⁶²⁹ *GF*, 25, 50, 65; *HBS*, 68, 84; *PT*, 59, 107, 143; *GN*, 163, 180, 231; *AA*, 24, 170, 386. Cf. *Aliscans*, 56; *Roland*, 167.

¹⁶³⁰ Olivier Soutet, *La Concession dans la phrase complexe en français: Dès origines au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1992), 60. Although cf. Wallace-Hadrill, *Fredegar with Continuations*, 64.

^{1631*} *Aspremont*, 118, cf. 112.

^{1632*} *Raoul*, 20.

^{1633*} *Aspremont*, 116.

^{1634*} *Fierabras*, 244.

¹⁶³⁵ *Prise*, 188.

¹⁶³⁶ Thomas, *Renaut de Montauban*, 125.

¹⁶³⁷ *Fierabras*, 263.

¹⁶³⁸ *HBS*, 115, 121, 122; *AA*, 6, 40, 108, 132, 162, 206, 288, 316, 326, 348, 428; *GN*, 124.

¹⁶³⁹ *AA*, 39, 46, 78, 116, 130, 150, 156, 178, 190, 194, 240, 276, 292, 402, 416, 462; *Tancredus*, 14, 15, 78, 89; *GN*, 124, 128, 151, 162, 168, 187, 202, 218, 249, 252, 254, 259; *FC*, 166.

¹⁶⁴⁰ *AA*, 40, 56, 240.

¹⁶⁴¹ *HBS*, 4; *AA*, 74, 84, 240, 272, 292, 346. See also similar phrases in *RM*, 97; *AA*, 132, 268, 274, 398; *Tancredus*, 34; *GN*, 241.

preoccupation. The *Gesta*, describing the preaching of crusade, includes Urban's exhortation '*non pigritaretur Sancti Supulchri viam celerius arripere*',¹⁶⁴² linking avoidance of delay to the general motivations of the crusading body. Similarly, when Tancred is given the task of guarding the St. George gate at Antioch, the phrase '*Non adquevit Tancredus...*', 'Tancred did not hesitate', seems another recasting of '*ne volt demorer*'.¹⁶⁴³ The *Gesta* also describes William the Carpenter's break between his first and second desertions as him '*non diu morans*'.¹⁶⁴⁴

The same extended phrases on avoiding delay are observable throughout the genre. Raymond, describing the flight of the Fatimids at Ascalon, ascribes to them the words: '*Et quid moramur?*'¹⁶⁴⁵ In Baldric's *Historia*, Bohemond, addressing the other leaders outside Antioch, asks '*Nam quid hic tanto moramur tempore?*'¹⁶⁴⁶ Similarly, when Tancred's forces move on from Tarsus, the author describes how '*noluerunt ibi diutius demorari*'.¹⁶⁴⁷ Albert's *Historia* contains an analogous phrase, unreplicated in the *Gesta*, where Tancred '*morari noluit*'.¹⁶⁴⁸ These are just some of the examples found across the entire genre, signifying close analogy to the phrasing style of the *chansons de geste*, although a much fuller study of the lexical composition of contemporary literature is necessary for this to be proven a unique association.

A similar phrase, equally formulaic to the *chansons* and equally replicated in the crusade texts, is the insertion of sentences outlining, in the authorial voice, what one would have witnessed had one been present: for example 'you would have seen'. Rhetorically, this introduces a sense of immediacy and vividness to the narrative. Unlike many of the other syntactic and lexical similarities noted in this chapter, it is more common in the later texts, rather than the *Gesta* and its immediate tradition.¹⁶⁴⁹ These normally refer to battle scenes. Baldric describes what the audience would have seen at Dorylaeum: '*corpora vel cruore, vel sudore liquencia conspiceres*'.¹⁶⁵⁰ He uses the same technique later, outside Antioch: '*Intestina videres dependentia; et videres et cesa capita, et trunca corpora passim oppotentia*'.¹⁶⁵¹ Other writers use a similar phrasing. Robert writes of Dorylaeum: '*Illic videres quia posterior pars hostium*

^{1642*} *GF*, 1.

¹⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, 43. Cf. *Ibid.*, 47.

^{1644*} *Ibid.*, 34. Repeated later regarding Raymond of St. Gilles: *Ibid.*, 80.

^{1645*} *RA*, 158.

^{1646*} *BB*, 55.

^{1647*} *Ibid.*, 37. Compare with a similar sentiment, at a similar narrative location, in *RM*, 32.

^{1648*} *AA*, 152.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Further examples: *GP*, 6, xxvii; *BB*, 60, 77; *GN*, 153-154, 172.^c

^{1650*} *BB*, 32.

^{1651*} *Ibid.*, 47; *OV*, 80.

*impellebat priorem in gladios trucidantium.*¹⁶⁵² When the crusaders approach Jerusalem, Guibert writes of their excessive lamentation (p.173): ‘*Videres cuneum militarem, qui pridem itinerum insolentia inediaque de equestribus pedites facti erant, feralibus affici tristitiis, pugnos collidere, vellicare capillos.*’¹⁶⁵³ These occurrences can be very closely aligned to similar expressions in the *chansons*. For example, in *Gormont*, battle is described similarly, ‘*la veïssiez tant cop d’espee // e tante lance enquartere?*’,¹⁶⁵⁴ as it is in *Aliscans*: ‘*La veïssiez maint escu desboucler.*’¹⁶⁵⁵ At some points, the passages are directly comparable. William of Malmesbury introduces the advance at the battle of Ascalon with ‘*videres*’ and then a description of Christian knighthood glittering in the sun, directly analogous to *Fierabras* where ‘*paiens veïssiez adoubés.*’¹⁶⁵⁶

Other links are possible, but without full lexical and syntactic study of the entire corpus in comparison with other twelfth-century genres of literature, these are difficult to evidence. I suspect that the use of ‘*lex*’ in the crusade texts to mean ‘religion, culture’ as opposed to ‘law’ is influenced by Old French *loi*, which more precisely holds these shades of meaning; and that the very frequent expressions of ‘*quid plura?*’, ‘*quid moror?*’, and equivalents in the crusade texts is related to the conventional ‘*que je dirioie?*’, of the *chansons*, but neither can be demonstrated on basis of the present study.¹⁶⁵⁷ It is worthy of note as well that throughout the crusade corpus, all of the passages where reliability is explicitly claimed, and the ‘truth’ is evoked as a mark of authorial reliability, are among the more ‘imaginary’ sections, taking place among the pagans or holding close resemblances to the vernacular epic (Appendix B). The usage of plentiful truth claims to assert reliability is also a feature of the *chansons*.¹⁶⁵⁸ The phrase used by the *Gesta* to refer to the aims of the besiegers of Albara: ‘*ut Christianitatem exaltaret, ac paganismum deponeret?*’ seems analogous to ‘*pur chrestienté essaucier?*’, a clichéd expression of the *chansons*.¹⁶⁵⁹ Compare, for example, the *Charroi*, portraying its hero, William: ‘*Molt essauça sainte crestientez?*’¹⁶⁶⁰

^{1652*} *RM*, 25.

^{1653*} *GN*, 168-169.

^{1654*} *Gormont*, 17.

^{1655*} *Aliscans*, 270.

^{1656*} *WM*, 652. Cf. *Fierabras*, 340.

^{1657*} Translation in Appendix C.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Jeanette Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages* (Geneva: Droz, 1981), 10, 23-24, 85.

^{1659*} *GF*, 79. Hill misleadingly translated *paganismum* as ‘idolatry’ based on suppositions about the author’s intention.

^{1660*} *Charroi*, 59. Contrary to orthodoxy, this is not a phrase demonstrating post-Crusade dating for *chansons*: David A. Trotter, “Por eshalcier sainte Crestienté,” *French Studies Bulletin* 7 (1983).

The grammar of the Latin First Crusade texts, predominately that of the *Gesta* but also across the genre, is unusual in two regards. The first is consistent reliance on *coepere* as an auxiliary verb, combined with the infinitive, resulting in a weakened meaning far from the classical '[subject] began to [verb]'. The second is substitution of ablatives of gerunds for present participles. Both were identified by Gavigan in his extensive study of the *Gesta*, where he wrote: 'The infinitive is close to Romance in its uses. So too is the gerund standing for a participle.'¹⁶⁶¹

The phrasing '*coepit*+infinitive' is used in classical Latin to express commencement of action, but is so overused in the crusade texts that it adds little practical meaning to the verb. In this regard, it is similar to Old French '*se prist a*', used with a similar weakened meaning. The reflexive use of *prendre* strictly means to take or begin, but is used in Old French as a standard construction to demonstrate a person performing an action. *Coepit* + infinitive verb could represent a direct translation of this in Latin. This weakened usage of *coepere* is not completely unique to the crusade texts, but again is most closely paralleled in other late eleventh-century works of 'epic' historiography such as the *Carmen campidoctoris*, a Spanish Latin poem which uses phrasings such as '*cepit amare*', '*ceperunt ei invidere*', in similar contexts.¹⁶⁶²

Adding to the idea that the Latin usage is analogous to the Old French of the *chansons*, the formulation is frequently used in epic-themed scenes. For example, in the *Gesta*, Turks howling outside Antioch '*ceperunt stridere et garrere*',¹⁶⁶³ Bohemond to Pirrus before Antioch's fall '*coepit precari*',¹⁶⁶⁴ Pirrus himself when he sees the Franks '*coepit pavere*',¹⁶⁶⁵ Kerbogha, seeing the rusted Christian weapons at Antioch '*coepit surridere*',¹⁶⁶⁶ and Guy of Hauteville, learning of the aborted relief mission to his half-brother '*coepit plorare*'.¹⁶⁶⁷ In Robert's *Historia*, the pagans inside Antioch (p.208) call upon Mohammed, described with the words '*ceperunt invocare*'.¹⁶⁶⁸ Also, in Robert's work, Stephen of Blois, profusely teary (p.173) '*equitare cepit*', 'began to ride'.¹⁶⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶¹ Gavigan, "Syntax," 75, 101.

^{1662*} "Carmen campidoctoris," 101, 106.

^{1663*} *GF*, 18, 40; *PT*, 51; *HBS*, 54.

^{1664*} *GF*, 45.

^{1665*} *Ibid.*, 46; *PT*, 86.

^{1666*} *GF*, 51; *HBS*, 70. The latter substitutes *ridere*.

^{1667*} *GF*, 64. The *HBS* adds duplicated verbs '*plorare et ululare*' as above, *HBS*, 83.

^{1668*} *RM*, 46.

¹⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

Aside from the *Gesta*, other texts also replicate the same style. In the final battle of Ascalon, where the *Gesta* describes how the crusaders ‘*coeperunt militare*’ and ‘*coeperunt ambulare*,’ Tudebode repeats the phrasing, adding another unique ‘*coeperunt militare*’.¹⁶⁷⁰ In another unique passage, Tudebode describes the epic combat of Gouffier of Las Tours, who ‘*cepit pugnare*’.¹⁶⁷¹ Gilo utilizes the same technique: ‘*cepere precari*’,¹⁶⁷² as does Ekkehard’s *Chronica* when discussing the crusaders’ progress across Anatolia, ‘*atterere coepit*’.¹⁶⁷³ Albert, too, uses *coepere* similarly, writing ‘*coeperunt... rapere et abducere*’.¹⁶⁷⁴ Fulcher and Bartolf’s usage of the motif is particularly interesting. In Fulcher’s account of Antioch, the Franks ‘*impetere coeperunt*’, where the enemy ‘*coeperunt fugere*’.¹⁶⁷⁵ Bartolf describes how the Turks ‘*coeperunt praetentare*’,¹⁶⁷⁶ and how the crusaders at Jerusalem ‘*ascendere coeperunt*’,¹⁶⁷⁷ the pagans opposing them ‘*repugnare coeperunt*’ and ‘*repellere coeperunt*’.¹⁶⁷⁸ The *Historia Belli Sacri* describes the start of fighting at Jerusalem in almost identical terms: ‘*coeperunt pugnare*’.¹⁶⁷⁹ Broadly, here and in terms of other syntactical, stylistic factors, one is left with the impression that Fulcher and Bartolf are closer in this regard to the *Gesta* and Tudebode in passages which also exhibit greatest density of similarities to the *chansons*, that is, at Dorylaeum, outside Antioch, and at Jerusalem and Ascalon.

None of the usages above are entirely ungrammatical, and could *bona fide* represent the commencement of activity, although ‘*coepere*’ is more likely a throwaway addition to a sentence in the same way that ‘*prendre*’ is. The widespread use of this motif in the crusade texts, and its rarity elsewhere, suggests stylistic unity across the genre, related to the vernacular idiom.

The second analogous grammatical structure is the replacement of the present participle with ablatives of gerunds. Gavigan identifies this syntactical tendency in the *Gesta*, confirming its rarity, explaining that it was more common in Italian and ecclesiastical Latin.¹⁶⁸⁰ The author uses it when a present participle would be more common: *persequendo* instead of *persequens*, *promittendo* instead of *promittens*.¹⁶⁸¹ Again, usage is focused around passages of close parallel with the epic.

^{1670*} *GF*, 95; *PT*, 146.

^{1671*} *PT*, 123.

^{1672*} *GP*, 78.

^{1673*} *MGH SS* 6, 209.

^{1674*} *AA*, 10.

^{1675*} *FC*, 234; *BN*, 500.

^{1676*} *BN*, 501.

^{1677*} *Ibid.*, 513. The same language is used by the *Gesta* and the *HBS* regarding Antioch: *GF*, 47; *HBS*, 65.

^{1678*} *BN*, 514.

^{1679*} *HBS*, 119.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Gavigan, "Syntax," 69.

¹⁶⁸¹ *GF*, 6, 45; *PT*, 39; *HBS*, 81.

The entire *Gesta* tradition consistently engages with this curious usage regarding verbs of pagan attack. In their depiction of Dorylaeum, a passage dense with epic motifs (Appendix B), the *Gesta* and Tudebode write: *Turci undique iam erant circumcingentes nos, dimicando et iaculando, ac spiculando, et mirabiliter longe lateque sagittando*.¹⁶⁸² The same vocabulary, ‘*iaculando, spiculando, sagittando*’ is repeated slightly later in the account. Throughout, ablatives of gerunds are used to express participles, particularly military words or those referring to missile weapons,¹⁶⁸³ but also more peaceful activities: ‘*signando et benedicendo*’,¹⁶⁸⁴ ‘*predicando et commonendo*’.¹⁶⁸⁵

In fact, throughout the crusade texts, there is a puzzling emphasis on pagan use of ‘darts’,¹⁶⁸⁶ often combined with the ablative gerund, in the word ‘*iaculando*’, and often in close association with the motif of pagans howling bestially (p.187).¹⁶⁸⁷ Perhaps reflective of exegesis on Ephesians 6:16, where darts are ranged against the shield of faith, it is equally paralleled in the *chansons de geste*, where it is one of the favoured weapons of the pagan enemies.¹⁶⁸⁸

The *Gesta* tradition is not alone in the use of this construction. The first letter of Stephen of Blois refers to the Christians pursuing the pagans ‘*vulnerando, occidendo*’.¹⁶⁸⁹ Manuscript P of the *Historia Belli Sacri*, in a passage unattested elsewhere, describes the speech of defeated pagans to ‘*Hilarius*’, an apostate. They talk about how the Christians were among them: ‘*ad medietatem viae fuerunt preliando et occidendo nos*’.¹⁶⁹⁰ In the variant G manuscript of Baldric’s *Historia*, a lion which leaps out at Christian foragers is described in the following words: ‘*leo maximus rugiendo advenit*’.¹⁶⁹¹ These examples demonstrate that throughout certain of the crusade texts, the gerund is used in place of the participle in a manner analogous to the grammatical conventions of Old French.¹⁶⁹²

^{1682*} *GF*, 19; *PT*, 52; *HBS*, 30; *BB*, 32; *OV*, 60. Cf. *Tancredus*, 26.

^{1683*} *GF*, 40, 41, 62, 69, 79; *PT*, 74, 111; *HBS*, 54, 88; *GN*, 190, 239.

^{1684*} *GF*, 68; *HBS*, 87.

^{1685*} *GF*, 90, cf. 94.

¹⁶⁸⁶ *RM*, 35, 57, 64, 77, 86, 91, 96, 98; *AA*, 34, 54, 94, 118, 268, 296, 412, 460; *GN*, 149, 154, 187, 253; *GP*, 110, 170, 198; *HBS*, 125; *Tancredus*, 67, 72, 89, 92.

¹⁶⁸⁷ *GP*, 124.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Cf. *Gormont*, 4; *Couronnement*, 93; *Guillaume*, 72, 76, 77.

^{1689*} *Epistulae*, 139.

^{1690*} *HBS*, 51.

^{1691*} *BB*, 98, n. k.

¹⁶⁹² See François Frédéric Roget, *An Introduction to Old French* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1887), 213.

FRENCH LANGUAGE

The Latin Crusade texts consistently, to a greater extent than other contemporary Latin literature, use terms, phrases, and words with a vernacular Old French root or association.¹⁶⁹³ The language in the *Gesta* is described by Bréhier as close to French and far from classical Latin: ‘*son latin est un décalque plus qu’une traduction.*’¹⁶⁹⁴ The majority of those present on the First Crusade were probably francophone, as were most of the authors of the texts; their experiences, observations, and understanding were probably based on French lexical and idiomatic frameworks. But two factors suggest a closer relationship between French language and Latin crusade texts: firstly, the consistency of use of specific words and phrases across texts, considered below; secondly, that many of the concepts linked to vernacular terms are expressed in Latin for the first time within the genre under consideration.

For example, the crusade accounts are the first Latin texts to use *dextrarius* as a word for a warhorse.¹⁶⁹⁵ Presuming a pre-1100 date for the Oxford *Roland*, which includes *destrier* as an Old French noun, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the words developed simultaneously, or that *dextrarius* was a Latinization of the vernacular term, based in Breton ‘*eddestr*’. Fulcher uses the term when the crusaders are in Byzantine lands, and Raymond utilizes it whilst the crusaders are *en route* to Jerusalem.¹⁶⁹⁶ To use a term so closely aligned, etymologically and culturally, with the warlike poetry of the *chansons de geste* demonstrates textual relationship between the styles of these two genres.

In the same passage, Raymond introduces into the canon another term for horses not satisfactorily explained in translations. The ‘*equos farios*’ mentioned thrice by Raymond throughout his work, are translated by Hill and Hill as ‘Arabian horses’. This seems to stem from a supposed etymology from Greek Φάρος, Arabic *Al-Fars*.¹⁶⁹⁷ As such, it could also be aligned with Old French *ferrant* or *auferrant*, meaning warhorse, from the same root.¹⁶⁹⁸ This vocabulary is frequent in the

¹⁶⁹³ For evidence of this regarding Guibert: Eitan Burstein, "Quelques remarques sur le vocabulaire de Guibert de Nogent," *CCM* 21 (1978): esp. 249-250.

^{1694*} Bréhier, *Histoire anonyme*, xx-xxi.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Charles Du Cange and Léopold Favre, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Paris: Niort, 1887), vol. 3, 92.

¹⁶⁹⁶ *FC*, 172-173; *RA*, 103.

¹⁶⁹⁷ E. A. Sophocles, *Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)* (New York: Scribner, 1870), 1135.

¹⁶⁹⁸ T. C. Donkin and Friedrich Diez, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1864), 199.

chansons.¹⁶⁹⁹ Raymond utilizes *farios*, twice more in his work, once as an adjective and once as a noun,¹⁷⁰⁰ and we see this more as the conventional *ferrant* than repeated reference to an un glossed Greek or Islamic word. In the second of these examples, it is not paired with *equos*, suggesting that it is expected to be easily comprehended by Raymond's audience. Another similar reference is found in the G manuscript of Baldric, where an '*equam caballis velociorem que lingua eorum pharissa vocatur*' is described as the steed of the emir of Beirut in formulaic single combat.¹⁷⁰¹ Both can most likely be linked to *anferrant*.

The word 'standard' was only just emerging in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, from Old French *estandard*. The three earliest uses of the word in Latin are all by crusade historians: the author of the *Gesta*, Albert; and Henry.¹⁷⁰² Both Albert and Henry feel it necessary to gloss the word, with Albert writing: '*longissima hasta argento operta per totum quod vocant standart*.'¹⁷⁰³ Henry, admittedly referring to it outside of a crusade context, at the battle of Hastings: '*signum, quod vocatur standard*.'¹⁷⁰⁴ The word can be compared, for example, with the *Roland's estandard*, mentioned thrice.¹⁷⁰⁵ Greenway has suggested that Henry's use of the word is indicative of vernacular oral sources; it seems reasonable to suggest that the *Gesta's* and Albert's usages could be too.¹⁷⁰⁶

Other words undertake shifts in meaning which suggests analogy with Old French. Again across the genre, the use of the word '*militia*' bears little resemblance to the classical meaning of 'soldiery'. Morris notes that the *Gesta's* usage of the word, '*non audivi loqui de militia aliqua, quam idem fecisset*', suggests a specific 'act' of knighthood, paralleled rather better in Old French *chevalerie*.¹⁷⁰⁷ Fulcher, describing Antioch's capture, depicts how '*milites probitatis militiam tenuerunt*', 'knights of quality upheld *militia*', that is, rightful conduct, chivalrous acts, *chevalerie*.¹⁷⁰⁸ Raymond portrays the inhabitants of Tripoli as keen to test the Frankish knights' *militia*, which probably ought be translated similarly.¹⁷⁰⁹ The Charleville Poet uses *militia* with this meaning when a virtuous pagan, played here

¹⁶⁹⁹ *Gormont*, 2; *Charroi*, 62.

¹⁷⁰⁰ *RA*, 61, 111, 112.

^{1701*} *BB*, 71, n. r.

¹⁷⁰² *GF*, 95.

^{1703*} *AA*, 468.

^{1704*} *HH*, 394.

¹⁷⁰⁵ *Roland*, 240, 243, 244.

¹⁷⁰⁶ *HH*, cvi-cvii.

^{1707*} *GF*, 65; Morris, "*Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History," 63; *PT*, 107; *HBS*, 84.

¹⁷⁰⁸ *FC*, 235.

¹⁷⁰⁹ *RA*, 124.

by Al-Afdal, suggests that to execute Christian captives would be a '*dampnum militie*', 'a crime against knighthood'. It is clear that what is signified here is a code of practice which such an act would be transgressing. It is not unreasonable to translate this, therefore, as *chevalerie*, or chivalry.¹⁷¹⁰

Gavigan suggests that the *Gesta*'s *hostis* differs in meaning from the classical 'guest, stranger, enemy' and is used instead to mean 'army, host', analogous to the homophonic Old French *ost*.¹⁷¹¹ Klein had earlier commented on Tudebode's usage as well, with the same meaning, in such a way that it is difficult to maintain that he was simply adopting the style of a writer he was copying – it occurs in locations where the narrative is closer to Raymond.¹⁷¹²

Three further terms are outlined by Gavigan as related to the vernacular in the *Gesta*.¹⁷¹³ The first is '*burgo*', used by the *Gesta*, Tudebode, and the *Historia Belli Sacri* to describe the suburbs of Constantinople; not classical Latin by any means, but rather, analogous to Old French *borc*.¹⁷¹⁴ The second, *papilones*, used throughout the genre, means 'pavillions', and although it has classical attestation, was rare. The crusade texts use it intensively, largely replacing more common synonyms such as '*tentoria*', and applying it independently, even in sections thought unique.¹⁷¹⁵ Tangential fragments like the Ripoll text also prefer the term to more traditional vocabulary.¹⁷¹⁶ The likelihood is that the term is related to Old French *pavilion*, found frequently in the *chansons*.¹⁷¹⁷ The third is '*saumarius*', the word utilized by the *Gesta* and Tudebode for 'packhorse', and also used by Stephen of Blois' letters.¹⁷¹⁸ This is synonymous to Old French *sommier*, again found throughout the *chansons*, for example *Roland*: '*trosser sor murs et sor somiers*'.¹⁷¹⁹

Other academics have asserted links between vernacular vocabulary and crusading accounts. In this, the Hills have gone furthest, referring to '*termes appartenant à la langue vulgaire*' in the work of Tudebode,¹⁷²⁰ aligning Raymond's use of '*paganimitatem*' with the term *vulgaire* '*paenie*',¹⁷²¹ 'pagandom';

¹⁷¹⁰ Cf. *GP*, 158-159.

¹⁷¹¹ Gavigan, "Syntax," 18.

^{1712*} Klein, *Raimund von Aguilers*, 114, note *. A variant manuscript replaces the word with '*exercitus*', demonstrating its unusual meaning.

¹⁷¹³ Gavigan, "Syntax," 18, 101.

¹⁷¹⁴ *GF*, 6, 13; *PT*, 38, 39; *HBS*, 18, 26.

¹⁷¹⁵ *GF*, 11, 35, 70, 82; *PT*, 70, 71, 112, 127; *BB*, 21, 34, 44, 62, 80, 96; *GN*, 154, 184, 228; *BN*, 496, 507; *FC*, 195; *RA*, 158; *HBS*, 13, 46, 49, 88, 99; *OV*, 48, 112; *RM*, 41.

¹⁷¹⁶ France, "Ripoll Manuscript," 646.

¹⁷¹⁷ Cf. *Gormont*, 18; *Charroi*, 68.

¹⁷¹⁸ *Epistulae*, 150; *GF*, 27; *PT*, 62.

^{1719*} *Aspremont*, 118.

^{1720*} *PT*, 15.

¹⁷²¹ *RA*, 13, 35.

and Tudebode's extensive use of 'ultra' with Old French 'oultre', 'beyond'.¹⁷²² Another potential indication of French influence in the account of Tudebode is evident amidst the discussion of the dire situation at Antioch. Tudebode states: 'de vino non loquar, "unquen grasin" id est non vinum.' The Latin is fairly clear: 'I may not speak of wine, 'unquen grasin' that is (,) no wine.' The Hills suggest that *unquen grasin* could represent vernacular *onques grazin*, meaning 'not even a bowl.' This is in opposition to the editors of the *Receuil*, who believed it broken Greek, οὐχ ἦν χρῶσιν.¹⁷²³

Sometimes, the Latin texts themselves slip into Old French. Tudebode gives the name of the figure known in the *Gesta* as *Hugo Insanus* as 'Hugo lo Forsenet', meaning the same thing, Hugh the Mad, in a southern, perhaps Poitevin, dialect of Old French.¹⁷²⁴ The decision not to translate his name must be purposeful. Rubenstein has argued that, since the name also appears in Baldric as Old French, and in Guibert as Latin *Insanus*, it is more probable that the *Gesta* and Guibert translated his name into Latin than the other way round. This, in turn, suggests that any common source, must, necessarily, have had vernacular French elements.¹⁷²⁵ The *Peregrinatio Antioche* also switches into French when describing the calls of the crusaders during Bohemond's taking of the cross.¹⁷²⁶

Place names in particular exhibit signs of being composed in French. Albert describes two castles in his *Historia*, opposite each other in coastal Armenia: 'Castrum Puellarum' and 'Castrum Adolescentium', also known 'vulgariter', 'commonly', as 'Debaiesses' and 'Debakelers' respectively. Since the former name translates 'camp of the young girls' and the latter 'camp of the young men' it seems reasonable to consider the other names as French: 'de baiesses' and 'de bakelers', 'of the servant girls', and 'of the young men' respectively.¹⁷²⁷ Raymond refers to 'angustiis quae Bucca Torta nominantur' which the Christians occupied between Tripoli and Jerusalem.¹⁷²⁸ Untranslated by Hill and Hill, this suggests, given its Latin gloss *angustiis*, that *Torta* derives from Old French *torte*, crooked, or Latin *torta*, twisted, and that *Bucca* would be Old French *boche*, mouth, or opening, or its Latin root, of Frankish origin, *bucca*, properly, cheek. This demonstrates telling alignments with francophone source material.

¹⁷²² PT, 77, n.12.

¹⁷²³ *Peter Tudebode*, 80; PT, 104.

¹⁷²⁴ PT, 102; HBS, 80. The Latin form *Insanus* appears in only one manuscript of the *Gesta*.

¹⁷²⁵ Rubenstein, "What is the *Gesta Francorum*?" 188.

¹⁷²⁶ PA, fol. 51r.

¹⁷²⁷ AA, 180; Hindley, Langley, and Levy, *Old French-English Dictionary*, s.v. 'baiesse', 'bachelor'.

^{1728*} RA, 135.

The anonymous author of the *Gesta*, and those of the subsequent tradition, make extensive use of positive (and negative) adjectives attributed to characters, particularly Bohemond, and to a lesser extent Tancred, so much so that Krey scowled '[he] strains the superlative degree of his adjectives ... constantly'.¹⁷²⁹ There is a temptation to see these as so weakened that they lose much intensity of meaning; the Hills derided the laudatory epithets as '*simples modes d'expression habituels à l'époque*'.¹⁷³⁰

Yet patterns within these ubiquitous descriptors reveals consistencies regarding their deployment.¹⁷³¹ Of the twenty-two adjectives applied to Bohemond during the *Gesta's* narrative, five are *prudens*, and eight are *sapiens*, both normally paired with '*vir*', 'man'. For Tancred, the figures are similar: two out of his four in the *Gesta* are '*prudens*'. Tudebode and the *Historia Belli Sacri*, when they add more adjectives to these two figures, predominately add more occurrences of these two words.¹⁷³² Of these three texts, only Tudebode ever applies either of these adjectives to any other figure: twice to Baldwin of Boulogne, once to Robert of Flanders.¹⁷³³ Stephen, a figure of disrepute, is conversely described as '*imprudens*'.¹⁷³⁴ Groups of knights are also described using the adjective; in a phrase linked by Beer to the *chansons*, the *Gesta* states rhetorically: '*Nullos, ut poto, tot prudentissimos milites nec antea vidit nec ultra videre potuit*'.¹⁷³⁵

Throughout the Latin texts, *prudens* and derived adjectives seem to hold meanings far removed from classical 'skilled, prudent, wise', but much closer to Old French *preux*, 'valiant'. Blake and Morris defined the meaning of *prudens* in the *Gesta*, and possibly Robert, as analogous to Old French *prudhomme*.¹⁷³⁶ Bennett noted that *prudens* and *sapiens* were used in a similar way to *preux* et *sage*.¹⁷³⁷ Morris expands upon this, arguing that this untraditional meaning for *prudens* and *sapiens* may be indicative of either translation or analogy with the *chansons*.¹⁷³⁸ For example, the *Gesta* describes *Hugo Insanus* defending the tower, alone and rather impetuously, '*tam prudenter*' whilst Tudebode uses

¹⁷²⁹ Krey, *First Crusade*, 7.

^{1730*} *PT*, 16. See also *GF*, xviii.

¹⁷³¹ Noted by *BB*, lvii.

¹⁷³² Bohemond as *prudens*: *GF*, 10, 14, 32, 35, 46; *PT*, 67, 86; *HBS*, 30. As *sapiens*: *GF*, 13, 18, 19, 20, 28, 32, 36, 61; *PT*, 43, 48, 53, 63. Tancred as *prudens* (never *sapiens*): *GF*, 18, 20; *PT*, 40, 41, 51, 53, 58, 59.

¹⁷³³ *PT*, 33, 58, 66.

¹⁷³⁴ *GF*, 63, 65; *PT*, 104.

^{1735*} *GF*, 16; *HBS*, 28; Beer, "Heroic Language," 12.

¹⁷³⁶ Blake and Morris, "Hermit," 97, n.70.

¹⁷³⁷ Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 112.

¹⁷³⁸ Morris, "*Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History," 63.

instead *'prudētissimē'*.¹⁷³⁹ Tudebode includes a scene where the crusaders did not believe the Turks were *'prudētes'* enough to dare to attack them at that stage.¹⁷⁴⁰ Also in Tudebode, Bohemond encourages his men to *'recordare prudētium antiquorum et nostrorum fortium parentum, quales fuerunt et qualia bella fecerunt'*.¹⁷⁴¹ In none of these can 'prudent' reasonably represent *'prudēns'*; the improbability of the Hill's translation, 'recall the wisdom of antiquity', serves testament to this.

Other texts equally engage in the fondness for *'prudēns'* and *'sapiēns'*, considering them interchangeable. The *Peregrinatio Antiochie* includes among its rare unique material the addition of *'vir sapiēns et prudēns'* to its description of Tancred attempting to protect captives during the Temple massacre in Jerusalem.¹⁷⁴² Throughout, it replaced the *Gesta's* other positive adjectives with *'prudēns'* and *'sapiēns'*.¹⁷⁴³ The *Historia Belli Sacri*, similarly expanding on the *Gesta* in this regard, portrays Bohemond addressing Robert FitzGerard at the Lake Battle with the words *'sisque sapiēns et prudēns'*.¹⁷⁴⁴ Robert the Monk adds further unique instances of *'vir prudēns'*,¹⁷⁴⁵ and *'vir sapiēns'*.¹⁷⁴⁶ These adjectives are normally closely focused around passages of epic tone – see in particular the *Gesta* and Tudebode's portrayal of Kerbogha.¹⁷⁴⁷

The very frequent pairing with the noun *'vir'*, 'man' is strikingly reminiscent of vernacular formulations. If *'prudēns'* is *'preux'*, *'prudēns vir'* is surely *'preudome'*, an Old French portmanteau meaning 'valiant man', used incessantly throughout the *chansons de geste*.¹⁷⁴⁸ For example, in the *Gesta*, when Alexios hears of the arrival of Hugh and his men in Durazzo, described as *'prudētissimos viros'*, the phrasing could well refer to *preudomes*. The use of *viros* in this position, as opposed to *militēs*, *comites*, etc., implies a general use of terminology translated, or interpreted, into Latin.¹⁷⁴⁹ In the *Historia Belli Sacri* uniquely, Bohemond addresses his knights in Greece as *'viri prudētes'*.¹⁷⁵⁰ In the Battle of Antioch, the *Peregrinatio* adds a *'vir sapiēns'*.¹⁷⁵¹ Bohemond's troops in the *Gesta* address him at the Lake

^{1739*} *GF*, 61; *PT*, 102; *HBS*, 79. For another non-traditional usage, see *Ibid.*, 91.

¹⁷⁴⁰ *PT*, 52-53; *HBS*, 31.

^{1741*} *PT*, 72; *HBS*.

¹⁷⁴² *PA*, fol. 88r.

¹⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*, 57r, 58r, 61r.

^{1744*} *HBS*, 51. Cf. *Ibid.*, xviii, 21, 22, 26, 32, 36, 50, 60.

¹⁷⁴⁵ *RM*, 14.

¹⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁷⁴⁷ *GF*, 16, 52; *PT*, 93; *HBS*, 72.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Jessie Crosland, "Prou, Preux, Preux Hom, Preud'Ome," *French Studies* 1, no. 2 (1947).

¹⁷⁴⁹ *GF*, 6; *PT*, 38.

¹⁷⁵⁰ *HBS*, 20, cf. 45.

¹⁷⁵¹ *PA*, 77v.

Battle as '*prudens et sapiens*', a phrase to which the *Peregrinatio Antiochie* and the *Historia Belli Sacri* add '*vir*'.¹⁷⁵²

The *chansons de geste*'s participation in the intense use of these descriptors, particularly to demarcate heroes, is evident with a cursory look at some of the texts, where heroes are invariably described with the counterpart adjectives *preux* or *sage*. Take, for example, William in *Guillaume* ('*Guillelmes li prouz*'),¹⁷⁵³ Olivier in *Fierabras* ('*preus et hardis*'),¹⁷⁵⁴ and Gilbert '*le prou*' in *Prise*.¹⁷⁵⁵ Sometimes resemblances in the crusade texts are even closer: compare this passage from *Gormont*, where the valour, *pruz*, of ancestors is recalled to spur Christian warriors to action, a close analogue to Bohemond's speech in *Tudebode*.

Pruz mun pere e mun ancestre,

E jeo fui mut de bone geste

*E, par meimes, dei pruz estre.*¹⁷⁵⁶

Regardless of whether vernacular influence on language, grammar, and stylistic structure in the crusade texts derived from the epic or merely through familiarity with 'French' structures of thinking and expression, the existence of this resemblance is concordant with the idea that the crusade texts were stylistically related to the *chansons*, and represents important additional evidence.

¹⁷⁵² *GF*, 36; *PA*, 63v; *HBS*.

¹⁷⁵³ *Charroi*, 66.

¹⁷⁵⁴ *Fierabras*, 261.

¹⁷⁵⁵ *Prise*, 147.

^{1756*} *Gormont*, 16.

CODA: DIRECT REFERENCES TO THE *CHANSONS DE GESTE*

This short coda presents a number of passages of the Latin First Crusade texts which bear such a close resemblance to the *chansons de geste*, normally one specific epic, that they seem like a deliberate and direct reference to vernacular song, and some other passages which academics have attempted to link to the genre.

The first is found in Ralph's *Tancredus*, a history evidently aware of the *chansons*, as it contains the earliest Latin reference to the *Roland* tradition (p.124). Ralph provides a close textual analogy to the *Roland*, during a rhapsody on Norman superiority, when he writes a list of the races that the Normans have conquered:

...Normannia
Anglorum victor populus, victor Siculorum
Victor Grecorum, Capuanorum, Apulicorum;
Cui Cenomannensis, Calaber cui servit et Affer,
*Cui Iapix...*¹⁷⁵⁷

There is a very similar parallel to be found in the *Roland*, where the eponymous hero muses on his life's deeds. Repetition of the idea of conquering is evident in both passages, as shown by this section:

Jo l'en cunquis e Anjou e Bretaine
Si l'en cunquis e Peitou e le Maine
Jo l'en cunquis Normendie la franche
*Si l'en cunquis Provence e Equitaine.*¹⁷⁵⁸

A passage unique to Tudebode depicts the martyrdom of an heroic Christian, Rainald Porchet. Rainald has his soul lifted up by angels, much like Roland in the *Chanson de Roland*: '*Animam cuius angeli confestim suscipientes.*'¹⁷⁵⁹ Sweetenham in particular aligns this portrayal with the *chansons*.¹⁷⁶⁰

¹⁷⁵⁷* *Tancredus*, 70.

¹⁷⁵⁸* *Roland*, 203.

¹⁷⁵⁹* *PT*, 80-81.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk*, 49, n. 8.

The *Gesta* portrays Kerbogha discussing with his mother the rumour that Tancred and Bohemond eat ‘*in uno quoque prandio duo milia vaccas et quatuor milia porcos*’,¹⁷⁶¹ a story designed to show that Bohemond and Tancred are not superhuman in a traditional sense, but become so only by their association with God. The *Historia Belli Sacri* portrays the same, the pigs replaced by loaves of bread.¹⁷⁶² The motif of excessive eating, however, is mirrored by the *Guillaume*, where heroism is also measured in how much an individual can eat:¹⁷⁶³

*Girard mangat le grant braun porcin,
et a dous traiꝝ ad voidé le mazelin...
Veist le Guiburc, a Willame l'ad dit:
Par Deu, bel sire, cist est de vostre lin!
Qui si mangue un grant braun porcin,
Et a dous traiꝝ beit un cester de vin,
Ben dure guere deit rendre a sun veisin,
Ne ja vilment ne deit de champ fuir!*¹⁷⁶⁴

Another possible direct reference is presented by Robert the Monk's portrayal of Bohemond's entry into Antioch following the betrayal of Pirrus, which, along with Gilo's similar account, contains close resemblances to the *Couronnement*. In all three, the heroes (William in the *Couronnement*, Bohemond in Robert and Gilo) enter towns (Paris and Antioch) which were once righteous but had fallen under the control of non-believers.¹⁷⁶⁵ They both bow their heads to the town's betrayer whilst entering: ‘*in introitu summisso capite salutavit*’;¹⁷⁶⁶ ‘*si s'embronche vers terre*’.¹⁷⁶⁷ In the *Couronnement*, this role of betrayer is filled by the gatekeeper of the city, under strict orders from King Louis not to allow William in; in Robert's history, this is Pirrus. The bowed head generally is a sign of respect or submission: Charlemagne bows his to the challenge of the pagan Fierabras in the *chanson* of the same name.¹⁷⁶⁸

¹⁷⁶¹* *GF*, 56; *PT*, 96.

¹⁷⁶² *HBS*, 74.

¹⁷⁶³ Bennett, "First Crusaders' Images," 111.

¹⁷⁶⁴* *Guillaume*, 85.

¹⁷⁶⁵ *GP*, 174.

¹⁷⁶⁶* *RM*, 54; *GP*, 168.

¹⁷⁶⁷* *Couronnement*, 233.

¹⁷⁶⁸ *Fierabras*, 240.

Some commentators have attempted to highlight broad plot resemblances between the *chansons*, particularly the *Roland*, and the crusade texts. The Hills believed Bohemond's muted call for aid at Dorylaeum 'reflect[ed] a literary pattern of *chansons*';¹⁷⁶⁹ and Duggan linked the betrayal of the crusaders by Stephen of Blois at Philomelium to Ganelon's betrayal of his kinsmen in *Roland*.¹⁷⁷⁰ However, neither scene is particularly close in specifics to its assumed parallel. Similarly, Grocock and Siberry suggest that the Charleville Poet's story about the besiegers of Antioch swearing to stay in their investment of the city for seven years is an echo of Charlemagne's campaign in Spain in the *Roland*, also lasting seven years.¹⁷⁷¹ This may be the case, but invocation of seven years is certainly not enough to demonstrate this.¹⁷⁷²

The figure of Tatikios, a historical general in Alexios Komnenos' army, is transformed in the crusade texts into a betrayer of the crusaders. This is in line with Duggan's taxonomy of traitors, but an additional feature links it with the *chansons*: his truncated nose.¹⁷⁷³ Although the figure is present in the *Gesta*, Raymond is the earliest extant source to attest his '*naribus truncus*', a mutilated, mangled, or short nose.¹⁷⁷⁴ Albert also reports his deformity, '*truncati nasi*' although Albert is generally positive about his character, as in the *Antioche*.¹⁷⁷⁵ Guibert goes furthest, building upon his source, the *Gesta*. He writes '*Tetigus, vir...naso, qua nescio occasione, deciso et ob id utens aureo*', replacing the absent nose with one constructed of gold.¹⁷⁷⁶ Byzantine sources do not mention this deformity: it appears a unique invention of the Western historiographical tradition. Characters with hooked or absent noses appear in the *chansons de geste* relatively frequently. The most famous is William *al curb nes*, 'short nose', of Orange, who lost his nose in battle outside Rome.¹⁷⁷⁷ The other possible inspiration is the Old French term *grifon*, variously meaning 'Greek', 'a griffin', 'monstrous', or 'hook-nosed'.¹⁷⁷⁸ Either the early texts of the crusade sought to flatter Tatikios with reference to one of the heroes of the *chansons*, or the vernacular term '*grifon*', with the original meaning of 'Greek' was misinterpreted in Latin

¹⁷⁶⁹ Hill and Hill, *Peter Tudebode*, 35, n. 12.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 294-295.

¹⁷⁷¹ *GP*, 130.

¹⁷⁷² *Charroi* also has seven years, for William resisting the Saracens. *Charroi*, 86.

¹⁷⁷³ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 294.

¹⁷⁷⁴ *RA*, 54.

^{1775*} *AA*, 94, 126, 310.

^{1776*} *GN*, 182.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Parsons, "Making Heroes," 297-300.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Urban Tigner Holmes Jr, "Old French "*Grifaigne*" and "*Grifon*," *Studies in Philology* 43, no. 4 (1946).

translation. Both are plausible explanations for a mystery not yet the subject of any satisfactory discourse from crusade scholars.

Gilo includes a scene whereby the Christian soldiers are said to be boasting of their good deeds and insulting their enemies, which Grocock and Siberry align with the *Pèlerinage*. The lines are ‘*Dum male se iactant et dum bene facta retractant // Turcis insultant...*’¹⁷⁷⁹ In an inversion of this scene, the pagans who arrive in Kerbogha’s army ride up to the walls and mock the Christians, riding round, throwing weapons in the air and catching them.¹⁷⁸⁰ The hurling of weapons in the air has no direct parallel in the early *chansons*, but there is an intriguing parallel in the *Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio*. In this, the minstrel Taillefer (p.45) throws his sword into the air, and catches it again as a prelude to combat – a combat performed in classic *chanson de geste* style.¹⁷⁸¹ (p.128) This is exactly the same context and action as found in the crusade texts, performed by a character closely associated with the *chansons*. Taillefer, incidentally, meaning iron-hewer, is the *cognomen* of Raoul’s father in *Raoul*.¹⁷⁸² This discussion can do little more than highlight the tripartite relationship between crusade text, Anglo-Norman historiography, and *chansons de geste*: Grocock and Siberry’s assertion, without additional evidence, cannot be usefully tested.

^{1779*} *GP*, 80, n.5.

¹⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 176. Cf. *RM*, 58; *AA*, 294.

¹⁷⁸¹ Barlow, *Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio*, 24. Cf. Ian Short, ed. *Geffrei Gaimar: Estoire des Engleis / History of the English* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 286.

¹⁷⁸² *Raoul*, 4.

CONCLUSION

At the end of this investigation, we can categorically state the following:

- 1) All of the Latin texts of the First Crusade contain similar stylistic and topical motifs to the *chansons de geste* as understood through the literary redactions of the twelfth century.
- 2) These relationships are sometimes implicit references to presumably extant *chansons de geste* as present in redactions, but more often consist of analogous phrasing, participation in wider *topoi*, and shared vocabulary and imagery.
- 3) In some but not all of the cases suggested in previous scholarship this is a meaningful relationship, which I define as one which suggests a common link, either of source material or of conception of events.
- 4) This relationship is closer at some narrative points than at others. For example, the battles at Nicaea, outside Antioch and at Ascalon are uniformly sections of close relationship, but the battle of Dorylaeum is where this is most evident. This evidence is presented in Appendix A.

The analysis contained within this conclusion demonstrates that the evidence is consistent with a multi-faceted relationship between the *chansons de geste* and the Latin texts of the First Crusade. This can be understood in four ways, or any combination of them.

- 1) Signification precedes actuality. The *chansons de geste*, at least in an oral sense, were demonstrably ascendant by the inception of the First Crusade. Participants of the First Crusade, whether knightly or popular, would have heard the stories now attested through our texts of extant *chansons*, which were probably substantively and stylistically the same, in their daily lives. The crusaders, then, their minds filled with conceptions of righteous warfare, wicked Saracens, and mighty body-splitting blows, actually perceived these things on crusade. What we read in the Latin texts, is ‘true’ as in the eyes of eyewitnesses, but shaped by culture and literature. The participants were semiotically prepared to witness a real-life *chanson*, and so they did.¹⁷⁸³

¹⁷⁸³ This is similar to the conclusion of Barlow regarding the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*'s relationship to the epic. Barlow, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, liv-lv.

- 2) Signification precedes textuality. Similarly, it may be that whoever composed or redacted the extant Latin texts was semiotically influenced by the *chansons de geste*. Lay, secular individuals were not the only ones who had a familiarity with Old French epic. Although the evidence for clerical involvement in the original composition of the *chansons de geste* is problematic and mainly provoked by Bédier's study, it cannot be denied that nearly all manuscripts of the poems are preserved in religious institutions and were probably written down by clerics. As has been amply demonstrated, many if not most clergy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were from secular backgrounds, with a large proportion even knightly or élite.¹⁷⁸⁴
- 3) The author utilizes signification. It is perhaps also true that, by the end of the eleventh century, clerics were accustomed to shaping previously existing oral traditions to their own ends, inserting passages of ecclesiastical significance, promoting pilgrimage routes, and refining theology. It is possible, therefore, that what is witnessed in the Latin crusade accounts is clergy disseminating stories through the means which they were accustomed to use. Although the audience for these texts, many of which survive in few manuscripts, is still obscure and nebulous, it is possible that writers were writing **for** somebody: if they wanted to attract attention to the worthy story of the flourishing of Latin knighthood, they had to compete with the epic. These motifs and stylistic techniques could have been inserted to achieve this.¹⁷⁸⁵ Both this, and the previous point, are subsumed within what Edward Heineman has memorably described as 'the reciprocal interference of history and epic'.¹⁷⁸⁶
- 4) The *Chanson* precedes the texts. Considering the now neglected argument that an early proto-*Antioche* underwrote many of the extant Latin sources, as well as Rubenstein's statement that it is possible the 'Jerusalem History' he painstakingly argues for was written in the vernacular, we must reassess the concept of an early crusade *chanson*, perhaps closest to the *Gesta*, which exerted an influence not only on the writing of the texts we have today, but also on the entire memorialization of the First Crusade. It is worth interjecting here that a growing tradition of *carmina*, near-contemporary to the events they describe, was ascendant in the late eleventh

¹⁷⁸⁴ Cf. Grocock, "L'Aventure épique," 20, 28.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Cf. Buck, "Von der Kreuzzugsgeschichte," 338.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Edward A. Heineman, "Review of Regis Boyer, *L'Épopée*," *Speculum* 65 (1990). Morris also opts for the dual explanation that the *Gesta* author was innately influenced by the *chansons*, but also consciously adopting them. Morris, "*Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History," 63.

century; compare for example the almost identical exhortations ‘not to flee since the homeland is so far away’ in the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, and the *Gesta Francorum*.¹⁷⁸⁷ The *Gesta Willelmi* of William of Poitiers could also be included here, the resemblance to the *chansons* of this text having been long established.¹⁷⁸⁸ When synthesized with the conciliatory remarks (on the subject of the traditionalism/individualism debate) of Zumthor and Short on the nature of the composition of the *chansons de geste*, the problems experienced by past editors of making discrete texts relate to each other disappear. Texts, instead of being artefacts, are synchronic crystallizations of evolving traditions. The textual similarities, but complex relationship between the *Gesta* and Tudebode can be explained, for example, by either considering them both as adaptations or translations of different versions of the same vernacular story, or even, different adaptations of the same. A more subtle approach to this explanation would assert the possibility of orally-transmitted vignettes of material, to be aligned with Menéndez-Pidal’s *cantos noticiarios*, which both the vernacular and Latin traditions were drawing upon.¹⁷⁸⁹ Regarding the relationship between the Latin crusade texts and a *chanson* tradition, probably linked with the *Chanson d’Antioche*, a much fuller study than this thesis needs to be carried out, marking textual similarities and differences across the entire corpus, summarizing previous historiography, and pursuing a full linguistic, syntactical, and literary analysis, with reference to the unities of style and attitude revealed in the present study. It may then be possible to cautiously re-approach the theories of Duparc-Quioic, so convincingly excluded by Cook in 1980.

The reality is likely to be a combination of several of these. The intertextual evidence is too close for the first facet to explain everything, but, conversely, the unities of style over different material point to the fourth as a sole factor being unconvincing. What is demonstrable, however, is that stated earlier: namely that the Latin Crusade texts and the *chansons de geste* have a meaningful stylistic relationship.

¹⁷⁸⁷ GF, 19-20; Cowdrey, "Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum," 25; Barlow, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, 28. See also the "Carmen de bello Saxonico," in *Quellen zur Geschichte Kaiser Heinrichs IV*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale (Berlin: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968); André Burger, "Le Fief de Margarit," in *Mélanges de philologie romane et de littérature médiévale offerts à Ernest Hoepffner* (Paris: Belles-lettres, 1949).

¹⁷⁸⁸ Douglas, "Song of Roland," 106.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Cf. Bull, "Western Narratives," 17.

The findings of this thesis suggest that the Latin Crusade texts, consistent across the genre in terms of their stylistic and topical unity, are involved in a process of memorialization identical to that hypothesized by Duggan as the formative model for the *chansons de geste*: 'the genre shapes its own synchronic system of relationships with standard components, the most important of which are formulaic language and stylized scenes, settings, and roles... the historical elements are appropriated by the genre.'¹⁷⁹⁰ The questions of whether these processes are analogous simply because of shared cultural patterns of memorialization which 'package' history within epic themes, or rather because early *chansons de geste* existed from which the Latin crusade texts drew inspiration, or because crusaders' experience was mediated by their cultural heroic expectations, is perhaps impossible to ascertain. However, this study has helped to comprehend the nature of the transformation of historical events into culturally-understood medieval narrative, which still acts as the constitutive element in our perception of the events of 1095-1100.

This research goes some way towards combatting a short-sighted academic viewpoint that refuses to deeply analyze across linguistic and generic boundaries and creates false dichotomies between 'clerical' and 'popular', between 'documentary' and 'imaginary' texts.¹⁷⁹¹ Both the *chansons* and the crusade texts sit uncomfortably between these modern categorizations. This has resulted in academics seeking comfort from the contradictions, either in empirical approaches, to determine 'the truth', or purely textual approaches, in synchronic isolation of genre and text. Considering these testaments in true context, disregarding the false divide between Old French and Latin traditions of composition, writing, and memorialization, reveals the structures of thought through which participants, observers, and historians of the crusade in the early twelfth-century wrote about their understanding of the First Crusade.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Duggan, "Medieval Epic," 288-299.

¹⁷⁹¹ Cf. A.B.H Nitert, "Matière de France and the World Chronicle of Aubri de Trois-Fontaines," in *AER*.

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APPENDIX A: TABLE AND GRAPHS OF RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE DENSITY

It is never easy to quantify data in literature. Our subject matter, and how it is interpreted, is too fluid and too subjective to be easily turned into meaningful figures. However, it is a challenge which must be surmounted when attempting to qualify general impressions, which would be evident to the in-depth reader of texts without the need for reliable proof, but when stating theories, must be backed up with reliable evidence.

A number of *caveats* must therefore evidently be stated. The data points which are being used here are what I, as a subjective reader, have identified as points where the tone or style are similar to that of a *chanson de geste*. I cannot claim perfection in this task. There is no measure of to what extent the reference is 'sure', how long and in depth the reference is, or whether two similar motifs, included next to each other, are combined into one for the purposes of this study. It would be foolish for instance, to identify a section as referential of the *chansons de geste* because of its portrayal of wailing, demented pagans and then count multiple occurrences of the word 'wailing' within this as separate motifs to be recorded. For transparency, the data points, that is, where the texts show significant reminiscences of the *chansons de geste*, have been delineated in Appendix B.

In terms of quantitative analysis, not all pages are equal. A page is not a standardized amount of words or subject matter, and so a statistic 'references per page' is meaningless, or certainly not particularly useful. The edition of Fulcher of Chartres by Hagenmeyer, for example, often only has a few words of Latin text on each page due to the extensive footnotes, while the RHC editions have small font and a large folio size which allows far more than most A5 modern editions. I have got around this problem by standardizing units to percentage of the entire work, and presenting the meaningful statistic as 'references per percentage point'. This removes the variable unit of 'matter per page', creating instead a standardized measure.

Since it is not only relevant to understand the *absolute* density of references, that is, how 'epic' each text is in various sections; but also the *relative* density, that is, how these references, however many or few, are distributed, I have adjusted the tables to provide an extra statistic. This 'relative

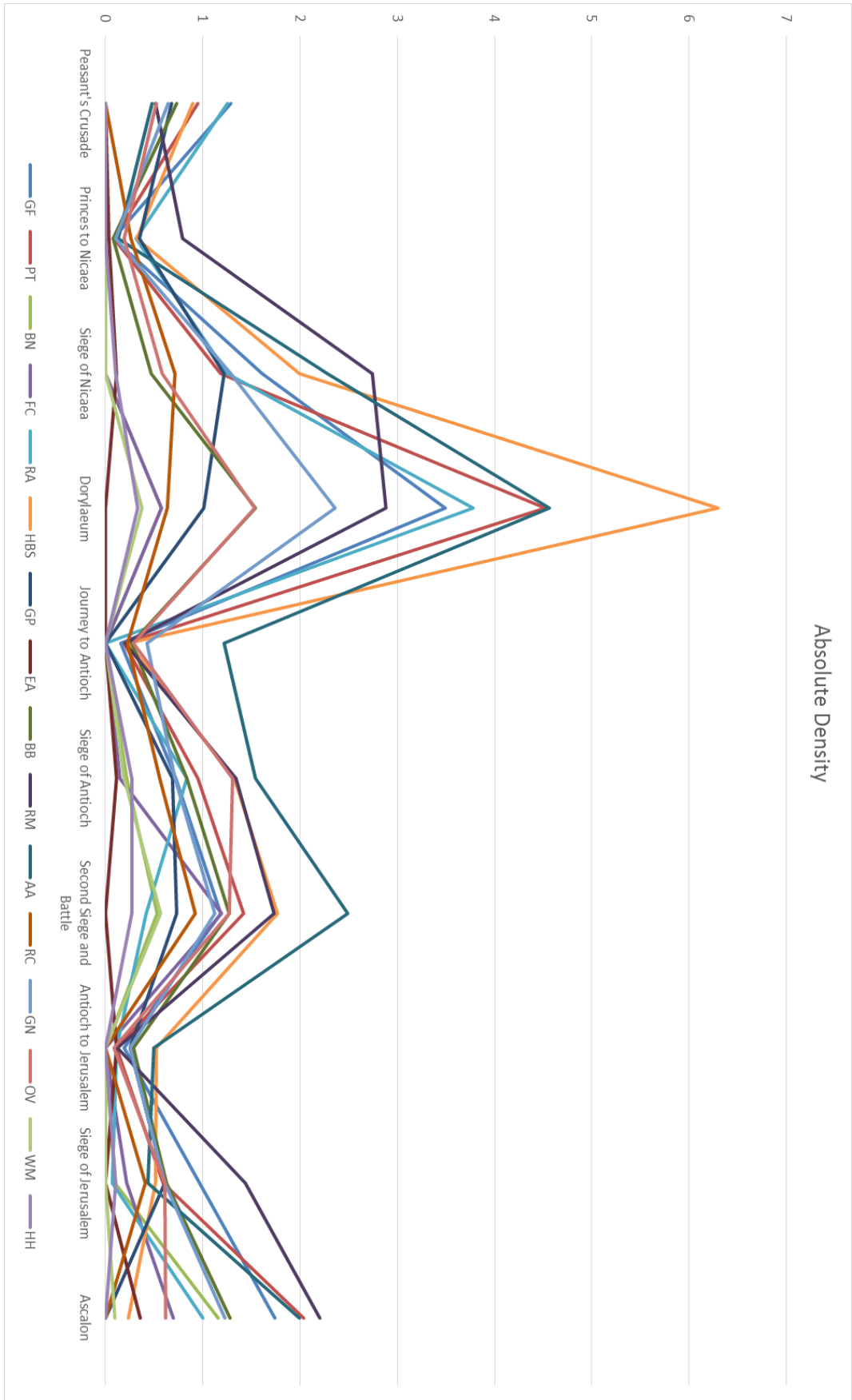
density' is calculated by dividing the 'absolute density' (references per percentage point) of the section by the average 'absolute density' of the entire work.

The table showing this data is available below. With this data, I have produced two graphs, included below. One shows the absolute densities of *chanson de geste* style, broken down into narrative sections, of all of the works under investigation. The other shows the relative densities. This second graph does not depict which works are denser in epic style, but it has the advantage of portraying more accurately the narrative trends, that is, where in *all* of the narratives there is a greater reliance on this type of material.

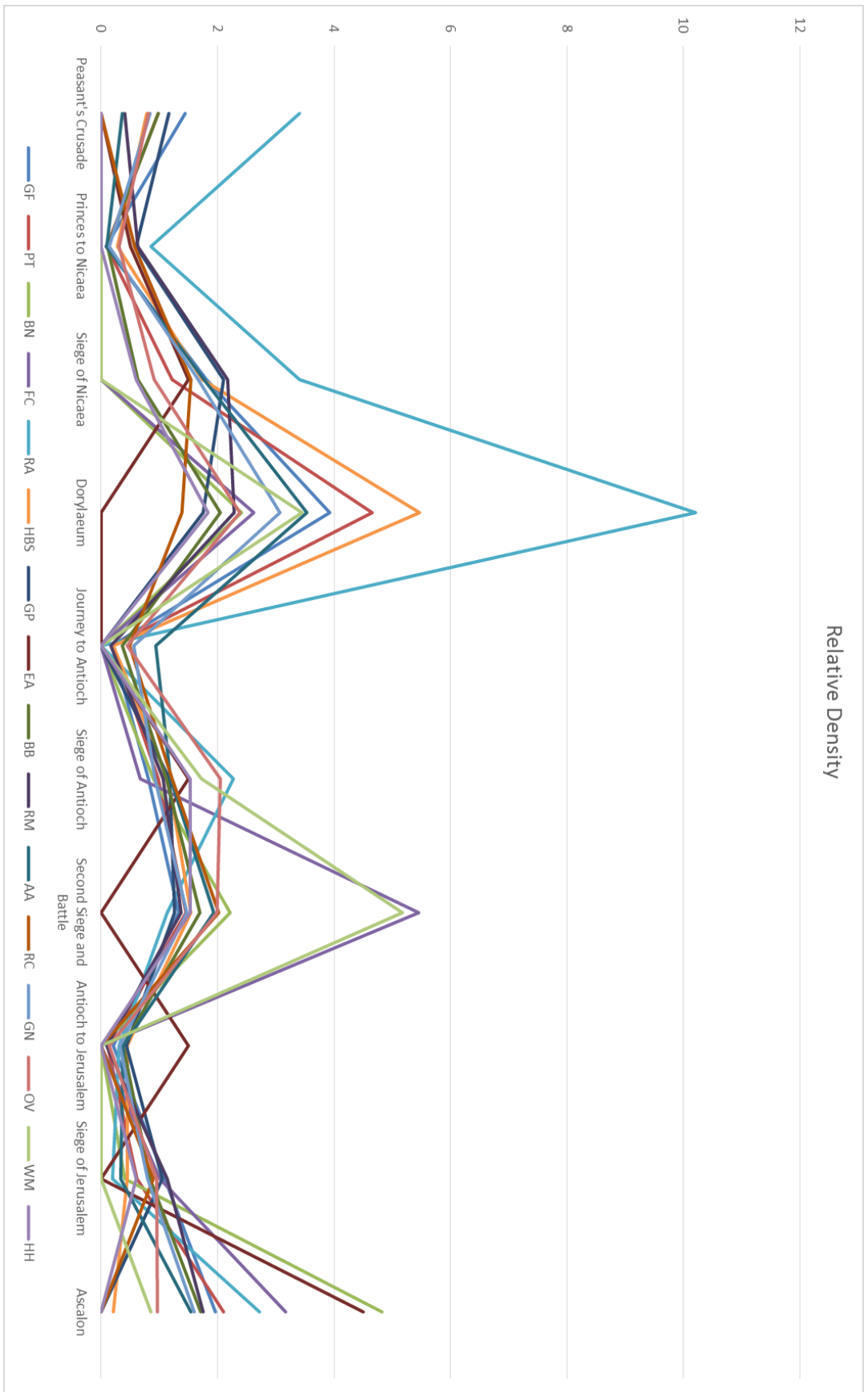
	Peasant's Crusade	Princes to Nicaea	Siege of Nicaea	Dorylaeum	Journey to Antioch	Siege of Antioch	Second Siege and Battle	Antioch to Jerusalem	Siege of Jerusalem	Ascalon	Totals
HBS	Pages	4	11	3	4	28	23	23	14	5	120
	% of book	3.333333333	9.166666667	2.5	3.333333333	23.333333333	19.166666667	19.166666667	11.666666667	4.166666667	100
	Refs	3	3	5	21	31	34	10	6	1	115
	Refs/Pages	0.75	0.272727273	1.666666667	5.25	1.107142857	1.47826087	0.434782609	0.428571429	0.2	0.958333
	Refs/Percentage	0.9	0.327272727	2	6.3	1.328571429	1.773913043	0.52173913	0.514285714	0.24	1.15
	Relative Density	0.782608696	0.28458498	1.739130435	5.47826087	1.155279503	1.542533081	0.4536862	0.447204969	0.2089565	1
GP	Pages	18	42	10	12	78	20	38	20	0	244
	% of book	7.37704918	17.21311475	4.098360656	4.91803279	31.96721311	8.196721311	15.57377049	8.196721311	0	100
	Refs	5	6	5	5	22	6	4	5	0	58
	Refs/Pages	0.277777778	0.142857143	0.5	0.416666667	0.282051282	0.3	0.105263158	0.25	0	0.237705
	Refs/Percentage	0.677777778	0.348571429	1.22	1.016666667	0.688205128	0.732	0.256842105	0.61	0	0.58
	Relative Density	1.168582375	0.600985222	2.103448276	1.75287356	1.186560566	1.262068966	0.442831216	1.051724138	0	1
EA	Pages	2	6	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	12
	% of book	16.66666667	50	8.333333333	0	8.333333333	0	8.333333333	0	8.333333333	100
	Refs	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	8
	Refs/Pages	0	0.333333333	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	0.666667
	Refs/Percentage	0	0.04	0.12	0	0.12	0	0.12	0	0.36	0.08
	Relative Density	0	0.5	1.5	0	1.5	0	1.5	0	4.5	
BB	Pages	3	13	7	5	21	25	19	7	6	110
	% of book	2.727272727	11.81818182	6.363636364	4.545454545	19.09090909	22.72727273	17.27272727	6.363636364	5.45454545	100
	Refs	2	1	3	7	16	29	5	4	7	75
	Refs/Pages	0.666666667	0.076923077	0.428571429	1.4	0.761904762	1.16	0.263157895	0.571428571	1.166666667	0.681818
	Refs/Percentage	0.733333333	0.084615385	0.471428571	1.54	0.838095238	1.276	0.289473684	0.628571429	1.283333333	0.75
	Relative Density	0.977777778	0.112820513	0.628571429	2.053333333	1.117460317	1.701333333	0.385964912	0.838095238	1.711111111	
RM	Pages	4	13	3	5	23	22	16	5	7	103
	% of book	3.883495146	12.62135922	2.912621359	4.85436893	22.33009709	21.3592233	15.53398058	4.854368932	6.7961165	100
	Refs	2	10	8	14	30	37	2	7	15	126
	Refs/Pages	0.5	0.769230769	2.666666667	2.8	1.304347826	1.681818182	0.125	1.4	2.14285714	1.223301
	Refs/Percentage	0.515	0.792307692	2.746666667	2.84	1.343478261	1.732272727	0.12875	1.442	2.20714286	1.26
	Relative Density	0.408730159	0.628815629	2.17989418	2.2888889	1.066252588	1.374819625	0.10218254	1.144444444	1.75170068	

	Peasant's Crusade		Princes to Nicaea		Siege of Nicaea		Dorylaeum		Journey to Antioch		Siege of Antioch		Second Siege and Battle		Antioch to Jerusalem		Siege of Jerusalem		Ascalon		Totals	
AA	Pages	57	34	34	10	60	74	66	64	42	16	457										
	% of book	12.4726477	7.439824945	7.439824945	2.18818381	13.12910284	16.19256018	14.44201313	14.00437637	9.190371991	3.50109409	100										
	Refs	6	1	17	10	25	36	7	129	4	7	129										
	Refs/Pages	0.105263158	0.029411765	0.5	1	0.266666667	0.337837838	0.545454545	0.109375	0.095238095	0.4375	0.282276										
	Refs/Percentage	0.481052632	0.134411765	2.285	4.57	1.218666667	1.543918919	2.497272723	0.49984375	0.435238095	1.999375	1.29										
	Relative Density	0.372909017	0.104195166	1.771317829	3.54263566	0.944702842	1.196836371	1.932346723	0.387475775	0.337393872	1.5499031											
RC	Pages	0	12	6	10	14	19	15	12	18	1	107										
	% of book	0	11.21495327	5.607476636	9.34579439	13.08411215	17.75700935	14.01869159	11.21495327	16.82242991	0.93457944	100										
	Refs	0	3	4	6	3	10	13	0	7	0	46										
	Refs/Pages	0	0.25	0.666666667	0.6	0.214285714	0.526315789	0.866666667	0	0.388888889	0	0.429907										
	Refs/Percentage	0	0.2675	0.713333333	0.642	0.229285714	0.563157895	0.927333333	0	0.416111111	0	0.46										
	Relative Density	0	0.581521739	1.550724638	1.39565217	0.498447205	1.224256293	2.015942029	0	0.904589372	0											
GN	Pages	8	16	8	8	8	41	35	27	14	7	172										
	% of book	4.651162791	9.302325581	4.651162791	4.65116279	23.8372093	20.34883721	15.69767442	8.139534884	4.06976744	100											
	Refs	3	1	6	11	2	17	23	4	5	5	77										
	Refs/Pages	0.375	0.0625	0.75	1.375	0.25	0.414634146	0.657142857	0.148148148	0.357142857	0.714285714	0.447674										
	Refs/Percentage	0.645	0.1075	1.29	2.365	0.43	0.713170732	1.130285714	0.254814815	0.614285714	1.22857143	0.77										
	Relative Density	0.837662338	0.13961039	1.675324675	3.07142857	0.558441558	0.926195755	1.467903525	0.330928331	0.797773655	1.5954731											
OV	Pages	10	27	6	8	6	24	22	38	20	14	175										
	% of book	5.714285714	15.42857143	3.428571429	4.57142857	13.71428571	12.57142857	21.71428571	11.42857143	7	8	100										
	Refs	3	3	2	7	1	18	16	2	7	5	64										
	Refs/Pages	0.3	0.111111111	0.333333333	0.875	0.166666667	0.75	0.727272727	0.052631579	0.35	0.35714286	0.365714										
	Refs/Percentage	0.525	0.194444444	0.583333333	1.53125	0.291666667	1.3125	1.272727273	0.092105263	0.6125	0.625	0.64										
	Relative Density	0.8203125	0.303819444	0.911458333	2.39257813	0.455729167	2.05078125	1.988636364	0.143914474	0.95703125	0.9765625	1										
WM	Pages	2	12	2	2	4	4	4	2	6	4	38										
	% of book	5.263157895	31.57894737	5.263157895	5.26315789	10.52631579	10.52631579	5.263157895	15.78947368	10.5263158	100											
	Refs	0	0	0	2	0	2	6	0	0	1	11										
	Refs/Pages	0	0	0	1	0	0.5	1.5	0	0	0.25	0.289474										
	Refs/Percentage	0	0	0	0.38	0	0.19	0.57	0	0	0.095	0.11										
	Relative Density	0	0	0	3.45454545	1.727272727	5.181818182	0.86363636														
HH	Pages	0	2	2	4	4	4	4	2	2	0	22										
	% of book	0	9.090909091	9.090909091	18.1818182	18.18181818	18.18181818	18.18181818	9.090909091	9.090909091	0	100										
	Refs	0	0	1	6	5	5	1	0	1	0	18										
	Refs/Pages	0	0	0.5	1.5	1.25	1.25	0.25	0	0.5	0	0.818182										
	Refs/Percentage	0	0	0.11	0.33	0.275	0.275	0.275	0	0.11	0	0.18										
	Relative Density	0	0	0.611111111	1.833333333	1.527777778	1.527777778	1.527777778	0	0.611111111	0											

GRAPH OF ABSOLUTE DENSITY



GRAPH OF RELATIVE DENSITY



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Ascalon


Henry of Huntingdon

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Dorylaeum

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William of Malmesbury

PEASANTS' CRUSADE: 610-611
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SIEGE OF NICAIA: 628-629
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SIEGE OF JERUSALEM: 646-651
BATTLE OF ASCALON: 652-655
 Among the Pagans 652

APPENDIX C: TRANSLATIONS

All translations are my own. Translator's notes in small caps.

№ 2: 'Provinces on this side of the Alps.'

№ 35: 'The essential mobility of the medieval text.'

№ 47: 'Count Roland.'

№ 59: 'But, since it is not only written in the histories, but also in the memories of our forefathers, recalled and sung on a daily basis...'

№ 124: 'He wrote down and committed to memory barbarous and very old songs, in which were sung the deeds and wars of ancient kings.'

№ 125: 'Their names, because they are commonly known, I deign to omit.'

№ 126: 'A people's song among the commoners.'

№ 127: 'Common (or perhaps vernacular) songs'

№ 138: 'Count Roland.'

№ 141: 'A song of Roland', 'Singing of Charlemagne and Roland, and of Oliver and the vassals, who died at Roncesvalles.'

№ 142: 'The Holy Athlete, William.'

№ 149: 'After all, what does the poet matter? We have the poem...'

№ 153: 'Could fill the spirit of France with pride.'

№ 159: 'The crusade would not have taken place without the Chanson de Roland.'

№ 197: 'Who sing of deeds', 'for recreation, or even perhaps for instruction', 'they give solace to men.'

№ 200: 'They appointed a minstrel to go in front of them, who, with musical accompaniment, could sing courageously of deeds and wars of their ancestors in their presence.'

№ 202: 'A way of stirring up warlike virtues.'

№ 203: 'The knights sang songs of knighthood so cheerfully...'

№ 204: 'In the presence of kings and magnates...written in rhythmic verses with skilful caesurae.'

№ 221: 'Beyond the mountains.'

№ 251: 'He who first wrote this down is to be believed, because he saw it with his own worldly eyes, that is, Peter Tudebode.'

№ 288: 'And thus, it is finished.'

№ 306: 'A truly unsophisticated little book.'

№ 330: 'In the cloister of a certain cell (priory) of St. Remi, in the diocese of Reims.'

№ 357: 'Emendations and erasures which demonstrate it to be the author's manuscript.'

№ 377: 'Things which were made known [to me] through listening and through reports.'

№ 403: 'In the opinion of experts, this letter may be a forgery on stylistic grounds.'

№ 406: 'That Fulcher knew this letter is beyond doubt.'

- N^o 409: 'As we read in a library.'
- N^o 412: 'Kingly town of Antioch.'
- N^o 413: 'Saddlecloths/Saddlebags discarded.'
- N^o 414: 'Our enemies, and God's', 'Our enemies, and the enemies of God, that is, the Turks.'
- N^o 417: 'I say to you, my beloved, that we will reach Jerusalem from the aforementioned Nicaea within five weeks, unless Antioch holds us up.'
- N^o 418: 'Few, it is true, my dear, are the things which I have written to you about, out of many which I could have mentioned, and since I am unable to tell you what is in my mind, my dearest...you will certainly see me again, as soon as I am able.'
- N^o 420: 'My life, and the events of the pilgrimage up until Constantinople...', 'lest some misfortune has befallen the messenger.'
- N^o 422: 'It is a big task to relay all the miseries.'
- N^o 426: 'His throne', 'the throne of the Sultan.'
- N^o 428: 'Who could possibly describe so many tribulations...'
- N^o 446: 'Tudebode, abbreviated.'
- N^o 458: 'A little book of Jerusalem.'
- N^o 459: 'A history...because it lacked its beginning, which was put into action at the council of Clermont.'
- N^o 460: 'A rustic little book... I do not know the author... his name is lost.'
- N^o 490: 'A sort of diary of the route... perhaps by multiple authors.'
- N^o 493: 'Earlier texts which were to be found in the army of the crusade.'
- N^o 500: 'They were partly despoiled, partly killed.'
- N^o 533: 'Tudebode had recourse to poetic elements, definitely vernacular in language, at least to some extent... certain of his sources must have been oral.'
- N^o 538: 'Anecdotes and songs, which men in Antioch sang and said.'
- N^o 543: 'This consummation drew forth from everyone new words, new songs.'
- N^o 545: 'Military songs.'
- N^o 546: 'Common songs.'
- N^o 547: 'Song.'
- N^o 549: 'Which is not publicly and frequently sung.'
- N^o 551: 'Fabulous inventions', '[they] spin.'
- N^o 553: 'About which we spoke yesterday.'
- N^o 556: '[composed] in heroic song.'
- N^o 557: 'Beautiful verses on the journey of the pilgrims to the Sepulchre of the Lord and the capture of the city of Jerusalem.'
- N^o 558: 'Songs and poems, which have spread everywhere, contain descriptions.'
- N^o 563: 'The deeds of men.'
- N^o 564: 'To pass on to posterity.'

N^o 565: 'That it may be pleasing to future Christianity.'

N^o 568: 'I was compelled through obedience', 'I composed it in a more accurate style for [the purpose of] reading.'

N^o 569: 'It ought to be commemorated in a literary compilation intended for the instruction of contemporaries as much as for that of those who are yet to come, so that through it, the Christian hope in God should be strengthened.'

N^o 570: 'Who will hear it read.'

N^o 571: 'Pious readings.'

N^o 579: 'Destined for other clerics.'

N^o 591: 'Legates of the emir of Babylon.'

N^o 592: 'Cassian, that is, their lord, fearing...'

N^o 593: 'Because that was his name.'

N^o 609: 'The true beginning', 'inexperienced jongleurs.'

N^o 627: 'It seems to engage in the same literary milieu as the chansons de geste.'

N^o 633: 'Some of its accounts of battle have a truly epic tone.'

N^o 650: 'He was seized by one of them by the foot and dashed against a rock, his brains bursting out of his head, and his spirit departed.'

N^o 651: 'Having seized still-suckling children by the soles of their feet from their mother's breast or their cradles, they dashed them against the walls or the lintels of the doors, shattering their necks.'

N^o 653: 'The bodies of the dead could not fall in any direction, but instead the dead stood upright, among the other cadavers, as if they were alive.'

N^o 654: 'Live men supporting corpses upright.'

N^o 655: 'For the falling suffocated the standing, and the standing suffocated the fallen.'

N^o 656: 'The dead stood among the living, because they were propped up, unable to fall due to the density of living bodies.'

N^o 657: 'Bodies bereft of life are unable to fall, nor do the dead make space for the living...'

N^o 660: 'The deeds of the great-hearted leaders.'

N^o 661: 'The deeds of men.'

N^o 662: 'May the deeds of your ancestors, the virtue and greatness of King Charlemagne and his son, Louis... who destroyed the kingdoms of the pagans, inspire you... to manliness.'

N^o 669: 'You would have said that Roland and Oliver had been reborn.'

N^o 672: 'Each of them was a soulmate for the other, holding themselves in one friendship.'

N^o 689: 'Charles' Castle.'

N^o 708: "'Bastard!" said the Count, "God harm you! // I value you no more than a mad dog."// He spurred on Arion with his spurs of pure gold, // and struck Richard on his quartered shield; // he shattered it and pierced it below the boss // smashing apart and destroying his silvered hauberk // with his steel blade he sheared off his entire left side // making blood flow from both sides of the wound. // His good horse bucked off his load, // and the point of his helmet stuck into the ground // with such great force that two of

the straps snapped.’

N^o 709: ‘He unsheathed Durendal, his good sword, // spurred on his horse, and went to strike Chernuble // He shattered his helm which was shining with gemstones // and sliced through his head and scalp, // sliced through his eyes and face, // the silvered hauberk which was finely-meshed, // and his entire body right down to his groin, // then into the saddle, which was made of beaten gold, // and in the horse’s body the blade stopped. // He slices through the spine, not seeking a joint // and flung them both dead onto the meadow, onto the lush grass. // Then he said: “Bastard, you were wrong to show your face here.’

N^o 710: ‘With three golden nails he fixed it [his standard] to his lance, // with his right arm he brandished the shaft // the pennant’s streamers flapping against his fist. // He spurred on his horse – it could not help itself from leaping in the air -// and struck a pagan on his double-layered shield, // breaking it completely from one side to the other, // slicing through his arm which was sitting in the strap, // cutting open his chest and slicing through his entrails; // right through his spine the great spear passes: // he strikes him down dead, all splayed out, onto the ground. // He cried out “Montjoie!” which is the war cry of Charles.’

N^o 711: ‘Count William had cried ‘Monjoie!’... // With these words, he spurred on his horse, // and drew Joieuse (Joyous) with its hilt of gold and black niello, // with fury he went to strike Tempesté // on top of his helmet, which was made of gold studded with gems, // precious stones and floral decorations he broke off, // the crown of the helmet was not worth the same as any penny ever minted, // the blade cut down until it went into his chest, // and he hurled him dead from his noble horse.’

N^o 712: ‘When Ogier saw the fallen Duke Naimes, // he spurred on his horse, and brandished his sharpened spear, // and struck Gorhan on his shield so hard // that he pierced his shield and broke his neck-armor, // guided the steel right through his body // and hurled him over onto the grassy meadow.’

N^o 715: ‘Roland’s entire band charged into all the enemy squadrons, // And beneath this charge they all tumbled down, beneath this charge they trembled. // Samson, Turpin, Oliver, Gero, and Gerin, // They cast down five bodies, each one his own, // After this, the five men cast down another five bodies.’

N^o 717: ‘Then Roland, having dispatched him, roused for war, his strength reinstated, his men by his side, charged into the Saracens, and saw among them one who was of greater stature than the others, and with one blow cleaved him and his horse through the middle from the top of his head down to the bottom, so that one side of the Saracen fell to the right, and the other to the left.’

N^o 718: ‘For he received the dread-filled flashing blow of the sword through the centre of his head, through his throat, and it entered the hollow of his chest cavity and navel. His escaping guts, warm from his body, slipped down into his lap; his three-layered hauberk was no obstacle. It was not enough that the body of the man should be destroyed, but also the life of the horse was to be taken as well. For there was enough force left in the sword to cut through the spine of the horse, and at last, having made its way through the body, stuck into the ground, and Bertrand drew it out and set about the remaining enemies with it. Without delay, bodily fluids were out in the open and flying through the air, indeed, the strong chains of equipment were shattered and the clattering sword-belts were smashed into fragments.’

N^o 721: ‘When he was attacked, he spurred on his horse // and pierced the Englishman’s shield with his sharp lance. // Having overthrown his body, and cut off his head with his sword, he removed it.’

N^o 724: ‘One of them, bolder than the rest, foremost among the rest in terms of the size of his body and of more robust strength, like another Goliath, saw the duke savaging his men mercilessly; he spurred on his horse towards him with blood-stained spurs, and with his sword lifted high in the air, he sliced right through

the whole shield above the boss; and if the duke had not parried with the boss, and twisted it over to the other side, he would have paid the debt of death; but God protected his knight, and protected him with his defensive shield. The duke, ablaze with furious anger, started to strike a return blow, aiming for his neck. He lifted his sword on high and brought it down into the left part of his shoulder-blades with such strength that it split his chest right down the middle, cleaving through his spine and vitals, and thus, wet with blood, the sword came out whole above his right thigh; thus, his whole head and right side of his body slipped down into the water, while the part that was left on his horse was sent back into the city.'

N^o 728: 'He spurred on his warhorse with spurs of pure gold.'

N^o 729: 'Above the boss, he broke and pierced his shield.'

N^o 730: 'Beneath the boss, he broke and shattered his shield.'

N^o 731: 'They sliced human bodies from the tops of their heads down to their kidneys.'

N^o 735: 'He cut through his helmet as hard as he could, // right through the ears and right through his scalp, // He had strong arms, great and mighty. // The blow passed the membrane of his double-linked mail coat. // down to the saddle, his sword didn't cease to cleave, // and the blade entered into the back of the saddle. // His groin stayed in place upon his horse.'

N^o 736: 'Guerris let his warhorse run at full pace, // brandished his lance, unfurled his pennant, // and went to strike Lord Herbert of Hirson//...// He gave him a mighty blow on his lion-painted shield, // so that he sliced through his ermine cloak, // sliced his liver and his lung in half, // One half fell from him into the sand, // the other half resting in the saddle - // he tumbled dead from his Aragonese warhorse.'

N^o 741: 'Then, Duke Godfrey, the most powerful of knights, rushing at them with his sword drawn, struck one of the wild heathens so manfully that he split that man completely in two, from the top of his head all the way into the saddle of his horse. It was such an act of providence that, even though he was completely sheared in two, only the lesser part of the whole body fell from his horse. After that, he attacked another one from the side, and sliced him through the middle.'

N^o 743: 'The Duke of Lorraine distinguished himself greatly there... during his slow ascent [up the curve of the bridge] he divided the oncoming enemies down the middle.'

N^o 745: 'The story of this amazing deed is often sung, this being reliable and dependable testimony.'

N^o 747: 'In this battle, as is told by many, Duke Godfrey struck a Turkish knight very hard with his sword, so that with one blow he split his body in two, the top half falling to the ground and the lower half staying in the saddle, and returning to the city.'

N^o 748: 'While they were trying to defend the bridge, Duke Godfrey split one of them in two, so that one half fell into the deep water, and the remaining half, the horse bore off among the Turks...'

N^o 749: 'The furious duke took guard, bent back beneath his shield, // And soon his flickering sword he raised, and struck his foe: // He smashed his mouth and head to pieces, slashed through his vitals, // Sprinkling droplets of his fat about, shattering his spine and breastbone; // Thus the man fell to the ground, cleaved down the middle into two parts // And half of him fell onto his shield, shattered into a thousand pieces, // And the other half stayed upon his horse, and was carried off, lying flat...'

N^o 750: 'At these words, they charged into battle to strike blows, // cutting heads and arms from bodies, // and making brains erupt into the air.'

N^o 751: 'The distinguished Duke Godfrey struck a certain very large warrior, dressed in a golden hauberk, on

the back with his sword, and with the mighty blow sliced through him as if he were a slender leek...the lesser part remained on his very swift horse. The horse, riderless, was urged on by the spurs and, reins loosened, entered the town.'

N^o 752: 'He cut through him like a pine branch', 'olive branch.'

N^o 755: 'For who could presume to pass over in silence the incredible might of Godfrey, by whose sword one Turk was cut into two Turks: so that the smaller part rode off into the city, and the other ended up swimming in the river.'

N^o 756: 'It was told by the mouths of many witnesses who saw it with their own eyes.', 'He cut a Turk who was threatening him with his bow, who was dressed in a hauberk, into two parts with his very sharp sword. The half of his body from his chest upwards slipped down into the sand, and the other part, still clinging on to his horse by the thighs, was carried onto the middle of the bridge before the walls of the city, where, having slipped, it remained.'

N^o 760: 'The Count of Normandy, seeing the standard of the Emir, which had a golden apple on top of the pole, which was covered in silver, charged him at full force, and wounded him mortally. The count of Flanders attacked from another side with great violence... The mêlée was fierce... Our men, with arrows, lances, and swords threw their bodies to the ground, dead.'

N^o 762: 'They all fell dead to the meadow.'

N^o 766: 'Urging on his swift horse with repeated jabs of his spurs // [Robert] struck the prince for whom the spear acted as a standard, as we said, with a swift blow, and injured him with a savage wound.'

N^o 767: 'Each knight could overthrow his own.'

N^o 769: 'We overcame them and hurled them into the river with our death-dealing lances.'

N^o 770: 'Thrown over and pushed back.'

N^o 771: 'One through the head, one through the ribs, one through the neck...struck by the sword, they were all thrown down.'

N^o 772: 'They loosened their reins, spurred on their steeds with spurs of iron, all flew forwards faster than words (?), and with their shields at their breasts, thrust at the crowds opposing them with lances, and broke their opponents, and each of them hurled his rival to the ground.'

N^o 773: 'Without delay, he urged on his horse with his spurs', 'he did not wish to delay.'

N^o 774: 'Each man chose his own man // and overthrew him in the first charge.'

N^o 776: 'Duke Godfrey and Bohemond did not curb their horses, loosening the reins, and flew into the midst of the enemies, piercing them through with lances, throwing them down off their horses.'

N^o 777: 'His brandished spear is thrust into the middle of the Turks, which throws them down, pierces them, and casts some down.'

N^o 778: 'He pierced with his lance a Turk, more distinguished and fiercer in the charge than the rest, overcoming him and throwing him from his horse.'

N^o 779: 'In the first clash, his lance flashed, his lance pierced, and his lance threw down.'

N^o 780: 'First he forced his soul to tumble down to Hell, then his body to tumble down to the valley.'

N^o 781: 'Behold, one of them, armed and racing his horse swiftly, came after him; Tancred turned to him and, spurring towards him, pierced him through with his lance, killing him without delay. Another came,

looking to strike Tancred... the third man who was approaching, following the others, he similarly hurled over, dead.'

N^o 783: 'They stood against the Turks: shields and helms rebounded // with great blows, and sword reverberated against swords... soon, flight to safety was sought, with shields thrown over his back, // the Turk slackened his bridle and urged on his horse with the reins... He threw away his painted shields, and another seized them up // another still freed himself from his rounded shield by fleeing.'

N^o 784: 'Great blows.'

N^o 786: 'Painted shields', 'shields painted with flowers', 'shields, which are painted with gold.'

N^o 787: 'Painted shield', 'round shield.'

N^o 788: 'The shield slung on the back.'

N^o 789: 'The shield around his neck.'

N^o 791: 'Shields flung onto their backs.'

N^o 794: 'Gerard of Quierzy, sat on top of his excellent horse, and protected by his shield, saw during this same pursuit of the enemy a Turk behind him who was staying on the top of the mountain, brave and of great strength, and charged at him bravely with his lance, covering himself behind his shield. An arrow loosed by his opponent glanced off his shield, and he pierced the Turk through the liver and his lung, and, as the Turk slipped off his horse onto the ground, dying, Gerard took control of it and led it away.'

N^o 798: 'It penetrated his liver and lung, and thus, he slid, dead, from his horse, breathing his last.'

N^o 800: 'His ash lance raised, he transfixes the leading man. The round shield and the breastplate normally protect against others, but this is when they are pitched against another breaker of men: this breaker of men allowed no hauberk to be faithful, allowed none not to fail. This striker made a helmet into a turban, a shield into a cloak, and a breastplate into a shirt. He pierced through wood as if linen, steel as if hemp, a blade as if wool.'

N^o 803: 'Was not worth a slender branch.'

N^o 804: 'The enemy's shield received endless blows from long ash-spears, and, through the immense forces of such extremely mighty blows, the impact shattered them into tiny shards. The helmet struck by blades did not protect the back of the head from wounds, and they cursed the hauberk links, thought to be impenetrable, for their frailty. Armour protected no part of the body, whatever the barbarians thought safe was weak, whatever the Franks touched, they sheared. The battlefield was scattered with the sheer number of corpses, and the deep piles of dead and disturbed the smoothness of the grassy plain...'

N^o 805: 'Hugh the Great was the first among them to reach the mêlée. He picked out one of the enemies who was bolder than the rest and was shouting to spur them on to fight. He spurred on his horse, flecked with foam, pierced his throat with his lance, and thus cut off his windpipe. What could the wretch do? He crumbled immediately to the ground, and yielded his soul to the demonic gods.'

N^o 808: 'The first into battle was Hugh the Great, the reins of his frenzied // horse he loosed, and, from the man who was giving orders in the battle // [Hugh's] lance stole his throat, tearing it out, stealing his life // and the words he was speaking. The pliant shaft of the lance // shattered: and the struck man, groaning, sought out the ground with his face, laying there, dying.'

N^o 809: 'His lance-shaft broke into splinters.'

N^o 810: 'The shafts were splintered.'

N^o 814: 'An Arab, armed with a lance and an oval shield, rode in front of all the Turks. Having broken his lance on the shield of Ralph of Beaugency, a worthy and very noble man; he was fended off by him, which was a manly deed since Ralph lacked a lance himself, having broken it already on the Turkish battle lines. So, the Arab pursued and struck at the fleeing son of the count of St. Pol. The count, seeing this, wheeled around his horse, and, having pierced his chest, hurled his enemy to the ground, adding 'the old bull is more worthy than the young bullock!'

N^o 817: 'A good young bullock is worth more, when pulling a cart, than a pair of old bulls.'

N^o 819: 'He [the emir] struck Tancred on the shield, so that his spear, which in the Syrian tongue is called scanna, shattered. But Tancred, having punctured his shield and his body, hurled him over onto the bridge, and leaving his still-twitching body, led his horse into the city.'

N^o 821: 'He directed the steel of his lance into a king of the pagans, piercing through wood, bronze, and body equally. A minute later, he lays low a second and a third.'

N^o 822: 'The duke of the Normans cleaves through his head, teeth, neck, and shoulders, all the way into his chest.'

N^o 823: 'The battle was truly great', 'an enormity of slaughter took place.'

N^o 825: 'The fighting was fierce and severe // and the battle was terrible.'

N^o 826: 'See how bitter the fighting is all around us.'

N^o 828: 'Meanwhile, a horrid war was waged.'

N^o 829: 'Great was the sound of clashing arms.'

N^o 830: 'A heavy conflict of battle arose there, and very many were killed.'

N^o 831: 'At that moment, the combat was engaged // so many lances shattered, so many shields pierced // so many good hauberks split and ripped apart // the field strewn with the dead and the fallen.'

N^o 832: 'Shields and helms could not withstand the blows of our men // spear-points and lances pierced right through whatever they hit // and swords that cut through helmets were covered with the splatterings of brains // and all around, heads slumped on shoulders [in death].'

N^o 833: 'He sent his head flying off to the right // far behind him.'

N^o 834: 'Strong lances shattered with mighty blows, // the sound of chests being split open filled the air and rivers of gore flooded out, // and decapitated heads flew everywhere like apples shaken from a tree.'

N^o 835: 'There was no small shattering of lances there, no small ringing of swords and helmets was heard in this conflict of war.'

N^o 836: 'The sword grew dull through constant blows, // the collisions of steel made a crashing din...// Arms resounded, horses charged, bronze rang out.'

N^o 837: 'Bronze helms rang out like struck anvils; small fires sparking; swords were mutilated, men fell to the ground, their brains dashed out, hauberks were split, entrails spilled out, horses threw off their exhausted riders...'

N^o 838: 'So that he made brains fly through the air.'

N^o 839: 'Oh how great the shatter of weapons there, how great the crash of breaking lances, how great the din of the dying, and how joyful the voice of the fighting Franks, shouting their battle cries at the tops of their voices!'

- № 840: 'They claw at the chalky soil, or, lying prone, tear at the grass with their gnashing teeth.'
- № 846: 'Innumerable armies poured down from the mountains as well, with white horses, whose standards were all white... whose leaders were SS. George, Mercurius, and Demetrius. These words are to be believed, because many of our men saw it.'
- № 849: 'A standard, miraculously white and resplendent.'
- № 851: 'In white clothes, mounted on white horses.'
- № 854: 'Sitting on white horses', 'they bore white flags with crosses.'
- № 855: 'An innumerable army of white', 'they all have white horses, which are miraculously fast, and clothes, shields, and banners of the same colour.'
- № 856: 'Holding their lances with the white pennants aloft.' ALTHOUGH THE USE OF HASTIS IS OBSCURE, CONTEXT WOULD SUGGEST IT MEANS 'PENNANTS'. 'ALBIS HASTIS', HOWEVER, COULD POTENTIALLY ALSO BE TREATED AS 'SILVERY SPEAR-HEADS' OR 'WITH WHITE SHAFTS.'
- № 857: 'Two young men in white clothing, who protected that basilica from fire.', '[by the] assent of His Divine Majesty.' I DISAGREE WITH SCHOLZ AND ROGERS'S TRANSLATION, WHICH HAS THE MEN RIDING WHITE HORSES – THERE IS NO SUGGESTION OF HORSES IN KURZE'S EDITION, WHICH SCHOLZ HIMSELF USED. Bernard Walter Scholz and Barbara Rogers, *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970), 50.
- № 858: 'The Holy Apostles were seen...with white banners, forcing the Normans to turn their backs.'
- № 859: 'A certain knight, splendid in array, mounted on a white horse, bearing a white standard attached to the top of his lance and a splendid cross above this.'
- № 863: 'The three heroes have entered the battle, // who had descended from the mountains.'
- № 864: 'Of the Old Testament and of the more recent deeds (gestae, geste) of the Christians.'
- № 865: 'Holy Athlete William.'
- № 867: 'Five men, adorned with golden reins on their horses, appeared to their adversaries from the sky', 'a horseman appeared in front of them, in white garb and golden armour, brandishing a lance.'
- № 871: 'And yet it is read in the church, and the brave deeds of the Maccabees are sung... The Lord, helping them visibly, sending to their aid his holy warriors, whose souls had been gathered in heaven, namely Mercurius often, and sometimes George, and occasionally Theodorus, all three sometimes accompanied with their armies [dressed] in white.' D'ANGELO'S PUNCTUATION. I HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO ESTABLISH WHETHER ANY PUNCTUAL DISTINCTION EXISTS BETWEEN *legitur* AND *cantantur* IN THE MANUSCRIPTS, BUT THAT ONE IS SINGULAR AND ONE PLURAL, SUGGESTS OPPOSITION. IT CANNOT, IN MY VIEW, BE READ AS 'THE DEEDS OF THE MACCABEES ARE READ AND SUNG IN THE CHURCH'.
- № 874: 'His beard and moustache were hoary.'
- № 878: 'He lost his head, which was completely wreathed in ancient, shaggy hair.'
- № 879: 'With white hair, and a beard which flowed from his chin down to his navel.'
- № 881: 'A noble man, and shining with snowy-white hair.'

- N^o 883: 'He was an old man, and white-haired, as white as wool.'
- N^o 884: 'In the style of the chansons de geste.'
- N^o 893: 'In the third [group] was...with his...'
- N^o 894: 'First', 'third', 'fourth'.
- N^o 895: 'And similarly for [x] people.'
- N^o 896: 'x [instructed] his own [squadron].'
- N^o 901: 'Standing on a hill.'
- N^o 902: 'Mounted on an observation point.'
- N^o 904: 'The mountain peak.'
- N^o 905: 'Nobody who came down from the mountain went back up again.'
- N^o 907: 'On the mountain top, as is their custom.'
- N^o 910: 'Riding up a mountain', 'as if from a watchtower.'
- N^o 911: 'I have seen the Saracens of Spain, // The valleys and the mountains are covered with them, // and the heaths and the plains.'
- N^o 912: 'Nearly all the mountains, hills, valleys, and plains were covered with them.'
- N^o 916: 'We gained much booty: gold, silver, horses and donkeys, camels, sheep and cattle, and many other things of which I am not aware.'
- N^o 917: 'Gold and silver, horses and mules, and houses full of all kinds of goods.'
- N^o 918: 'Camels, asses, and horses loaded with gold and silver and much other booty.'
- N^o 919: 'Precious gold and endless silver.'
- N^o 920: 'Much gold and silver and many spoils, plenty of grain, cattle and camels.'
- N^o 921: 'Precious things, that is to say, gold, gems, silver, cloaks, horses, and suchlike.'
- N^o 924: 'Four hundred mules loaded with gold and silver.'
- N^o 925: 'Of gold, silver and expensive adornment.'
- N^o 932: 'His body was overcome with profound grief.'
- N^o 935: 'He had so much grief, he nearly lost his mind.'
- N^o 940: 'On account of his excessive distress, he slid from his horse to the ground, and began to wail in a loud voice, proclaiming himself cursed and unlucky.'
- N^o 941: 'As is the custom among the Turks, when lamenting their misfortune and injuries...throwing their hats from their heads to the ground, they plucked out their beards wickedly with their nails, pulled and tore at their hair with their fingers, and drew forth sighs in great lamentation.'
- N^o 942: 'Felt distraught to his very core.'
- N^o 945: 'He seized up in even greater terror, his accustomed strength of his body deserting him, and he froze in his soul.'
- N^o 946: 'Grieving and lamenting, he spoke through his tears...'
- N^o 948: 'Clement, losing his mind.'
- N^o 951: 'Sad and mourning, her face downcast.'

N^o 955: 'Mourned excessively, and were distraught almost to the point of death. For they were mourning every day, and did nothing except weep and wail.'

N^o 958: 'They were petrified by excessive terror, and no longer had the spirit to resist, and fell to the ground as if dead... everywhere, mourning, everywhere, misery.'

N^o 959: 'He narrowly avoided going mad.'

N^o 960: 'He narrowly avoided fainting.'

N^o 966: 'He began to weep and to lament with wails... nobody could console Guy, weeping and beating his chest, wringing his hands and saying: "Alas! Woe is me!", 'mourning bitterly, almost unto death.'

N^o 968: 'Fast-running warhorse.'

N^o 969: 'Swift warhorse.'

N^o 970: 'Swift horse'

N^o 971: 'Fast-moving horse'

N^o 972: 'A warhorse, strong and fast, swift and running.'

N^o 974: 'Giving free rein to a swift horse.'

N^o 975: 'They loosened the reins from their free-running horses.'

N^o 976: 'He loosened the reins from his good horse.'

N^o 978: 'Oh Florescele, good horse... // the wind is not as swift as you walk, // neither is a bird's flight!'

N^o 979: 'Swift and Arabic warhorses, who can gallop faster than a partridge flies.'

N^o 981: 'Very fast horses', 'swift horses.'

N^o 982: 'The strong and swift horses of the Turks.'

N^o 984: 'Sitting on horses, very swift of flight.'

N^o 986: 'Racing horse', 'by the fast horse.'

N^o 987: 'He flew across the battlefield like a bolt of lightning, urging on his swift steed with his spurs.'

N^o 989: 'The flight of a swift horse.'

N^o 991: 'A very swift horse.'

N^o 993: '[he] thinks of fleeing.'

N^o 995: 'Loosened reins.'

N^o 997: 'Reins slack in the turn', 'the pagans turn, reins slack.'

N^o 998: 'This is what happened, without delay... with loosened reins and encouraging their horses with spurs, they pursued them.'

N^o 999: 'Riding on a female palfrey, very swift, which, in their language is called pharissa.'

N^o 1001: 'Sitting on horses galloping like the wind.'

N^o 1002: 'Faster than the southeast wind', 'runs faster than the wind.'

N^o 1009: 'Women, mothers, and young girls.'

N^o 1014: 'The day was bright and the morning fine; // The sun shone and the daylight grew brighter... // From the strong helms they wore, studded with gold, // the whole wood blazed with reflected light behind their shoulders.'

- N^o 1015: ‘As I look towards Spain, I see such a gleam of burnished metal // so many white-sheened hauberks, so many helmets burning with light; // they come to strike us, Franks, with great ferocity.’
- N^o 1016: ‘Many green-sheened helmets shone and glimmered, // with gold which shone and lit up the earth.’
- N^o 1017: ‘The sun shimmering on their armour and shields’, ‘a dramatic effect engendered from his craftsmanship.’
- N^o 1018: ‘Already, the morning light was shining off the breastplates and shields, shimmering into the third rank.’
- N^o 1019: ‘The sun struck down on shields burning with light.’
- N^o 1020: ‘That which was commenced in half-light, now sparkled with the fiery bronze of helmets.’
- N^o 1021: ‘Now, a very clear day had dawned, the sun shimmering with shining rays, and its splendour glittered on the golden shields and iron armour; the standards and flags, bright with jewels and purple, raised high and fixed on spears, were fluttering. The swift horses were urged on with spurs...’
- N^o 1022: ‘The sun shone with the brightest of rays, the splendour of which shone out on the golden shields and iron-clad clothes.’
- N^o 1025: ‘Their lances shine like shimmering stars, their helms and hauberks like the tremulous light of growing dawn.’
- N^o 1028: ‘For what human eye could bear the sight of the hauberks, helms, shields, and lances in the glimmering sunshine?’
- N^o 1029: ‘The extreme splendour of all the weapons, for the sun, with its flaming rays, brought forth a glow.’
- N^o 1030: ‘The light of the breastplates // shines more beautifully when soaked // in the rays of the sun // and in the air, of golden // helm and shield, // and belt as well, // the flashing gleams.’
- N^o 1031: ‘When the sun shone on the shields of gold and brass, the hills were ablaze with them and gleamed like flaming torches.’
- N^o 1032: ‘The fields, filled with glimmering weapons, shone.’
- N^o 1039: ‘To wage war against the pagans and Saracens for God.’
- N^o 1043: ‘At once, the Turks began to howl and gabble and shout, speaking with loud voices a devilish sound in their own language which I do not understand. Wise Bohemond, seeing the innumerable Turks nearby, shouting and howling in the voice of demons...’
- N^o 1045: ‘Bray’, ‘whinny.’
- N^o 1046: ‘They whooped loudly in a high-pitched tone.’
- N^o 1047: ‘[They began] to howl and yelp.’
- N^o 1049: ‘...began to howl and gabble and shout... with a hate-filled uproar.’, ‘...they didn’t dare to shout or gabble.’
- N^o 1052: ‘They fled, screeching I-don’t-know-what horror into the air with the howls they brought forth.’
- N^o 1053: ‘With loud voices gibbering I don’t know what in their barbarous language’, ‘they howled, they groaned.’
- N^o 1056: ‘They shout and grind their teeth, and fill the air with their din.’
- N^o 1059: ‘They grind their teeth and bark in the manner of dogs.’

- N^o 1061: 'Armed dogs.'
- N^o 1064: 'In the manner of a wicked hound in the chase.'
- N^o 1066: 'tormenting dogs'
- N^o 1067: 'A man, or rather a dog.'
- N^o 1072: 'In no way people but rather monsters.'
- N^o 1074: 'One of them, braver than the rest, distinguished for the size of his body, and his extreme strength, like another Goliath.'
- N^o 1080: 'outstanding in stature...and corpulent.'
- N^o 1081: 'His head, in fact, was of enormous size, his ears far apart and hairy, his hair white, and with a beard which stretched from his chin down to his navel.'
- N^o 1083: 'With the space of half a foot between their eyes.'
- N^o 1084: 'Having, from one eye to the other, the space of half a foot.'
- N^o 1085: 'Between the two eyes, his forehead was vast // a good half foot could be measured there.'
- N^o 1086: 'A full palm between his two eyes.'
- N^o 1088: 'Very fast runners', 'They were not shorn, like the Turks, but long-haired, like the Gauls.', 'So great was their speed at running, that not even the best and fastest horses could keep up with them by galloping.'
- N^o 1092: 'Huns, whom we now call Turks.'
- N^o 1093: 'Turks and Arabs', 'without differentiation.'
- N^o 1097: 'And the third [squadron] was of Nubles and Blos, // ... of blacks and Slavs // ...of Sorbres and Sorz // ...Armenians and Moors // the other is of Turks, the third of Persians.'
- N^o 1099: 'Pagans and Saracens // Turks, Persians and wicked Bedouins.'
- N^o 1100: 'The French and Poitevins were so struck by fright, // and the Lorrainers, Flemings, and Angevins.'
- N^o 1102: 'A multitude of Turks, Arabs, Saracens, and others who I do not know how to describe.'; 'three hundred and sixty thousand Turks, Persians, Publicani, Saracens, Agulani, and other pagans.'
- N^o 1105: 'An army of Turks, Publicani, Agulani, Azimites, and many other nations', 'Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Publicani, Azimites, Kurds, Persians, Agulani, and many other peoples...'
- N^o 1106: 'Turks, Arabs, and Saracens.'
- N^o 1107: 'Turks, Persians, and Arabs.'
- N^o 1109: 'Of Turks, Saracens, and Arabs, and Agulani, and Kurds, Azoparts, Azimites, and other pagans.'
- N^o 1110: 'Turks and Cumans, Husi and Tanaces, Petchenegs and Bulgarians.' I DO NOT CONSIDER THE HILL'S ARGUMENT THAT THE USE OF 'aliasque feras gentes' ON THE NEXT PAGE SUPPORTS THE IDENTIFICATION OF tanaces AS 'THE TENACIOUS ONES' VIABLE: THE ENTIRELY DIFFERENT FORMULATION NEEDS TO BE EXPLAINED MORE DEEPLY THAN A SINGLE ADJECTIVE WITHOUT A NOUN TO MODIFY. Husi, LIKEWISE, CANNOT BE LINKED UNPROBLEMATICALLY TO OGHUZ. SEE Hill and Hill, Le « Liber » de Raymond d'Aguilers, 13.
- N^o 1112: 'Turks and Arabs, and Black Ethiopians.'
- N^o 1113: 'And Saracens, and [all those from] Egypt, Mesopotamia, and all of Africa.'

- N^o 1120: ‘Turks and Persians, Arabs and Hagarenes.’
- N^o 1125: ‘After the flight of the aforementioned Prince Soliman.’
- N^o 1131: ‘At first they threw away their weapons, then their clothes, then their saddlecloths.’
- N^o 1132: ‘In order to avoid death, [the fleeing person] did not hesitate to ungird his saddle // swords and quivers thrown away, he fled.’
- N^o 1134: ‘Throwing down their baggage and saddle-cloths.’
- N^o 1135: ‘Through mountain passes and across the plains.’
- N^o 1136: ‘Through mountains and valleys’, ‘through mountains and hills.’
- N^o 1137: ‘As if in a blink of an eye, having seen our men, the fugitives turned their backs in flight.’
- N^o 1139: ‘But we did not see it.’
- N^o 1142: ‘Whose accustomed recourse [in war] is flight.’
- N^o 1160: ‘Afterwards, with the pagans fleeing, he reached the city [of Jerusalem].’
- N^o 1161: ‘The Slav grunts, the Hungarian cries out... the Saracen trembles and flees.’
- N^o 1162: ‘[the pagans are] more ready to flee than to fight.’
- N^o 1167: ‘Cut off feet and hands, heads and bodies: // the trail of dead led back to Marsilie.’
- N^o 1170: ‘They received there everlasting death with the devil and his angels.’
- N^o 1171: ‘Handed over their unfortunate souls’, ‘Satan’s ministers / Satan and his ministers.’
- N^o 1177: ‘He handed over his soul to the living devils.’
- N^o 1178: ‘Satan carried off his soul.’
- N^o 1179: ‘The Adversary carried off his soul.’
- N^o 1181: ‘Devils carried away his soul.’
- N^o 1187: ‘They led off their prisoners to their homes: some to Coroscane, others to Antioch, others still to Aleppo.’
- N^o 1189: ‘The weapons which they had taken and the captives were sent far away to the nobles of their people and of the Saracens, and it was written ... that the Franks were worthless in war.’
- N^o 1192: ‘Not entirely free’, ‘(epic) songs.’
- N^o 1194: ‘To be led off in the most bitter captivity to Coroscane.’
- N^o 1199: ‘The girls and young men and all the things they had hoped to abduct and take away.’
- N^o 1202: ‘Took away the sons and the daughters, and amused themselves with them throughout [the army].’
- N^o 1208: ‘Captured and shackled.’
- N^o 1216: ‘All chained together in pairs as if they were bloodhounds.’
- N^o 1219: ‘Interwoven with gold and silver.’
- N^o 1220: ‘Golden shields and iron armour; the standards and flags, bright with jewels and purple.’
- N^o 1223: ‘Are two, three, or even four times forged and purified, with the purest gold and silver.’
- N^o 1226: ‘For the gentiles pride themselves greatly on trinkets and pedestals like this.’
- N^o 1231: ‘The freely running horses, adornments sumptuous with richness...shining with gold.’

- N^o 1232: 'Golden hauberk.'
- N^o 1234: 'Clothes covered in gems and houses with gold-panelled ceilings.'
- N^o 1243: 'Precious in workmanship and adornment.'
- N^o 1244: 'A tent belonged to the king, which, miraculous in its construction and in its nature, was a spectacle in two ways to those who saw it. It looked like a city with its turreted atrium.'
- N^o 1246: 'Pavilions miraculous in their construction and appearance.'
- N^o 1247: 'A tent of miraculous workmanship and appearance.'
- N^o 1250: '...whose iron garments, shields studded with gold and gems, and painted with flowers of various colours, helms on their heads glimmering, shining even greater than the sparkling sun.'
- N^o 1251: 'Flowered shields.'
- N^o 1252: 'Shields painted with flowers.'
- N^o 1256: 'Fabulously interwoven with gold and silver', 'their helms were interwoven with panels of gold with gemstones.'
- N^o 1257: 'An epic of the pre-crusades.'
- N^o 1276: 'For what God or man beneath the firmament is so powerful that with his help they could be liberated? Is he not the one who was crucified by the Jews?'
- N^o 1291: 'Believe in Mohammed and our other gods.'
- N^o 1292: 'By Mohammed, my teacher.'
- N^o 1293: 'Our teacher and master.'
- N^o 1294: 'Mohammed the God.'
- N^o 1295: 'Who did not love God.'
- N^o 1296: 'Does not believe in God the Son of the Virgin Mary.'
- N^o 1298: 'Are a people who do not serve the Lord God.'
- N^o 1301: 'Men who were not seeking after salvation.'
- N^o 1303: 'They departed from the community of our faith.'
- N^o 1304: 'A people utterly alienated from God.'
- N^o 1305: 'If they had always stood firm in the faith of Christ and Holy Christendom, and had been willing to acknowledge the indivisible One God in Trinity, and had believed faithfully and correctly that the Son of God was born from a virgin mother, suffered (on the cross), and rose from the dead and ascended to heaven in his disciples' sight, and sent to them fully the consolation of the Holy Spirit, and that he is reigning both in heaven and on earth, stronger or braver or more skilful soldiers could not be found anywhere.'
- N^o 1307: 'To have cut themselves off from God.'
- N^o 1313: 'Oracles to the devil.'
- N^o 1315: 'In Zaragoza, he has the drums sounded / they hoist Mohammed up to the highest tower / there is no Pagan who doesn't pray to him and to adore him.'
- N^o 1317: 'Decorated with beautiful images of you.'
- N^o 1318: 'An idol created in the name of Mohammed', 'the Saracens exercised their religion of idolatry, in

their superstitious rite.’

N^o 1319: ‘The Temple of the Lord, violated by unclean idols.’

N^o 1320: ‘An image stood on the highest throne, cast // of heavy silver... “What is the meaning of this image’s presence, which stands on high? // What is the meaning of this effigy? Why the gems? Why the gold?//...For it, all gems and in purple cloth // bound, was Mohammed, and he shone with gold.’

N^o 1324: ‘An indication of epic influence.’

N^o 1327: ‘Select for me twelve of your barons // and I will fight the Twelve Peers.’

N^o 1339: ‘In his tent, safe and sound, sitting, he played chess.’

N^o 1342: ‘Epic element.’

N^o 1344: ‘The more senior, in age and experience, sat down in one group.’

N^o 1346: ‘These knights sat on white blankets, // at tables they entertained themselves by playing // for the old, and wise, the game of chess, // and for the young, the game of jousting and swordplay.’

N^o 1347: ‘Seven thousand knights they found seated there, // with ermine-trimmed cloaks and vestments. // to gaming tables and chess tables they joyfully progressed.’

N^o 1351: ‘For they [the pagans] have a pope too, in the image of our own.’

N^o 1355: ‘Enter into my vassalage.’

N^o 1360: ‘Magicians, prophets, and soothsayers of the gods.’

N^o 1363: ‘Wicked spells of prophets and soothsayers, with cursed script.’ PROBABLY ‘SPELLS’ RATHER THAN ‘SONGS’, GIVEN THE CONTEXT.

N^o 1364: ‘Two women tried to cast magic spells on one of our catapults... with their lives snuffed out, [this] averted the impact of the spells.’

N^o 1367: ‘The sorcerer who had already been to hell: // Jupiter led him there by sorcery.’

N^o 1378: ‘Was a great knight; a perfect vassal.’

N^o 1379: ‘There was no pagan with greater courtliness.’

N^o 1381: ‘He is well renowned for being a good vassal // If he were a Christian, he would be most chivalrous.’

N^o 1382: ‘Would have been a great knight, if he wanted to love God.’

N^o 1384: ‘It was such a shame, lord king! // If only he believed in the Creator, // You would have no better vassal.’

N^o 1387: ‘Prudence, chivalry, and strength...’, ‘you would not be able to find stronger, more powerful, or more warlike men anywhere.’

N^o 1388: ‘Without doubt, men of great quality, intelligence, and valour in war.’

N^o 1392: ‘Such is the goodness and justice of Kerbogha.’

N^o 1393: ‘A loss to honour and knighthood.’

N^o 1394: ‘A very noble man, but a heathen.’

N^o 1395: ‘Illustrious and distinguished princes’, ‘industrious and brave men.’

N^o 1396: ‘A valiant, noble, and dynamic man.’

- N^o 1397: 'A very distinguished knight.'
- N^o 1398: 'A knight of very great spirit and heart.'
- N^o 1400: 'A very upstanding knight.'
- N^o 1402: 'Valiant/prudent in everything you do, and I could not now find a more true and brave man.'
- N^o 1404: 'A noble and powerful hero of the Turkish race', 'faithfully believed in Christ.'
- N^o 1408: 'Now here, faith truly appeared from an infidel, and perfect brotherly love from a stranger.'
- N^o 1409: 'A Turk, selected for his nobility.'
- N^o 1410: 'That blessed traitor', 'Good betrayer of the city.'
- N^o 1411: 'Holy traitor.'
- N^o 1412: 'A betrayal, and yet not a betrayal.'
- N^o 1423: 'Beautiful Saracen women.'
- N^o 1435: 'Never without risk.'
- N^o 1436: 'To liberate it from the persecution of the perfidious Petchenegs.'
- N^o 1447: 'We call Coroscane by its new name, since the old word, nearly completely forgotten, is reclusive.'
- N^o 1448: 'They say that this land, Coroscane, is called this by corruption of the name of Caucasus by the uncultivated.'
- N^o 1449: 'Those who have walked in Coroscane in order to worship the god of the Turks.'
- N^o 1452: 'Covered all over, with their horses, in iron.'
- N^o 1457: 'Agulani or Agareni.'
- N^o 1460: 'Out of the north.'
- N^o 1462: 'Their skins were hard as iron, // for this reason they had no need of helm nor hauberk.'
- N^o 1463: 'He bore no arms save his beak and claws//[...][//the shaft broke into three pieces on him, // his skin was hard, nothing could hope to pierce it.'
- N^o 1469: 'a sort which marches barefoot, carries no arms... but which precedes the others, completely squalid in their poverty and nudity, feeding on the grass roots, one of the lowest things that grows.'
- N^o 1483: 'Valley of Botrentrot.'
- N^o 1486: 'Valleys of Buotentrot, having crossed the mountain range through the gate which is called Judas.'
- N^o 1492: 'Poetic universe.'
- N^o 1494: 'A race with the blackest of skin, from the land of Ethiopia, commonly called Azopart.'
- N^o 1513: 'At first light.'
- N^o 1514: 'Whether willing or unwilling', 'town', 'tent', 'beast of burden.'
- N^o 1522: 'With his archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priests.'
- N^o 1523: 'Misery, poverty, hardship, persecution, need, disease, famine, drought, and other such things.'
- N^o 1524: 'Grain, wine, barley, meat, flour, and cheese, and all other provisions.'
- N^o 1525: 'Mountains, hills, valleys, and other flat landscapes.'
- N^o 1534: 'French, Lorrainers, Swabians, Bavarians, Flemings, and the whole race of Germans...Normans,

Burgundians, Bretons, Swabians, Bavarians, Germans.'

N^o 1535: 'French, Normans, and those of Brittany // Burgundians, Lorrainers, and those of Germany.'

N^o 1537: 'Weeping and wailing.'

N^o 1538: 'Howl and gabble and shout.'

N^o 1539: 'Fighting and defending.'

N^o 1540: 'Praising and rejoicing.'

N^o 1541: 'Fleeing and trembling.'

N^o 1542: 'We rejoiced and celebrated.'

N^o 1543: 'Triumphing and rejoicing.'

N^o 1544: 'Praying and beseeching.'

N^o 1545: 'Killed and cut up.'

N^o 1546: 'We want, and ask for, [one] to rule over and dominate...'

N^o 1547: 'Rejoicing and cheering.'

N^o 1548: 'Denying and mocking them and saying.'

N^o 1549: '[so] they might harm and oppress.'

N^o 1550: 'Asking and praying.'

N^o 1551: 'Pursuing and gaining on them and massacring them.'

N^o 1552: 'Harm and oppress.'

N^o 1553: 'Started to subtly enquire and investigate.'

N^o 1554: 'We understand and we see.'

N^o 1555: 'Mourning and grieving.'

N^o 1556: 'Lay waste and despoil.'

N^o 1557: 'Disturbed and afraid.'

N^o 1558: 'Pulled and tore.'

N^o 1559: 'Din and clamour.'

N^o 1560: 'Walls and ramparts.'

N^o 1561: 'To break and to scatter.'

N^o 1562: 'Sound and noise.'

N^o 1563: 'Ruin and destruction.'

N^o 1564: 'Gathered and collected.'

N^o 1565: 'They fortified and built defences.'

N^o 1566: 'To defend and guard.'

N^o 1567: 'Trembling and shaking.'

N^o 1568: 'Despoiled and made barren.'

N^o 1569: 'Conquer and destroy.'

N^o 1570: 'Slaughtered and smashed.'

N^o 1571: 'Confused and cast into disarray.'

N^o 1572: 'Lying in wait and ambushing.'

N^o 1573: 'We think and believe.'

N^o 1574: 'Weeping and wailing.'

N^o 1575: 'Mourning and weeping', 'filled and covered.'

N^o 1576: 'Struck and slashed them down.'

N^o 1577: 'Overcome and conquer.'

N^o 1578: 'Shattered and ruptured the hauberk.'

N^o 1579: 'Broken and shattered.'

N^o 1580: 'Loaded and burdened mules.'

N^o 1581: 'I have heard and listened.'

N^o 1582: 'Lifted and raised.'

N^o 1583: 'Shamed and dishonoured.'

N^o 1584: 'Shattered and pierced.'

N^o 1585: 'Fierce and grievous.'

N^o 1586: 'Howled and shouted.'

N^o 1589: 'Dawn broke and the day cleared.'

N^o 1590: 'The day was good and clear.'

N^o 1591: 'The night passed and the bright day begun.'

N^o 1592: 'But once the reddish dawn shone over the land, // and the sun scattered its rays over the globe.'

N^o 1594: 'At first light.'

N^o 1595: 'At the coming of day.'

N^o 1596: 'At the break of day.'

N^o 1597: 'Dawn broke.'

N^o 1598: 'When day came.'

N^o 1599: 'When dawn broke.'

N^o 1600: 'Evening having fallen.'

N^o 1601: 'With night approaching.'

N^o 1602: 'As the sun set.'

N^o 1603: 'The evening fell. Dawn broke.'

N^o 1604: 'With evening approaching.'

N^o 1605: 'With the night fading away, the light slowly began to rise.'

N^o 1607: 'With the day brightening.'

N^o 1608: 'At dawn.'

N^o 1609: 'With night falling.'

N^o 1610: 'The dawn whitening', 'the dawn illuminating.'

- N^o 1611: 'The morning brightening with the dawn', 'dawn having broken.'
- N^o 1612: 'Dawn having broken.'
- N^o 1613: 'When the day's dawn had appeared', 'the day brightening.'
- N^o 1615: 'A very clear day had grown light, and the sun shone with brightest rays.'
- N^o 1616: 'Dawn having broken.'
- N^o 1617: 'With the day becoming light.'
- N^o 1618: 'At day's first dawn.'
- N^o 1619: 'As evening was covering the earth.'
- N^o 1620: 'Next day, at the break of day.'
- N^o 1621: 'When the rising of the Morning Star brought the emergence of day.'
- N^o 1623: 'When night fell... at first light', 'with the sun retreating and night burdening the earth... when dusk grew white with the day.'
- N^o 1625: 'The rising light-bearing morning star had preceded the redness of Dawn, // when the rosy dawn itself was tremoring in brilliance, // and the sun was adorning the earth with its flaming light.'
- N^o 1631: 'He did not want to delay at all.'
- N^o 1632: 'He did not want to delay there.'
- N^o 1633: 'Without any more delay.'
- N^o 1634: 'Without a moment's delay.'
- N^o 1642: 'He should not be remiss in seeking to set out on the way to the Holy Sepulchre as fast as possible.'
- N^o 1644: 'Not delaying for long.'
- N^o 1645: 'And why should we delay?'
- N^o 1646: 'For what reason do we linger here so long?'
- N^o 1647: 'They did not want to delay there any longer.'
- N^o 1648: 'He did not want to delay.'
- N^o 1650: 'You would have seen bodies made slippery with blood or sweat.'
- N^o 1651: 'You would have seen intestines hanging out, and you would have seen also heads cut off, and bodies cut up, dying, everywhere.'
- N^o 1652: 'You would have seen there that the rear ranks of the enemy pushed the front ranks into the swords of slaughter.'
- N^o 1653: 'You would have seen a band of armed men who, who earlier on the journey had been transformed from horsemen to foot soldiers by hardship and starvation, were suffering wildly, smashing their fists, tearing their hair.'
- N^o 1654: 'You would have seen so many sword blows, // and so many lances shattering.'
- N^o 1655: 'There you would have seen so many shields shattered.'
- N^o 1656: 'You would have seen so many knighted pagans.'
- N^o 1657: 'What more can/ought I say?'
- N^o 1659: 'To raise up Christianity and cast down paganism', 'to exalt Christianity.'

- N^o 1660: 'He exalted Holy Christianity.'
- N^o 1662: 'Began to love', 'they began to curse.'
- N^o 1663: 'They began to gnash their teeth and gabble.'
- N^o 1664: 'Began to ask.'
- N^o 1665: 'Began to tremble.'
- N^o 1666: 'Began to laugh', 'chuckle'.
- N^o 1667: 'Began to weep.' 'weep and wail.'
- N^o 1668: 'Began to call upon.'
- N^o 1670: 'Began to join battle', 'began to advance.'
- N^o 1671: 'Began to fight.'
- N^o 1672: 'They began to pray.'
- N^o 1673: 'Began to grind down [the Turks].'
- N^o 1674: 'Began to snatch and seize.'
- N^o 1675: 'They began to charge', 'they began to flee.'
- N^o 1676: 'They began to test [the defences].'
- N^o 1677: 'Began to climb.'
- N^o 1678: 'Began to fight back', 'began to repel them.'
- N^o 1679: 'Began to fight.'
- N^o 1682: 'The Turks had surrounded us on all sides, swinging their weapons and launching javelins, throwing darts, and firing arrows from miraculously far and wide.'
- N^o 1683: 'In launching darts, javelins, and arrows.'
- N^o 1684: 'Signing us with the cross and blessing us.'
- N^o 1685: 'Preaching and advising.'
- N^o 1689: 'Wounding, killing.'
- N^o 1690: 'They were in the middle of the road, battling and killing us.'
- N^o 1691: 'A great lion approached, roaring.'
- N^o 1694: 'His Latin is a trace more than a translation.'
- N^o 1701: 'Very fast female riding horse, which is called in their language a pharissa.'
- N^o 1703: 'A very long spear covered completely in silver which they call a standard.'
- N^o 1704: 'A banner, which is called a standard.'
- N^o 1707: 'I have never heard such a deed of knighthood performed as great as that which he did.'
- N^o 1712: 'Army.'
- N^o 1719: 'Bound on mules and packhorses.'
- N^o 1720: 'Terms belonging to the vernacular.'
- N^o 1728: 'Narrow passes which were called Bucca Torta.'
- N^o 1730: 'Simple phrases of contemporary habitual expression.'

- N^o 1735: 'I do not think that there has ever before been seen, or will ever again be seen, so many valiant knights.'
- N^o 1739: 'So prudently', 'very prudently.'
- N^o 1741: 'Remember our prudent/valourous ancestors and our brave parents, recall what sort of people they were and what battles they fought.'
- N^o 1744: 'You are wise and valiant.'
- N^o 1756: 'Valiant were my father and my ancestors // and I am of a very good lineage // and so, I must, myself, be valiant.'
- N^o 1757: 'Normandy // the conqueror of the people of England, the conqueror of the Sicilians // the conqueror of the Greeks, Capuans, Apulians // to whom the inhabitants of Maine, Calabria, and Africa tended // to whom the Iapyges tended...'
- N^o 1758: 'With it, I conquered Anjou and Brittany, // with it, I conquered Poitou and Maine, // with it, I conquered Normandy the free, // and with it, I conquered Provence and Aquitaine.'
- N^o 1759: 'Angels took up his soul at once.'
- N^o 1761: 'In one meal, two thousand cows and four thousand pigs.'
- N^o 1764: 'Gerard ate the great boar's shoulder, // and in two draughts emptied the great gallon maser [of wine]...// Guiborc saw this, and said to William: // 'By God, my good lord, this man is of your lineage! // Whoever eats a great brawn of pork like that, // and in two draughts can down a gallon of wine, // will wage a bitter war against his neighbour, // and will never shamefully flee from the field!'
- N^o 1766: 'In entering, Bohemond greeted him with bowed head.'
- N^o 1767: 'He bowed his head towards the earth.'
- N^o 1775: 'A truncated nose.'
- N^o 1776: 'Tatikios, a man...with no nose, it having been cut off, I don't know when, and using instead a gold replacement.'
- N^o 1779: 'While they bragged to each other stupidly and recounted their good deeds // they insulted the Turks...'

