TWO MURDERS AND A CORONATION: CRUSADE, CRISIS, AND THE COUNTS OF FLANDERS, 1071-1204

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For my family.

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ABSTRACT

The medieval counts of Flanders went on crusade with a regularity that was unmatched by the other potentates of Western Europe in the twelfth century. While the comital tradition of crusading has been noted by scholars of the crusades, it has never been carefully studied or explained. This dissertation argues that the tradition of crusading that characterized the medieval counts of Flanders developed as a political and social response to the repeated crises of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The counts traveled east to Jerusalem in order to solidify and enhance their prestige within the county of Flanders. This tradition began with Robert the Frisian (r. 1071-1093), who made the journey as a pilgrim in 1086 in order to rehabilitate his reputation after a civil war in which he usurped the county by killing his nephew. Robert's son, Robert II (r. 1093-1111), participated in the First Crusade and was remembered as one of the expedition's heroes. During and after Robert II's rule, commemoration of the First Crusade began to create the idea that there was a special connection between the counts of Flanders and crusading. New religious foundations, relics, and books such as Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus* each contributed to this idea. This fledgling tradition provided a convenient tool for Thierry of Alsace (r. 1128-1168), who became count in 1128 after a brutal civil war. Thierry consolidated his control over Flanders by going on crusade four times. He also took steps to pass the importance of the comital crusading legacy on to his son, Philip (r. 1168-1191), who went on crusade in part to try to secure his control over Flanders against the incursions of King Philip Augustus of France. The tradition reached its zenith in 1204, when Count Baldwin IX was crowned emperor of Constantinople at the end of the Fourth Crusade. However, in an ironic turn, after going to Jerusalem for more than a century to secure their power in Flanders, the counts lost control of the county almost immediately after their greatest triumph in the East.

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List of Abbreviations

GC	*Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, 16 vols. (1715-1865)
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores in Folio*, 39 vols. (1826-2009)
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, 217 vols. (1841-1855)
RHC Lois	*Assises de Jérusalem ou Recueil des ouvrages de jurisprudence composés pendant le XIIIe siècle dans les royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre*, 2 vols. (1841-1843)
RHC Occ.	*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. (1844-1895)
RHGF	*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (1869-1904)

INTRODUCTION: FLANDERS REMEMBERS

In the early 1220s, a rumor began to circulate in the county of Flanders that Baldwin, the former ruler of the county and emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople who had been presumed dead since 1206, was actually alive and in the Low Countries. The anonymous Anchin continuator of Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronicon* reports Baldwin's supposed return in his entry for 1224:

> In that year a certain unknown man came during Lent, and he lived as a hermit in the forest of Glançon near Mortaigne. And eventually he revealed to certain people that he was Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainaut and emperor of Constantinople. With this thing heard, some nobles believed his words and led him to Valenciennes with honor, and having decked him out as befits an emperor and count they led him through Flanders. Many Flemings did homage to him as to a count, and at length he entered Lille with a large retinue and much fanfare.[1]

This hermit-turned-count garnered a great deal of popular support in Flanders. Hordes of peasants and burghers flocked to his cause, as did a number of powerful nobles who saw in him an opportunity to rid themselves of the unpopular Countess Joan.[2] So esteemed was this Baldwin that his appearance touched off what Robert Wolff calls "a virtual civil war," in which Joan was forced to flee Flanders and seek aid from Louis VIII of France.[3]

In the end, the supposed Baldwin was revealed to be an imposter who could not remember important details of the real Baldwin's life, such as his marriage to Marie of Champagne or where he had been belted a knight.[4] A number of figures at Louis VIII's court said that they recognized him as a jongleur named Bertrand de Rayns, claiming that he had once

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[1] "Hoc anno in quadragesima venit quidam ignotus, et tamquam heremita habitavit in foresta de Glauchon iuxta Mortaigne; et tandem revelavit quibusdam, quod ipse erat Balduinus, comes Flandrie et Hainoie et imperator Constantinopolitanus. Quo audito, quidam nobiles crediderunt verbis ipsius, duxerunt eum Valenchenas cum honore, et eum ibi ornatum, sicut decebat imperatorem et comitem, duxerunt per Flandriam; et multi Flandrenses fecerunt ei homagium sicut comiti, et tandem intravit Insulam cum maximo comitatu et apparatu." *Sigeberti Continuatio Aquicinctina*, ed. L.C. Bethmann, *MGH SS* 6 (Stuttgart, 1844), p. 437.
[2] Robert Lee Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection," *Speculum* 27, no. 3 (July 1952), pp. 295-296.
[3] Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut," p. 296.
[4] Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut," p. 297.

tried to pass as Count Louis of Blois. Ironically, Count Louis had been killed in 1205 at the same battle in which the real Baldwin had been captured by Tsar Kaloyan of Bulgaria.[5] Unmasked as a fraud, the false Baldwin was pilloried between two dogs and ultimately hung at Countess Joan's command. According to Albert of Stade, Joan continued to vent her anger at the imposter after his death: "The abbot of Saint-John in Valenciennes buried the dead man in his monastery. But the countess ordered that he be hung up a second time on the gibbet."[6]

Though Joan was ultimately successful in quashing the false Baldwin, the degree of popular support that he enjoyed during his brief career suggests just how much the people of Flanders regretted the death of the man the imposter was pretending to be. Baldwin IX had ruled Flanders from 1195 to 1202, when he had taken the cross and travelled east as one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade. After the capture of Constantinople in 1204, Baldwin had been elected first emperor of the Latin Empire. This seeming success had deprived the people of Flanders of a political leader who had governed the county wisely, if briefly, and had been especially successful in regaining Flemish lands lost to the king of France by his predecessors. After suffering through twenty years of internal instability under Joan, largely brought on by the weakness of her regent and the interference of the kings of France, the Flemish still retained fond memories of their former count. Wolff puts it well when he writes that "twenty years after the Vlach prince Ioannitsa had murdered Baldwin, the population of Flanders and Hainaut willingly lent credence to an imposter, and temporarily bestowed upon the false Baldwin that support which they would so gladly have rendered to the genuine."[7]

[5] Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut," pp. 297-298.
[6] "Abbas Sancti Iohannis in Valentia sepelivit mortuum in claustro suo. Sed iterum comitissa eum suspendi praecepit in patibulum." Albert of Stade, *Annales Stadenses*, ed. I.M. Lappenberg (Hannover, 1859), p. 358.
[7] Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut," p. 301.

It is no secret that Baldwin IX's capture and subsequent death in 1205-06 marked a major turning point in the history of Flanders. During the twelfth century the counts of Flanders had been among the most powerful rulers in Europe, outshining even the kings of France in power and prestige for long periods. The thirteenth century would be different. David Nicholas sums up the fallout from Baldwin's death succinctly when he notes that, in its aftermath, "some of the most tragic episodes in the history of medieval Flanders were about to unfold."[8]

Baldwin's death also marks the end of a remarkable tradition of crusading that coincided with the period that saw Flanders at the height of its power. Between 1071 and 1204, all but two counts of Flanders made at least one pilgrimage or crusade to the East. This tradition of crusading developed despite civil wars, succession crises, and the constant political challenges of governing a county that lay between England, France, and the Holy Roman Empire. No other county, duchy, or kingdom saw its leader go east as routinely as Flanders during this period.

The crusading tradition that developed in Flanders has been mentioned in passing many times, but rarely subjected to deliberate study. François-Louis Ganshof does not discuss it in *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes*, which, while a bit dated and aimed at a popular audience, remains one of the most important works on the counts.[9] Nicholas dedicates a paragraph to the tradition in *Medieval Flanders*, connecting the later crusaders with a pilgrimage made by Count Robert the Frisian in 1086 and noting that "crusading enhanced the prestige of the Flemish counts."[10] He does not, however, regard crusading to be as important as other features of twelfth-century Flanders, such as its economic power, emerging cities, or sophisticated legal and political institutions. Isabelle Guyot-Bachy's recent work on Flemish national identity, *La Flandre et les Flamands*, mentions the fact that one of the places in which the counts of Flanders

[8] David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1992), p. 76.
[9] François-Louis Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes*, 3rd ed (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1949).
[10] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 71.

appear in historiography written outside of Flanders is in chronicles of the First Crusade, but Guyot-Bachy does not explore the tradition itself.[11] This is due, in part, to her reliance on the important work of Jean-Marie Moeglin, which privileges the comital court and the composition of texts within its orbit.[12] Historians of Flanders, then, while aware that the counts went crusading on a regular basis, have focused their attention elsewhere.

Similarly, when historians of the crusades mention the fact that the counts of Flanders were prolific crusaders, they typically do so within the context of other topics. Jonathan Riley-Smith says a great deal about Robert II's activity on the First Crusade in both *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* and *The First Crusaders*, but never refers to the existence of a Flemish crusading tradition.[13] He does argue, however, that family networks played a critical role in early crusading, asserting that "the movement was so dependent on the support and enthusiasm of networks of kindred that it was open to domination by them."[14] Jonathan Phillips discusses the comital tradition in Flanders in his monograph on the Second Crusade, connecting Thierry of Alsace's participation in that expedition with his desire to emulate the deeds of his ancestors.[15] He also dedicates an appendix to Thierry of Alsace's 1157 crusade in *Defenders of the Holy Land*, mentioning that the counts of Flanders had "a family tradition of crusading."[16]

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[11] Isabelle Guyot-Bachy, *La Flandre et les Flamands: au miroir des historiens du royaume (Xe-XVe siècle)* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2017), pp. 82-84.
[12] Jean-Marie Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande: L'Ancienne chronique de Flandre (XII^{e}-XIII^{e} siècles)," in *Liber Largitorius: études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Pierre Toubert par ses élèves*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy and Jean-Marie Martin (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2003), pp. 455-476.
[13] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); idem, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
[14] Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 190. Riley-Smith focuses his analysis at the end of *The First Crusaders* on two kinship groups from northern France, the Montlhéry clan and the Lusignans.
[15] Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 99-105. Phillips also wrote an article exploring Flemish participation in the Second Crusade; cf. idem, "The Murder of Charles the Good and the Second Crusade: Household, Nobility, and Traditions of Crusading in Medieval Flanders," *Medieval Prosopography* 19 (1998), pp. 55-75.
[16] Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations Between the Latin East and the West, 1119-1187* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 271-281.

Easily the most thorough analysis of the comital crusading tradition in Flanders is Nicholas Paul's excellent *To Follow in Their Footsteps*. Taking his cue from Riley-Smith, Paul argues that crusade participation among the twelfth- and thirteenth-century nobility "was shaped fundamentally by knowledge and attitudes that were preserved, transformed, and transmitted in the social or collective memories of the families themselves."[17] Paul cites the County of Flanders as a region in which crusading became an important part of the *honor* and ancestral tradition of the ruling family.[18] He also cites the role that the trope of the "closed gate" [*porta clausa*] played in Flanders as a result of its association with the pilgrimage of Robert the Frisian in a twelfth-century Flemish history, the *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*.[19]

Nevertheless, Paul's focus is not on the counts of Flanders, but upon the idea that noble families shaped crusading memory. Furthermore, both he and Riley-Smith emphasize the role that family networks played in encouraging noblemen and women to go on crusade. However, the most prolific of the twelfth-century Flemish crusader counts were related only distantly to the comital family of Robert the Frisian and Robert II, the counts who established the tradition. Thierry of Alsace was Robert the Frisian's maternal grandson, and he grew up in Upper Lorraine rather than Flanders. Bitche, of which Thierry was lord prior to pressing his claim to Flanders in 1128, is located far to the southeast of Flanders. It seems unlikely that Thierry was in a position to be embued with an interest in crusading through his kinship ties to Robert the Frisian or the comital household in Flanders.

Instead, Thierry's involvement in this crusading tradition was the result of extra-familial factors. As Paul himself notes, what people in Flanders seem to have wanted from their count in

[17] Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), p. 6.
[18] Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, pp. 39-47.
[19] Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, pp. 171-199, esp. pp. 184-187, 197-199. Paul refers to the *Ancienne chronique* as the *Flandria Generosa* B. For a detailed analysis of this text, see Chapter 5.

1128 was someone "who fit the paradigm established by these two men [Counts Robert II and Charles the Good]."[20] What they wanted, in other words, was a crusader. Paul concludes his discussion of Thierry's accession by noting that "Thierry may have felt compelled to take the cross in order to truly become the Count of Flanders."[21] Paul certainly proves his central point, namely that noble families played a key role in crusading by commemorating the deeds of their ancestors. However, the fact that the comital crusading tradition in Flanders grew stronger when an outsider became count in 1128 suggests that the paradigm to which Paul refers was just as important to those outside the comital family as it was to those within it.

This project analyzes the development of the Flemish comital crusading tradition between 1071 and 1204 by situating it within the history of the county of Flanders. It argues that the counts undertook pilgrimages and crusades in response to political crises.[22] At first, these were internal succession crises occasioned by assassination, childlessness, and civil war. After the mid-twelfth century, however, the rapidly increasing power of Philip Augustus of France constituted the main threat to the political prerogatives of the Flemish counts. Over the course of the twelfth century, what began as a political expedient developed into a powerful part of the personal and political identity of the counts. Even as the political and social climate within Flanders changed toward the end of the twelfth century, the counts remained firm in their commitment to crusading.

Pilgrimage and crusade could never have been successful political or social strategies for the counts without the participation of the people and institutions of Flanders. In addition to grounding comital crusading in Flanders in the important political events of the county's history,

[20] Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, p. 46.
[21] Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, p. 47.
[22] For a very different analysis of the relationship between crisis and lordship, see Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

this project emphasizes the roles that the nobles, knights, monks, canons, and burghers of Flanders played in creating and shaping the comital tradition of crusading. Both crusading and its commemoration were collaborative ventures. Consequently, it is not possible to understand the history of medieval Flanders without understanding the tradition of crusading that defined its counts.

This project takes methodological inspiration from a number of works that deal with topics other than Flanders or crusade. In particular, it draws upon secondary scholarship on memory and book culture in the Middle Ages. Recent work in both of these subfields has shown that deep connections existed between politics, history, and memory. As Rosamond McKitterick put it in *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, "an idea can hold a people together and sustain it…Recalled past experience and shared images of the past are the kinds of memories that have special importance for the constitution of social groups."[23] It is no coincidence that a number of the libraries that had traditions of historical reading going back to the Carolingian period were also major centers of historiographical production and innovation in medieval Flanders. In particular, McKitterick dedicates a great deal of attention to the monastic library at Saint-Amand, which boasted one of the most productive scriptoria of the ninth century.[24] Many of the practices she highlights were still important three centuries later when the monks there turned their skills to the commemoration of the First and Second Crusades.

The past was a useful tool for medieval rulers and intellectuals because it was malleable. As Constance Brittain Bouchard shows in *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors*, institutions and families took full advantage of this fact, reimagining their histories in ways that were both

[23] Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 120.
[24] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 210-217; André Boutemy, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand: d'apres les manuscrits et les anciens catalogues," *Scriptorium* 1 (1946-1947), pp. 6-16.

intelligible and useful in the present.[25] This involved selectively rewriting, reframing, inventing, and forgetting knowledge about the past in ways that met present needs and wants. For example, a number of institutions and ruling houses of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries rewrote their histories to emphasize, and sometimes even invent, connections to the greatest of Frankish kings, Charlemagne. Matthew Gabriele argues that one of the key moments in which this widespread historiographical interest in Charlemagne bore fruit was in the First Crusade, which contemporaries characterized as a Frankish endeavor.[26] The connection between Charlemagne and crusading was strong in Flanders, where texts that commemorate the First Crusade were often copied together with genealogies of the counts of Flanders that emphasize their descent from Judith, great-granddaughter of Charlemagne.

Books often served as a nexus where medieval rulers, readers, and scribes negotiated the relationships between history, memory, and politics. Consequently, this work dedicates a great deal of attention to books produced in Flanders during the twelfth century. In some cases, these books are deservedly famous, and have been extensively studied. One such book is the *Liber Floridus*, created by Lambert, a canon at the Flemish church of Saint-Omer, between 1112 and 1121. Scholars such as Albert Derolez and Jay Rubenstein have made careful studies of the *Liber Floridus*.[27] In other cases, however, the manuscripts analyzed here have been used only for the

[25] Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
[26] Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[27] Albert Derolez, *Lambertus qui librum fecit: Een codicologische studie van de Liber Floridus-autograaf (Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, handschrift 92). With a summary in English: The genesis of the Liber Floridus of Lambert of Saint-Omer* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, 1978); idem, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus: A Key to the Encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); idem, *The Making and Meaning of the Liber Floridus: A Study of the Original Manuscript, Ghent, University Library, MS 92* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2015); Jay Rubenstein, "Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade," in *Remembering the Crusades*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), pp. 69-95.

sake of preparing critical editions of texts. Some of them do not seem to have been the subject of any previous analysis.

Alongside the ingenious works mentioned above in conjunction with the *Liber Floridus*, two studies of manuscripts in the Carolingian world provide inspiration for this study's approach to books. The first is Celia Chazelle's *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era*. In her analysis of Carolingian psalters and liturgical books, Chazelle demonstrates how Carolingian scribes and illustrators crafted their juxtapositions of text and image and the general mise-en-page of their manuscript pages both to move their readers emotionally and spiritually and to make powerful theological statements about the nature of Christ.[28] Felice Lifshitz's *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia* is the second. In this work, Lifshitz shows how religious women in Francia (and their male counterparts) used textual editing, composition, illustration, and selection to mold a feminist theological, liturgical, and devotional model of Christianity that affirmed the importance of women in historical Christianity and their own importance.[29] This argument is made almost exclusively upon the basis of manuscript evidence from the medieval libraries of Karlburg and Kitzingen. Both of these monographs testify to the wealth of information about medieval societies available from a careful examination of the books they produced and used. This study follows in their footsteps by using the details of the manuscript page to make broad arguments about the importance of crusading to the medieval counts of Flanders.

* * *

"Two Murders and a Coronation" is divided into two parts. Part I, which comprises Chapters 1-3, analyzes the political and crusading activity of the counts of Flanders together with

[28] Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. pp. 78-128 and 239-299.
[29] Felice Lifshitz, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission & Monastic Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).

the commemorative practices in which they and their subjects engaged. Chapter 1 explores the career of Robert the Frisian, who became the first count of Flanders to make a Jerusalem pilgrimage when he travelled east to the Levant in 1086 as an act of penance for the death of his nephew, killed in 1071 when Robert usurped the county. It then discusses the exploits of Robert's son, Robert II, who was one of the most important nobles to participate in the First Crusade. Chapter 1 concludes with an analysis of the crusading content of the *Liber Floridus*, a complicated Flemish book that weaves together crusading, the counts of Flanders, and sacred history.

Chapter 2 narrates the civil war that consumed Flanders from 1127-28 and its aftermath. The assassination of Count Charles the Good, himself a crusader of some repute, touched off this civil war. The war ultimately ended with the death of Charles's successor, William Clito, and the accession of Thierry of Alsace, a relative outsider who came from the region of Lorraine. This change in comital family could have brought the end of comital tradition of crusading begun by Robert the Frisian. Instead, as noted above, Thierry took the cross four times during the course of his career, becoming the most distinguished of the Flemish crusader-counts. This chapter examines all four of his expeditions to Jerusalem, paying particular attention to the gifts and privileges he distributed before leaving for the East. These gifts and privileges, generally conferred in public before distinguished witnesses, provided Thierry with a prime opportunity to articulate the importance of the crusade. Chapter 2 concludes by reconstructing the history of an intricate Flemish crusading codex and exploring the surprising implications of its provenance and ownership.

Chapter 3 carries the story of the Flemish counts from Thierry's death to the accession of Baldwin VIII in 1191 after the Third Crusade. This chapter examines the gifts and privileges

issued by Thierry's son, Philip of Alsace, in preparation for his crusades in 1177 and 1190. A major shift in the nature of the political challenges facing the counts took place during this period. Both Robert the Frisian and Thierry undertook their Jerusalem pilgrimages in response to internal crises in the county. Philip, however, went to Jerusalem in response to external pressures, primarily the growing power of his royal neighbor, Philip Augustus of France. When Count Philip died on the Third Crusade, Philip Augustus took advantage of the fact that he was childless to extract major concessions from his heir, Margaret, and her husband, Count Baldwin of Hainaut. When Baldwin died, his son Baldwin IX succeeded in recovering much of the land lost to Philip Augustus in the 1180s and 1190s. Baldwin then tried to consolidate his position by emulating his predecessors and taking the cross. In the end, however, his coronation at Constantinople and subsequent death marked the undoing of both the comital crusading tradition in Flanders and the county's independence from French control.

Part II of "Two Murders and a Coronation" consists of Chapters 4 and 5. These chapters provide detailed analyses of two of the literary contexts in which crusade historiography flourished in Flanders during the twelfth century. Chapter 4 investigates the monastic library at Saint-Amand in the 1150s. The analysis in this chapter is based on the twelfth-century booklists and surviving historiographical manuscripts from the library. It explores the ways in which monastic reading practices in the twelfth century encouraged monks to read history. It then examines how the monks of Saint-Amand incorporated the history of the crusades into the broad sweep of salvation history that began with creation and would end with the Second Coming.

Chapter 5 analyzes three Latin histories composed at aristocratic courts in the Low Countries during the final decades of the twelfth century. Of these three histories, only one, the *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*, was intended for a count of Flanders—the other two were

written under the patronage of the counts of Guines, who were vassals of the count of Flanders, and the counts of Hainaut. All three of these histories, however, incorporate information pertaining to the crusading exploits of the counts of Flanders and other lords in and around the county. The patterns that emerge in the ways that crusading is discussed in these texts suggest the power of the comital crusading tradition, which was rhetorically and historiographically important even in nearby Hainaut, which had been a bitter enemy of Flanders since Robert the Frisian's usurpation of the comital office in 1071.

David Nicholas refers to the period between 1071 and 1206 as "the apogee of Flemish power."[30] It is no coincidence that these years witnessed with the development and flourishing of one of the most striking crusading traditions of the twelfth century. For more than a century, the counts of Flanders journeyed east to Jerusalem to consolidate and enhance their position in their homeland. They inscribed crusading all over the collective memory and identity of the county they ruled. As R.C. Van Caenegem remarks in an article on the *Liber Floridus*, "the belief…that Flanders was created by its counts, is remarkable and far from unfounded."[31] In the twelfth century, this creative process centered on crusading.

[30] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 56-96.
[31] R.C. Van Caenegem, *Law, History, the Low Countries and Europe* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), p. 74.

CHAPTER 1: THE FIRST MURDER
Two Roberts and Jerusalem, 1071-1111

INTRODUCTION

In 1071, Robert the Frisian fought his nephew, Arnulf, for control of the county of Flanders. Though he had promised both Arnulf's father and his own that he would protect the young count and respect his claim to Flanders, the prospect of ruling one of the most prosperous counties of the medieval world proved too great an enticement for Robert to overcome. His forces triumphed in the ensuing battle, but they killed Arnulf in the process. Having become the count of Flanders and a nepotocide in a single stroke, Robert faced a problem—in order to rule securely, he needed to deflect criticisms of his oath-breaking and role in Arnulf's death. Toward the end of his reign, he hit upon an innovative way of doing so. In order to secure his control over Flanders, he left it and journeyed to Jerusalem.

Less than a decade after Robert the Frisian returned from the Holy Land, his son, Robert II, also left Flanders for Jerusalem. Robert II, however, went armed for battle in the company of thousands of other Frankish knights intent upon fighting the enemies of God in the East. Unlike his father, Robert II would spend the bulk of his pilgrimage fighting his way across Asia Minor and Syria. In the end, he would help to establish a new, Frankish kingdom in the East. Robert the Frisian had gone to Jerusalem as a penitent, but Robert II went as a conqueror.

Despite these differences, both journeys can be traced to the single, bloody day in February 1071 when the elder Robert turned his sword against his nephew. The forty-year period between the usurpation of the county in 1071 and Robert II's death in 1111 saw the counts cultivate a connection with Jerusalem that would have deep and lasting significance for their successors. This chapter explores the genesis of that process of cultivation, beginning with Robert the Frisian's usurpation of the county and his fateful decision to take the purse and staff

of a pilgrim. Though Robert made his pilgrimage nearly a decade before the crusading movement burst onto the scene in Europe, his actions set the stage for his son's participation in the First Crusade and the development of a tradition of Flemish crusading.

THE FIRST MURDER: THE BATTLE OF CASSEL

Robert the Frisian had an illustrious pedigree. He was the second son of Baldwin V, who was count of Flanders from 1035 to 1067. Baldwin was a ruler of some ability. One later history of the counts of Flanders describes him as "a prudent and strong count, reputed in his own time to be wise and exceedingly restrained in all his works."[1] His wife, Adèle, was the daughter of King Robert the Pious of France. Baldwin's marriage to Adèle was something of a diplomatic coup for the Flemish counts, who saw their prestige increase significantly as a result of the connection to the Capetian royal dynasty of France.[2] Robert could trace his lineage back not only to the Capetians, but also to the Carolingians. His fourth great-grandfather, Baldwin I, had abducted and married Judith, who was Charles the Bald's eldest daughter and the great-granddaughter of Charlemagne himself.

For all of his pedigree, however, Robert's early career was defined by the fact that he was a second son. His elder brother, Baldwin, was always destined to inherit both the title of count and control of the county of Flanders. It seems that Robert may have been intended for the church, for he was the recipient of what must have been a relatively thorough education.[3] Pope Gregory VII describes him as a learned man [*vir litteratus*] in one of his letters, and Gregory's successor, Urban II, begins a missive to Robert by reminding him that God "gave [to you] that which is exceedingly rare among the princes of the age in the gift of learning, of knowledge, and

[1] "prudens et fortis comes suo tempore sapiens et moderatissimus in omnibus operibus suis inventus est." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, ed. L.C. Bethmann, *MGH SS* 9 (Stuttgart, 1851), p. 318.
[2] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 48-51.
[3] Robert's education was probably the result of Adèle's influence, for her father Robert was reputed to be a man of great learning. See Joel T. Rosenthal, "The Education of the Early Capetians," *Traditio* 25 (1969), pp. 366-376.

of religion."[4] Similarly, Guibert of Nogent says in his chronicle of the First Crusade that Robert was "as wise in military matters as he was perspicacious and polished in academic ones."[5] These descriptions led Charles Verlinden, who completed the last scholarly analysis of Robert's career in 1935, to posit that he may have received an unusually thorough education in preparation for an ecclesiastical career.[6]

In any case, Robert's marriage to Gertrude of Holland in 1063 scotched whatever prospects he might have had in the church. The sources tell us little about the circumstances surrounding Robert's marriage. Count Floris, Gertrude's previous husband, died in 1061, and the imperial bishop of Utrecht, William, used his death to try to wrest some disputed territory away from the new count, Thierry V, who was just a boy. This was but the latest move in a longstanding conflict between the counts of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht. Count Thierry IV of Holland, Floris's brother, had been killed in an ambush stemming from the same war in 1049.[7] As Thierry's mother, Gertrude was regent of the county. It seems likely that her marriage to Robert was aimed at stabilizing her control of Holland, and so of protecting her son's claim to the entirety of his patrimony.

Robert's marriage to Gertrude was politically dangerous for his father and brother. It provided him with an army and a base for military operations. The elder Baldwin tried to ensure that Robert would not use these resources against Flanders. According to an early version of the *Genealogia comitum Flandriae*, a short history of the counts of Flanders, Baldwin V paid Robert

[4] Erich Caspar, ed., *Das Register Gregors VII* (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1990), IX.35, p. I.626; future references to the *Register* will be to this edition, and will include book and letter number in addition to volume and page number; "et quod maximum est inter seculi principes rarum, dote litterarum, scientiae atque religionis donavit." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 310.
[5] "Fuit vero comes isdem quantum sagax in rebus bellicis, tantum perspicax et facetus in litteris." Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), I.442-444, p. 101. Future references to the *Dei gesta per Francos* will include book and line numbers, as well as page numbers.
[6] Charles Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison, comte de Flandre: Étude d'histoire politique* (Paris: Librairie ancienne honoré Champion, 1935), p. 16.
[7] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 50.

a large sum of money to renounce any claim that he might have to the county.[8] The *Genealogia* reports that Robert swore this oath after marrying Gertrude. Verlinden's analysis supports this assessment—he dates the event to the period between the wedding in 1063 and Baldwin V's death in 1067, noting that the oath was sworn publicly at Audenarde.[9] Herman of Tournai, writing in the 1140s, indicates that Robert swore this oath on holy relics.[10] After Baldwin's death, Robert's brother Baldwin VI required him to renew his vow at Bruges, which was the center of comital government.[11] Galbert of Bruges, who wrote in 1127, reports that "the oath was made in the church of the blessed Donatian in Bruges over countless relics of the saints."[12]

Subsequent events proved that both Baldwins were wise to be suspicious of Robert. When his brother died in 1070, Robert dispatched agents into the county from Holland to drum up support for himself. These agents seem to have met with particular success in the northern part of the county—there were significant pockets of support for Robert in northern cities like Ghent, Bruges, Ilzendijke, Oostburg, and Aardenburg.[13] Scholars of the nineteenth century attributed this support to racial animus directed against those in the south, but Verlinden argues

[8] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 306. A modified version of the *Genealogia* also appears in Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus*. According to L.C. Bethmann, who edited the text for the MGH, it was also in a lost codex at Saint-Vaast. Martenius, who saw this manuscript before its loss, described it as a codex of the eleventh century. Since the text mentions concludes with the marriage of Robert II's son, the future Baldwin VII, which took place in 1105, this codex can be dated to the early twelfth century. It is possible that Lambert used this manuscript in his compilation of the *Liber floridus*—this would be highly interesting, given that it means that he eschewed the version of events recorded at the abbey of Saint-Bertin (called the *Genealogia Bertiniana*) which was right next door to his church of Saint-Omer. For a discussion of the relationships between the different versions of the *Genealogia*, see Jeff Rider, "Vice, Tyranny, Violence, and the Usurpation of the Flanders (1071) in Flemish Historiography from 1093 to 1294," in *Violence and the Writing of History in the Medieval Francophone World*, ed. Noah D. Guynn and Zrinka Stahuljak (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), pp. 56-59. See also Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," pp. 455-457.

[9] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, pp. 40-43.

[10] Herman of Tournai, *Liber de restauratione ecclesie sancti Martini Tornacensis*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), c. 12, pp. 49-50. Future references to the *De restauratione* will include chapter numbers as well as page numbers.

[11] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, pp. 43-46.

[12] "in ecclesia beati Donatiani in Brugis juramentum factum est super sanctorum reliquias infinitas." Galbert of Bruges, *De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandriarium*, ed. Jeff Rider (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), c. 69, pp. 120-122. Future references to the *De multro* will include chapter numbers as well as page numbers.

[13] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 69, p. 121.

persuasively that the cause was economic rather than ethnic. Richilde, who was Arnulf III's mother and ruled the county from the time of Baldwin VI's death to the time that the young count attained his majority, had instituted taxes that favored the interior of the county at the expense of the maritime regions to the north, which were already closer to Holland and so to Robert's sphere of influence.[14] The *Flandria generosa*, a history of the counts written in 1164, supports this claim, asserting that Robert chose to invade the county "with the death of his brother and the despotism of Richilde learned at the same time."[15]

Robert made his move late in 1070. Having secured favorable opinion in the north, he traveled to Ghent and tried to negotiate with Richilde, presumably to try to gain control of the county without having to fight for it.[16] Verlinden is probably right to suggest that Robert offered Richilde to leave Arnulf III in control of the county of Hainaut, which he had also inherited from Baldwin VI, in exchange for control of Flanders.[17] Far from agreeing to such a scheme, Richilde instead sought the military intervention of Philip I, king of France. The *Flandria generosa* reports that she "corrupted his mind" with four thousand gold livres.[18] Philip agreed to help the young count, and Robert retired to Holland for the winter.

When Robert returned to Flanders in February of 1071, he came with an army. He marched to Cassel, where Arnulf, Richilde, and Philip had massed their forces. To make up for the fact that his armies were outnumbered, Robert had acquired the services of a helpful traitor. Someone in Arnulf's entourage advised Robert and his army on how to approach the fortress at Cassel unseen in the early morning.[19] This enabled Robert's forces to launch a surprise attack:

[14] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, pp. 51-56.
[15] "cognita fratris morte simulque Richeldis tyrannide." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 321.
[16] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 321.
[17] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, p. 58.
[18] "animum eius corrupit." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 321.
[19] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, pp. 65-70.

> With the battle joined by all forces, the greatest possible carnage arises in the midst of the royal army; the earth is drenched with blood, the field is covered with a multitude of the slain. Then Richilde, the one answerable for such great slaughter, is captured and delivered up to a gloomy cell. Her son, Count Arnulf, who would be mourned a great deal were he not an enemy, is also overthrown, and he is carried to the monastery of Saint-Omer to be buried. Finally, the Frisian, when by chance he was riding alone—his allies were far away, pursuing enemies—is captured by Eustace and led cautiously into the fortress of Saint-Omer, and is handed over, under guard, to the castellan, Wulfric Rabel.[20]

The battle was an overwhelming victory for Robert. Philip's army fled the field, and Arnulf's forces melted away. However, the engagement yielded two major problems. The first was Robert's imprisonment, and the second was Arnulf's death.

Robert's partisans took swift action to deal with the first problem. They arranged for him to be exchanged for Richilde shortly after the battle. The sources are in complete disagreement over the question of who brokered the exchange. One says that it was the nobles of the county, one that it was the people of Flanders in a body, and one that it was the citizens of Saint-Omer specifically.[21] Verlinden argues that it was the citizens of Saint-Omer, reasoning that Philip's decision to burn the city to the ground when he returned to the county in March of 1071 was motivated by irritation with their role in Robert's release. The castellan of Saint-Omer, the aforementioned Wulfric Rabel, supported Richilde in the conflict, and would no doubt have been irked by the opposition of the town's citizens—he may have urged Philip to punish them himself.[22] In any case, Robert's release gave the new count time to consolidate his hold on the county in anticipation of Philip's return. By the time the French king was back in Flanders, Robert had reconciled with Eustace of Boulogne, the powerful neighbor who had captured him,

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[20] "Conserto quidem totis viribus prelio; fit strages maxima de exercitu regio; perfunditur tellus sanguine, tegitur campus occisorum multitudine. Richeldis quoque, tante cedis rea, capitur et carceri tenebroso mancipatur; prosternitur etiam filius eius, nisi esset hostis nimium plangendus comes Ernulfus, et ad monasterium sancti Audomari defertur tumulandus. Frisio denique dum forte sociis longius hostes persequentibus solus equitaret, capitur et ab Eustachio ad castrum Audomarense caute perducitur, atque castellano Vulvrico Rabello custodiendus traditur." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 322.

[21] For a summary of which sources say what, see Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, p. 69.

[22] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, p. 69.

and was completely in control. Robert made peace with Philip via the intercession of Bishop Godfrey of Paris, granting the city of Corbie to the French king in exchange for formal investment with the county.[23] Philip sealed their peace a short time later by marrying Robert's stepdaughter, Bertha of Holland.

The second problem was far thornier. Though Arnulf's death at Cassel left Robert as unchallenged master of Flanders, it also highlighted his clear failure to honor the oaths he had made to both his father and brother not interfere in Flemish affairs. Far from merely interfering, he had actually killed his nephew in order to gain control of the county. Though there is no direct evidence that Robert faced overt criticism for his actions, the sources that narrate the events at Cassel testify to the existence of an ongoing debate over his actions. Many of his contemporaries must have frowned on the circumstances under which he became count, and early histories of the Flemish counts reflect the profound difference in opinion over the moral and legal legitimacy of his accession that must have existed in Flanders in the 1070s.

No text embodies the disagreement over the legitimacy of Robert's coup as fully as the *Genealogia comitum Flandriae*. Different versions of this text survive in six twelfth-century copies, from Saint-Bertin, Marchiennes, Voormezeele, Saint-Vaast, Saint-Omer, and Leiden.[24] In the version copied into the *Liber Floridus* at Saint-Omer introduced above, Lambert criticizes Robert, noting that he took control of the county "with the help of traitors" [*traditorum auxilio*].[25] Lambert does not provide any further editorial commentary on Robert's acquisition of the office, proceeding instead to a catalog of outrages that the new count perpetrated against church property. The closely-related version written at Saint-Vaast lingers on the murder for one further, damning clause:

[23] Verlinden, *Robert I^er le Frison*, pp. 70-72.
[24] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, pp. 305, 308-309.
[25] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 310.

> Baldwin the Islander begat Baldwin, who took Richildis to wife, the widow of Count Herman of Mons, from whom he begat Baldwin and Arnulf. Their uncle Robert married Gertrude, the daughter of Count Bernard of Saxony and the widow of Count Floris of Frisia, and he held its rule with her. This man, having accepted a great deal of money from his father in compensation, renounced any claim to Flanders, which he conceded, according to hereditary law, to his brother Baldwin and his successors. During the lifetime of his brother Robert held his peace; however, after his death he killed his nephew Arnulf, the count of Flanders, near Cassel with the help of traitors, and thus obtained his [i.e., Arnulf's] authority through wrongdoing.[26]

The copyist who wrote the genealogy at Saint-Vaast tells his audience directly that Robert became count by means of a wicked act—the Latin word *dolus*, reckoned here as "wrongdoing," can also refer to a fraudulent or deceitful action.

By contrast, there is no mention of any wrongdoing on Robert's part in other versions of the genealogy. The copies of the *Genealogia comitum Flandriae* from Saint-Bertin, Marchiennes, and Voormezeele frame Robert's accession very differently, eschewing the word "killed [*interfecit*]" and using the passive voice to describe Arnulf's death, Baldwin's exile, and Robert's accession. This effectively absolves Robert of responsibility for his own coup:

> Baldwin the Islander begat Baldwin of Hainaut and Robert, known afterwards as "the Jerusalemite," and Mathilda the wife of William, king of the English. Baldwin fathered two sons, Arnulf and Baldwin, with Richildis, the widow of Count Herman of Mons. With the former having been struck down and the latter expelled by force, Robert, who had fathered a son also called Robert and his brother, Philip, with Gertrude, the widow of Count Floris of Frisia, took charge of things and was made heir of the county.[27]

This version of the genealogy, known as the *Genealogia Bertiniana* because it was presumably composed at Saint-Bertin, also deflects criticism from Robert's actions by referencing his

[26] "Balduinus Inslanus genuit Balduinum, qui duxit viduam Hermanni comitis Montensis Richildem, ex qua genuit Balduinum et Arnulfum. Horum patruus Robertus duxit filiam Bernardi Saxonum comitis Gertrudem, viduam Florentii comitis Fresonum, et cum ea eius tenuit regnum. Hic accepta a patre suo pecunia maxima sacramento Flandriam abdicavit, quam iure hereditario fratri suo Balduino eiusque successoribus concessit. In vita enim fratris Robertus siluit; sed post eius obitum traditorum auxilio Arnulfum nepotem suum comitem Flandriae apud Cassel interfecit, regnumque eius dolo obtinuit." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 306.

[27] "Balduinus Inslanus genuit Balduinum Hasnoniensem, et Rodbertum cognomento postea Iherosolimitanum, et Matildem uxorem Guillelmi regis Anglorum. Balduinus ex Richelde vidua Herimanni comitis Montensis duos suscepit filios, Arnulfum et Balduinum. Quorum altero occiso, altero per vim expulso, Rodbertus, qui ex vidua Florentii Frisionis comitis Gertrude Rodbertum aequivocum et fratrem eius Philippum susceperat, rerum potitur et regni heres efficitur." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 306.

Jerusalem pilgrimage before discussing his actions at Cassel. This encourages the reader to think favorably of Robert before mentioning his usurpation of power.

Though the two versions of the *Genealogia comitum Flandriae* discussed above were written decades after the Battle of Cassel, the difference of opinion they express must surely have been in the air in the county. It can hardly be coincidental that the most critical version of the *Genealogia* was copied at Saint-Vaast, in the southern part of the county and relatively close to the county of Hainaut, where Richilde and her surviving son, Baldwin, withdrew after Cassel. The consequences of Robert's actions were particularly important in this region, for he fought Richilde and Baldwin, who became count of Hainaut upon Arnulf's death, for decades after the Battle of Cassel.[28] The copies from Saint-Bertin and Marchiennes are also from the south, indicating a major difference of opinion over Robert's accession at the powerful monasteries in southern Flanders.

Arnulf's death continued to be a subject of interest for later historians of the county. Galbert of Bruges, who wrote his *De multro, traditione, et occisione Gloriosi Karoli, Comitis Flandiarum* in 1127-1128, emphasizes Robert's treachery in his history of the counts. Galbert omits any reference to Philip's presence at Cassel, presenting the battle as an unequal contest that Arnulf fought essentially unaided:

> He [Arnulf], not knowing of the plot, was staying at Cassel with a few men who, participants in the betrayal themselves, encouraged their boy lord to go to war with his uncle, the traitor. And they promised that victory would be granted him by God, because he resisted him justly. Therefore the boy Arnold, raring for a fight, charged out with very few knights. His own servants, who had armed him and knew already the engravings of his arms, cut down their boy lord, as if they were foreigners and something other than servants, and they slit his throat with swords…and that prophecy of ancient teaching must

[28] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, pp. 80-95. Baldwin II of Hainaut, as Arnulf's surviving brother was known, outlived Robert I by five years, only to disappear in 1098 on the First Crusade.

> be indicated in this deed: "For God is accustomed to correct the sins of fathers with the severity of the rod to the third and fourth generation."[29]

Galbert's treatment of Arnulf's death is particularly striking because of the circumstances in which he wrote it. Galbert penned the *De multro* in the thick of the civil war that followed the assassination of Count Charles the Good. As an eyewitness to the bloody events of this war, which will be considered in Chapter 2, he struggled to make sense of what he was seeing. Jeff Rider suggests that Galbert may have begun writing his work to comfort himself, "as a means of creating some private order in the public disorder around him."[30] As the war raged on, Galbert hit upon an explanation for the turmoil in the county, one rooted in the events of 1071. Galbert concludes his description of the Battle of Cassel by reminding readers of God's promise in the Old Testament to "correct" [*corrigere*] the sins of the father even down to the third and fourth generation.[31] He argues that the death of Charles, whom Galbert describes in saintly language as an exemplary count, is the result not of any fault of his, but rather of Robert the Frisian's wickedness. God had corrected Robert's sin in the fourth generation by destroying his offspring, giving Charles the gift of martyrdom in the process.[32] More than fifty years after the event, Arnulf's death at Cassel still had a powerful hold on the Flemish imagination.

Herman of Tournai frames Robert's accession somewhat differently in his *Restauratio sancti Martini Tornacensis*, which was written in 1142. Herman makes no effort to hide Robert's

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[29] "qui eo tempore in Casleto rem ignorans degebat cum paucis qui et conscii traditionis puerum dominum suum exhortabantur ut cum patruo suo traditore bellum iniret. Et quia juste resisteret ei, victoriam ei promittebant a Deo concedendam. Igitur puer Arnoldus animates ad bellum cum militibus admodum paucis occurrit, quem in ipso tumultu belli ipsi servi sui qui eum armaverant et armorum celaturas praenoverant, quasi extranei et alii essent quam servi, dejecerunt puerum dominum suum et gladiis jugulaverunt…Et notandum in hoc facto antiquae traditionis illud propheticum: *Quoniam Deus iniquitates patrum solet vindicate severitate corrigere in tertiam et quartam generationem*." Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 69, pp. 122.

[30] Jeff Rider, *God's Scribe: The Historiographical Art of Galbert of Bruges* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), p. 31.

[31] This promise is found in a number of passages, including Exodus 20:5 and 34:6-7, Numbers 14:18, and Deuteronomy 5:9.

[32] Rider, *God's Scribe*, pp. 70-73.

treachery. He relates the oath that Robert swore not to harm Baldwin VI or his heirs, and notes that Robert invaded Flanders "with his oath undone" [*pretermisso iuramento*].[33] However, Herman prefaces his account of Robert's perfidy by suggesting a divine purpose for it. He claims that Pope Leo IX declared Baldwin VI's marriage to Richilde to be illegitimate on the grounds that it was consanguineous. According to Herman, the pope uttered a prophecy that Baldwin's descendants would not enjoy control of the county of Flanders for long as a consequence of this sinful marriage.[34] Though Herman does not present this story as a justification for Robert's actions, his account softens Robert's deeds by sullying his brother's reputation.

As seen above, the *Flandria generosa* paints a glowing portrait of Robert. It does so primarily at the expense of Richilde and Arnulf, who are portrayed as grasping and tyrannical. The anonymous author of the history draws a stark contrast between Robert and Richilde at the very moment the former enters the scene:

> Moreover, with her spouse having passed on, the paradise of Flanders began to be deprived of the delights of its peace through her womanish insolence and the imprudence of her son, Arnulf, who was scarcely fifteen, and thenceforward to complain bitterly to itself and before God on account of the famous virtue of Robert, the brother of the good count, recently deceased. Perceiving this, the quarrelsome and crafty woman ran for succor to the protection of Philipp, the king of France; not blushing at a third marriage, she furthermore tried to wed a certain William [fitz Osbern], a proud undercount from Normandy—in this, too, she further stirred up certain princes of Flanders and the people against herself.[35]

Robert takes no action here at all—the contrast between his sterling reputation and Richilde's "womanish insolence" is enough to cause grumbling in the county, and Richilde compounds her own difficulties by seeking to prop herself up with entangling alliances beyond Flanders itself. In

[33] Herman of Tournai, *De restauratione*, c. 13, p. 50.
[34] Herman of Tournai, *De restauratione*, c. 12, p. 49
[35] "Marito siquidem eius defuncto, per eius muliebrem insolentiam et filii eius Arnulfi vix quindennis imprudentiam paradisus Flandriae deliciis pacis sue cepit cassari, et inde apud se et apud Deum acriter conqueri, et virtutem famosam Roberti fratris comitis boni nuper defuncti. Quod percipiens mulier rixosa et callida, confugit ad patrocinium Philippi regis Francie; nec erubescens trigamiam, conatur adhuc nubere cuidam Guillelmo subcomiti superbo de Normannia, in hoc quoque commovens amplius contra se quosdam Flandriarum principes et populum." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 321.

such a context, Robert's ultimate invasion of Flanders can be viewed as an act of liberation undertaken with the consent of the Flemish people and their rulers.

The *Flandria generosa* provides a further, veiled apology for Robert's usurpation of Flanders. Immediately after the passage quoted above, the text describes Robert as "less dear to his father, and dearer to his mother."[36] There is little other evidence in the historical record to support the idea that Baldwin disliked Robert—the fact that he left his patrimony to Robert's elder brother is hardly a marker of a strained relationship in and of itself. It is possible that the author of the *Flandria generosa* had information about Robert's relationship with his parents that other authors chose not to include in their accounts. It is more likely, however, that his description is a reference to the biblical story of Esau and Jacob. The author of Genesis tells us that "Isaac loved Esau because he was fed by his game, and Rebecca loved Jacob."[37] Despite Esau's status as the elder brother, beloved of his father, it was Jacob who ultimately came to be a patriarch of the people of Israel. This came to pass in part because Jacob, with Rebecca's help, repeatedly manipulated and tricked both his father and his brother into giving him both birthright and blessing. By invoking this story in his description of Robert, the author of the *Flandria generosa* hints at both Robert's coming treachery and, more importantly, his privileged place among the patriarchs of Flanders. He also connects Robert's usurpation of the county to a much broader biblical pattern of younger sons displacing older ones, a pattern that includes the stories of biblical heroes like David and Joseph.

Two other noteworthy authors tackled the question of Robert's accession at the turn of the twelfth century. Both Gilbert of Mons and Lambert of Ardres wrote dynastic histories of local nobles within the orbit of the Flemish counts. Gilbert was the chancellor of Hainaut during

[36] "patri minus et matri magis carus;" *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 321.
[37] "Isaac amabat Esau eo quod de venationibus illius vesceretur et Rebecca diligebat Iacob;" Genesis 25:28.

the last fifteen years of Count Baldwin V of Hainaut's reign, which lasted from 1171-1195.[38] Baldwin also became margrave of Namur and ultimately count of Flanders, an office he held from 1191-1195. Gilbert wrote his *Chronicon Hanoniense* immediately after his patron's death. Lambert wrote his *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* between 1198/99 and 1203/06 in an effort to court the favor of Arnold II of Guines, whom he served as the chaplain of the church of Ardres.[39] Both histories relate their particular subject matter to Flemish history more broadly.

Gilbert begins the *Chronicon Hanoniense* with the career of Count Hermann, who was the first wife of Arnulf's mother, Richilde. He moves through the events of Hermann's career relatively quickly before turning his attention to the career of Richilde's other son, Baldwin, who became the count of Hainaut after Cassel. Gilbert wastes no time informing his audience that Arnulf and Baldwin "were disinherited from Flanders after excessive hardships in unfathomable iniquity."[40] The nature of this "unfathomable iniquity" quickly becomes clear:

> This man [Robert] should, by right, have enjoyed no participation in these patrimonies. Nevertheless, through his unjust complaint and cunning, great destruction came upon Flanders and Hainaut…Although Robert—a bold knight, powerful in arms, but obstinate in malice and perfidy—was obliged to take care of his own lord and nephew, Arnulf, the young count, and Flanders, he bent almost all the nobles of Flanders and the strength of the walled towns to his will, and with guarantees having been cunningly accepted from them, he did not shrink either from utterly usurping the lordship of Flanders for himself or from expelling his lord, Arnulf, from his proper inheritance.[41]

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[38] Laura Napran, introduction to *Chronicle of Hainaut*, by Gilbert of Mons, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2005), p. xxvii.

[39] Leah Shopkow, introduction to *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, by Lambert of Ardres, trans. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 2-3.

[40] "qui post nimios labores in nimia iniquitate a Flandria exheredati fuerunt." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, ed. Léon Vanderkindere (Brussels: Librairie Kiessling et C^{le}, 1904), c. 3, p. 4. Future references to the *Chronicon* will include chapter and page numbers, and are to Vanderkindere's Latin edition of the text. Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

[41] "Hic quidem nulla patrimoniorum participatione de jure gaudere debebat. Attamen per ejus injustam reclamationen et versutiam, nimia Flandrie et Hanonie evenerunt excidia…Robertus autem, miles animosus et in armis potens, sed in malicia et perfidia obstinatus, cum suum dominum suumque nepotem Arnulphum comitem juvenem et Flandriam haberet procurare, omnes fere nobiles Flandrie et burgorum vires sue attraxit voluntati, acceptisque ab eis dolose securitatibus, et dominium Flandrie sibi penitus usurpare et dominum suumque Arnulphum ab hereditate propria expellere non abhorruit." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 5, pp. 5-7.

Gilbert indicates that Arnulf was killed by a knight named Gerbod rather than by Robert himself, but otherwise his portrait is entirely hostile.[42] This is not surprising, given that his intended readership had its power base in Hainaut, but the indignation with which he describes Robert's actions more than a century after Cassel is striking nevertheless. Sentiment against Robert in Hainaut was, in all probability, even more negative immediately after the battle.

Lambert of Ardres, who was writing for one of the liegemen of the counts of Flanders, tells a very different story. Like the author of the *Flandria Generosa*, he begins his account of Cassel by indicating that Richilde had demanded unprecedented taxes from the people of Flanders. Her plan to do the same thing to the people of Guines was foiled when "the famous count, Robert the Frisian, having been called often and oftener, came at last to Flanders."[43] Richilde was forced to meet Robert in battle where, according to Lambert, she threw enchanted dust [*pulvis incantatus*] at Robert and his army "with a sacrilegious hand."[44] Fortunately for Robert, God changed the wind so that the magic dust blew back on Richilde and her army. Lambert does not even mention Arnulf until the chapter following his description of the battle, and even then he does so in an aside: "and thus with the lady conquered and overcome in war, and with her son Arnold having been killed there, he who is buried before the high altar in the church of Saint-Omer near Sithiu, she withdrew in disgrace (though not without a great slaughter of her followers) from Flanders into Hainaut."[45]

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[42] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 5, p. 8.
[43] "sepe et sepius vocato et demum in Flandriam adventante comite inclito Roberto Frisone." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, *MGH SS* 24 (Stuttgart, 1879), c. 27, p. 575. Future references to the *Historia* will include chapter and page numbers, and are to the *MGH* edition of the text. Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.
[44] "manu sacrilega." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 27, p. 575.
[45] "Sicque devicta et bello exsuperata, interfecto ibi filio suo Arnoldo, qui ante maius altare in ecclesia sancti Audomari apud Sithiu sepultus est, in Hainonia non sine multa strage suorum a Flandria turpiter abscessit." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 28, p. 575.

The contrast between the accounts of Cassel that Lambert and Gilbert produced suggests the scope of the political crisis that Robert the Frisian faced when he became count in 1071, for his usurpation continued to be hotly debated after more than a century. In some parts of Flanders Robert met with approval, while in others he was viewed as a murderous usurper. Robert's subsequent career as count suggests a high degree of political acumen—he succeeded in making peace with the king of France quickly in the wake of the Battle of Cassel—and it seems likely that he undertook calculated political action in the aftermath of the battle to prevent rebellion, especially in the southern part of the county. He certainly acted swiftly to parry external threats to his power, invading the county of Hainaut and constructing a fortress at Wavrechain near Valenciennes from which his troops were able to harass Richilde and Arnulf, and so prevent them from invading Flanders itself.[46]

CNUT, CASSEL, AND CONSTANTINOPLE: THE PILGRIMAGE OF 1087-1089/90

In 1085, Robert the Frisian made preparations to invade England together with his son-in-law, Cnut IV of Denmark. By this time, he had ruled Flanders as count for nearly fifteen years with virtually no challenges to his power. Richilde and Arnulf had been relatively quiet after initial attempts to attack the county, and the deaths of both Duke Godfrey IV of Lotharingia and Bishop William of Utrecht in 1076 had his most bellicose neighbors. Robert had intervened in some local conflicts in Holland on behalf of his stepson, Count Dirk V, but after the young man achieved his majority Robert left his northern neighbor alone.[47] Robert dedicated some of his attention to local monastic reform, though he remained aloof from Pope Gregory VII.[48] His overall agenda seems to have been to maintain control over the county and to promote peace

[46] Verlinden, *Robert I^er le Frison*, pp. 86-88.
[47] Verlinden, *Robert I^er le Frison*, pp. 95-100.
[48] Steven Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 157-185; on Robert's refusal to become an ally of Gregory VII, see Verlinden, *Robert I^er le Frison*, pp. 113-134.

within it for the sake of economic prosperity.[49] His success ultimately made it possible to contemplate action outside of Flanders.

The decision to attack England was part of a longstanding conflict between the counts of Flanders and the dukes of Normandy. William Longsword, the second duke of Normandy, had been assassinated by agents of Count Arnulf I of Flanders in 942.[50] Less than a century later in 1028, Baldwin IV of Flanders was forced to flee to Normandy after his son, the future Baldwin V, rose up against him in rebellion.[51] Robert I of Normandy, who was William Longsword's great-grandson, made an alliance with Baldwin IV and helped him to regain control of Flanders—Baldwin married Robert's sister, Eleanor, as part of the arrangement.[52] Robert's bastard son, William, married Baldwin V's daughter, Mathilda, who was Robert the Frisian's sister.

Despite these familial connections to William, Robert never enjoyed good relations with England. Although a number of Flemish troops seem to have participated in the Norman Conquest because of Baldwin V's cordial neutrality with England, Robert the Frisian sheltered refugees from England for years after he became count in 1071. He also took in people who had rebelled against William.[53] William, in turn, supported Arnulf during Robert's bid for the county in 1071, albeit indirectly. Verlinden notes that the Norman contingent at Cassel was likely present only to fulfil William the Conqueror's obligation to King Philipp of France, although it is also possible that they were present at the request of Queen Mathilda.[54] They were led by William fitz Osbern, who had been one of the Conqueror's advisors since his youth. Indeed, the

[49] Verlinden, *Robert I^er le Frison*, pp. 135-150.
[50] David Crouch, *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), pp. 13-14. On the long historiographical tradition dealing with this assassination, see Guyot-Bachy, *La Flandre et les Flamands*, pp. 23-43.
[51] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 48-49.
[52] Crouch, *The Normans*, pp. 49-50; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 48-49.
[53] Verlinden, *Robert I^er le Frison*, pp. 107-112.
[54] Verlinden, *Robert I^er le Frison*, pp. 61-63; Crouch, *The Normans*, p. 109.

fact that King William made fitz Osbern Earl of Hereford, Gloucester, and Essex after the Conquest testifies to the esteem in which he was held. William of Malmesbury reports that William fitz Osbern was violently in love with Richilde, which may explain why William the Conqueror had sent him to Flanders specifically. He and Richilde were, in fact, married shortly before the battle.[55] In any case, the Conqueror was deeply upset when fitz Osbern was killed at Cassel, which likely explains the subsequent animosity between Flanders and England.[56]

Robert the Frisian almost certainly had the events at Cassel on his mind in the months leading up to his planned invasion of England. He founded a house of twenty canons at Cassel in 1085, granting it significant possessions around Cassel and Saint-Omer.[57] Though the rationale for this foundation is not explicitly tied to Arnulf's death, its wording leaves little doubt that Robert had his nephew's demise on his mind:

> Everyone, to the degree to which he rejoices in honor above all other transitory things of this world, ought to strive more devotedly to that same degree, with all his deeds, to be worthy to become an associate of the heavenly kingdom by exchanging present things for future things, and momentary things for eternal things. I, therefore, receiving this judgment of reason with a contrite heart (because I possess, with God assenting, the princely power of a paternal inheritance, and I perceive that I have sinned in many things, and I do not doubt that God is inexpressibly merciful), have founded a church for the honor of the omnipotent God in the place that is called Cassel, in the *pagus* of Menpiscus. And in this church I have placed twenty canons, by whose daily intercession we—as much my wife and sons and forebears and successors as I—may be supported, and whose remedy we may acquire for our souls.[58]

[55] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), III.256, pp. I.474-475.
[56] Crouch, *The Normans*, p. 109.
[57] *Actes des comtes de Flandre (1071-1128)*, ed. Fernand Vercauteren (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1938), no. 6, pp. 16-19. References to the *Actes* will include charter and page numbers.
[58] "Quisquis quanto prae ceteris hujus mundi transitoriis gaudet honoribus, tanto devotius pro futuris praesentia, pro aeternis momentanea commutando, ut regni caelestis particeps fieri mereatur, debet totis nisibus procurare. Hanc ergo rationis sententiam compuncto corde suscipiens, quia et paternae haereditatis, Deo annuente, obtineo principatum et in multis me peccasse considero, Deumque ineffabiliter misericordem esse non dubito, in loco qui dicitur Cassel, in pago Menpisco, ad honorem omnipotentis Dei, quamdam fundavi ecclesiam, et in ea viginti canonicos constitui, quorum cotidianis interventionibus adjuvemur et animarum nostrarum remedia consequamur, tam ego quam uxor mea et filii et antecessores mei et successores." *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 6, p. 17.

The charter goes on to indicate that Robert established the house of canons "with my wife and sons and the whole court of Flanders approving it."[59] It is signed by an impressive list of witnesses, including the future Robert II, Bishop Gerard II of Cambrai, four abbots, three castellans, and all of the major officers within Robert's court.[60] Given the site on which the charter was issued, those present must have interpreted Robert's admission that "I have sinned in many things" as a reference to Arnulf's death and the usurpation of the county. Robert's claim that the intercession of the canons would be just as salvific for his forebears [*antecessores*] as for himself must also have taken on a pointed meaning in this context. Although Robert does not name Arnulf explicitly, he nevertheless indicates that the foundation of the church at Cassel will benefit his dead nephew.[61]

Robert's decision to found a house of canons on a site associated both with victory and sin has an easy precedent in William the Conqueror's foundation of Battle Abbey on the site of Harold Godwinson's death. William founded Battle as penance in an effort to rehabilitate his reputation after the bloodshed of the Conquest, probably at the time that legates from Pope Alexander II came to Winchester to crown him king at Easter 1070.[62] Though there is no direct evidence that Robert the Frisian established the house of canons at Cassel in imitation of the Conqueror, or even that he did so in order to atone for his role in Arnulf's death, the circumstantial evidence makes it difficult to ignore the possibility. Robert definitely imitated the

[59] "quod faventibus conjuge mea et filiis et universa Flandrensium curia." *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 6, p. 17.
[60] *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 6, p. 19.
[61] The request that a donation should benefit Robert's *antecessores* may also have appeared in the first of his surviving charters, dated to June 1072—see *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 1, pp. 1-3. Vercauteren indicates that this charter may be a later forgery.
[62] Marc Morris, *The Norman Conquest: The Battle of Hastings and the Fall of Anglo-Saxon England* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2012), pp. 236-237. Janet Nelson suggests that Battle Abbey may have been intended as "an 'act of reparation' in England;" see Janet L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1986), p. 397.

Conqueror in other matters, including the creation of his great seal.[63] Given that he was about to set out on the most ambitious military expedition of his career, Robert may have been trying to settle accounts with his Maker in case he died in England.

As it turned out, all of Robert's preparations came to naught. Scarcely had he and Cnut gathered a large fleet—William of Malmesbury reports that they had some six hundred ships—and begun raiding coastal towns in England when Cnut decided to postpone the expedition, fearing that his brother Olaf was fomenting rebellion.[64] Cnut had Olaf arrested and sent to Flanders to be imprisoned, but when the time came for the fleet to reassemble the following year, a peasant rebellion in Jutland forced the king to flee. He was killed by peasant rebels in Odense in July 1086. Cnut's death marked the end of the planned invasion of England.

Nothing is known about the effect that Cnut's death had on his father-in-law, but it seems to have shaken him for within a few months Robert decided to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The precise dates of his travels are not known, but it is possible to identify a fairly narrow window for them. Cnut's demise provides a convenient terminus post quem for Robert's decision to depart, and it would have taken several months to make preparations for the journey, assuming that he made his decision to travel to Jerusalem after learning of the assassination. Robert's decision to associate his son, the future Robert II, with the comital office in 1086 seems clearly to have been a part of this preparation, again suggesting that he had no plans to travel to the Holy Land before that year.[65] A document written in the county on August 4, 1089 indicates that Robert was still on pilgrimage at that point, but he must have been back in Flanders by April

[63] Jean- François Nieus, "*Cum signo auctoritatis et excellentie mee sigillo*: Sceaux et identité symbolique des comtes de Flandre à la fin du XIe siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 58 (2015): pp. 43-64.
[64] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, pp. 109-111.
[65] *Annales Blandinienses*, ed. L.C. Bethmann, *MGH SS* V (Hannover, 1844), p. 26.

27, 1090, when he issued a charter in Lille.[66] Since the Leiden continuation of the *Genealogia Bertiniana* indicates that Robert was gone for two years, the pilgrimage seems to have lasted from the latter half of 1087 to late in 1089 or early in 1090, more or less the same dates proposed by Henri Pirenne.[67]

The eleventh century witnessed a number of important Jerusalem pilgrimages that originated in or around Flanders. The 1027 pilgrimage of Richard of Saint-Vanne was perhaps the most spectacular example in terms of sheer number of people involved, but it was not the only large-scale affair.[68] Abbot Poppo of Stavelot-Malmédy and Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai had made a pilgrimage earlier in the century. A number of English pilgrims made their way to the Holy Land via Flemish ports, including Sweyn Godwinson, who was Harold Godwinson's older brother and was repeatedly exiled to Flanders in the mid-eleventh century. Sweyn made the pilgrimage in part to atone for instigating the murder of a cousin, and eventually died on the way back from the Holy Land in 1052.[69] Perhaps most famously, and closest in form to Robert the Frisian's journey, Duke Robert I of Normandy made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1035. Robert I's contemporaries whispered that he might have been trying to atone for poisoning his brother Richard, who had been duke for only a year when he died in 1027.[70]

The historical record is silent on Robert's motives for taking up the pilgrim's staff and purse, but as in the case of his religious foundation at Cassel, the circumstantial evidence surrounding the journey is suggestive. By traveling to Jerusalem, Robert was following in the

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[66] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, p. 151n2; *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 10, pp. 32-34.
[67] Henri Pirenne, "A propos de la lettre d'Alexis Comnène a Robert le Frison, comte de Flandre," *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 50 (1907): pp. 222-223. For a concurring opinion, see Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, p. 151. For the Leiden continuation of the *Bertiniana*, see *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 307.
[68] On Richard of Saint-Vanne, see Steven Vanderputten, *Imagining Religious Leadership in the Middle Ages: Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Politics of Reform* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).
[69] Verlinden, *Robert Ier le Frison*, p. 152; Kelly DeVries, *The Norwegian Invasion of England in 1066* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 110-113.
[70] On Robert's reign, see Crouch, *The Normans*, pp. 39-58. William of Malmesbury describes this as a "certainly uncertain rumor;" see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, II.178, p. I.308-309.

footsteps of well-known leaders who had gone to the Holy Sepulcher to atone for killing family members. He made his decision to go shortly after his own son-in-law was killed in a rebellion, at a time when he likely had his involvement in Arnulf's death on his mind. Perhaps Cnut's assassination forced him to take stock of his own mortality and to take action for the wellbeing of his own soul. While Robert was reputed to be a pious man, he had already been excommunicated once in his life.[71] He had, as recently as 1083, been embroiled in a significant conflict of wills with the pope over his support of Lambert, his candidate for the bishopric of Thérouanne, and perhaps threatened with a second excommunication.[72] He would have had good reason to wonder about the condition of his soul, at the very least.

Furthermore, Robert must have been forced to consider the security of his plan for the succession in Flanders. His own experience showed that the period after the death of a powerful magnate was risky for a young heir. Given how controversial events at Cassel remained a century after Robert the Frisian's rule, Flemish opinion on the elder Robert must have been deeply divided in the 1080s. Robert's penitential pilgrimage was part of an effort to counteract criticisms of his actions that might interfere with the smooth accession of his son. Succession was clearly on his mind, for Robert chose to elevate the future Robert II to a position of coequal rule during his pilgrimage and also to make him regent of the county in his absence—this gave the young knight an opportunity to govern the county and solidify his own position with the

[71] Gregory VII had called upon Robert to oppose married and simoniacal bishops in two letters of November 1076, one addressed to the count himself and the other to his mother, Adela. See *Das Register Gregors VII*, nos. IV.10-11, pp. I.309-311. For his excommunication by the subdeacon and legate Hubert in 1078, see *Das Register Gregors VII*, no. VI.7, pp. II.407-408, in which Gregory instructs Hugh of Die to lift the excommunication.

[72] For the threat of a second excommunication, see Gregory VII's letter to the bishops of Cambrai, Noyon, and Amiens in 1083; *Das Register Gregors VII*, no. IX.35, pp. II.622-627. For the conflict over Lambert, see *Das Register Gregors VII*, nos. IX.13, 33-36, pp. II.591-592, 619-629 and *The "Epistolae Vagantes" of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and trans. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), nos. 45-47, pp. 108-115. For an overview of Robert's relationship with Gregory VII, see Verlinden, *Robert I^er le Frison*, pp. 115-124.

trump card of his powerful father's return held ever in reserve. Having vested power in Flanders in his son, Robert departed for the Holy Land.

Robert probably reached Jerusalem sometime in 1088. He must have lingered in the East for some time, for he does not seem to have begun his return journey until 1089. During the course of this westward trek, he met the Byzantine emperor, Alexius Comnenus. Anna Comnena's description of this encounter in *The Alexiad* is brief, but revealing:

> At Beroë the Count of Flanders, who was then on his way back from Jerusalem, met Alexius and gave him the usual oath of the Latins: he promised that on his arrival in his own country he would send the emperor allies, 500 horsemen. Alexius received him with honour and sent him on his journey satisfied.[73]

Five hundred knights was a considerable force—it would have represented a substantial portion of the county's fighters. It is not entirely clear whether these knights were retainers who were personally bound to Robert or mercenaries.[74] Given that the counts of Flanders were facilitating the deployment of mercenaries on the behalf of foreign rulers within twenty years of Robert the Frisian's pilgrimage, it seems reasonable to assume that the "Kelts" whose services the count promised were to be mercenary knights, perhaps recruited on the periphery Flanders.[75]

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[73] Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A Sewter (New York: Penguin Books, 1969), VII.vi, p. 229. Future references to *The Alexiad* will include references to book and chapter, as well as page number in the Sewter translation. Anna's claim that the emperor and Robert met at Beroë is, as François-Louis Ganshof has argued, problematic—there is no reason why Robert should have strayed so far from the most direct route back to Flanders on his return journey. Ganshof suggests that the meeting likely took place in Constantinople, as Guibert of Nogent says in his *Dei gesta per Francos*, or somewhere in southern Macedon. Either of these meeting places would put Robert squarely on the Via Egnatia, while a route to the north through Adrianople would have seen him in territory that was rendered dangerous by the presence of the Pechenegs—see François-Louis Ganshof, "Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène," *Byzantion* 31 (1961), pp. 59-64, esp. 63n2. Guibert's mention of the meeting between Robert and Alexius is in *Dei gesta per Francos* I.v.

[74] Eljas Oksanen argues that treaties ratified by the kings of England and Robert II of Flanders in 1101 and 1110, which specify that Robert II was to provide mounted soldiers on demand in exchange for annual cash payments, were written with the understanding that the count of Flanders would send mercenaries, rather than providing his own troops—Oksanen's argument is based on the fact that the cash payouts in the treaties did not provide enough silver to support raising and equipping an army for any period of time, but did provide the funds necessary to hire mercenaries. See Eljas Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066-1216* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 59-68.

[75] François-Louis Ganshof made the same point almost sixty years ago. See Ganshof, "Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène," pp. 68-71.

Whoever they were, the requested horsemen arrived in the East in the spring or early summer of 1090.[76] Anna indicates that these "chosen knights" brought with them a gift of one hundred fifty horses for Alexius, and that they were also willing to sell their own extra horses to the emperor.[77] Alexius sent them to Nicomedia to defend the city against the designs of the Turkish governor of Nicaea, Abu'l-Kasim. As Peter Frankopan suggests in his monograph on the First Crusade, the presence of these knights shifted the balance of military power in the region in the emperor's favor, at least temporarily—Anna herself observes elsewhere in *The Alexiad* that mounted Frankish knights were "almost, if not entirely invulnerable."[78] The critical importance of these forces was proven the following year when Alexius moved them to face a new threat from the Pechenegs, against whom they had originally been intended to fight, and Abu'l-Kasim promptly captured Nicomedia.[79] The record of the knights' redeployment against the Pechenegs in 1091 is the final mention of them, and of Robert the Frisian, in *The Alexiad*. It is not, however, the last word on Robert's pilgrimage in the historical record.

The best-known relic of Robert's pilgrimage is, like many medieval relics, of dubious origin. It is a letter to Robert that purports to be from the emperor Alexius, in which the latter requests military aid from his erstwhile ally against the incursions of the Turks.[80] This letter was frequently copied in the Middle Ages, appearing in nearly forty manuscripts.[81] It has spawned something of a cottage industry over the past century-and-a-half, and a number of eminent

[76] Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2012), p. 57.
[77] Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, VII.vii, pp. 232-233.
[78] Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, pp. 57-58; Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, XIII.viii, p. 416.
[79] Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, p. 58; Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, VIII.iii, p. 252.
[80] For the text of the letter, see Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901), pp. 129-136. English translations of it appear both in Einar Joranson, "The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Court of Flanders," *The American Historical Review* 55, no. 4 (July 1950), pp. 812-815, and Carol Sweetenham, trans., *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: "Historia Iherosolimitana"* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005), pp. 219-222.
[81] Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 129-130.

scholars have weighed in on its authenticity, provenance, and purpose.[82] This letter has been considered spurious for much of the twentieth century, though most of the scholars who have written about it acknowledge that an authentic letter from Alexius to Robert may have lay behind it.[83] The judgment that the letter is a fake, which found its most influential expression in English in an article published by Einar Joranson in 1950, remains a mainstream one. In her English translation of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, for example, Carol Sweetenham asserts that the letter is "almost certainly apocryphal," arguing that "it is hard to believe that any self-respecting Byzantine civil servant would have dreamt of drafting a letter in [its] lurid style."[84] Peter Schreiner is even more assertive, calling the notion that the letter had a Byzantine origin "absurd," while rejecting even the idea that an authentic letter underpins the document.[85]

However, the last forty years have seen a number of challenges to this position. The first major dissenting voice came in 1977, when Michel de Waha argued in *Byzantion* that the extant version of the letter is not actually a letter at all, but rather a hasty transcription of a speech given by a Byzantine emissary of western origin at the court of Flanders sometime between 1090 and 1095.[86] In his article, de Waha notes that Alexius is known to have sent an emissary of western

[82] The chief contribution to this literature in English remains Joranson's "The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Court of Flanders," which also surveys the literature on the question as it existed in 1950. Of this earlier literature, the contributions of Hagenmeyer and Pirenne remain important, though Joranson rejects their conclusions as to the origins of the letter. Joranson ultimately concludes that the letter, along with the *argumentum* that accompanies it in fourteen manuscripts, was composed in Italy in 1105-06 as an add-on to the *Gesta Francorum* in preparation for Bohemond's recruiting campaign for his 1107-08 expedition—Joranson argues that the letter provides proof of perfidy on the part of Alexius that is lacking in the *Gesta* itself.

[83] See Joranson, "The Problem of the Spurious Letter," pp. 811-819, for a summary of the scholarly debate up to 1950—for Joranson's concession that there was a genuine letter at some point, see pp. 831-832.

[84] Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, pp. 215-216.

[85] Peter Schreiner, "Der Brief des Alexios I Komnenos an den Grafen Robert von Flandern und das Problem gefälschter byzantinischer Kaiserschreiben in den westlichen Quellen," in *Documenti Medievali Greci e Latini. Studi Comparativi*, ed. Giuseppe de Gregorio and Otto Kresten (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1998), pp. 139-140.

[86] Michel de Waha, "La lettre d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert I le Frison: Une revision," *Byzantion* 47 (1977), pp. 113-125. As de Waha notes, the letter itself does not specify whether it is addressed to Robert the Frisian or Robert II, and it is possible that it arrived in Flanders after the former's death in 1093. It is only the *argumentum* that specifically makes mention of the elder Robert.

extraction to the court of Henry I of England at some point between 1100 and 1118. This undertaking is only mentioned in one English chronicle, and so de Waha does not take the silence of the Flemish sources on the matter as an impediment to his claim. He also addresses some of the key shortcomings of Joranson's argument. The first of these is the fact that although Joranson claimed that the letter and its *argumentum* were composed for use with the *Gesta Francorum*, these texts do not appear together in any manuscripts.[87] The second is that Joranson's claim that the letter is hostile to Alexius is essentially subjective. While Guibert's summary of the letter and the *argumentum* both refer to Alexius in hostile terms, the letter itself need not be read in that way. De Waha does not mention it, but it is worth noting that Joranson provides no evidence that the *argumentum* was written at the same time as the letter.

De Waha also notes that a later source, Gilbert of Mons, reports that Alexius sent emissaries to Robert. Describing Gilbert as "postérieur certes, mais bien informé," de Waha argues that there is a definite agreement between his account of Alexius's actions and the wording of the letter's salutatory formula: "To Robert, lord and glorious count of the Flemish, and to all the princes of the whole kingdom."[88] Like the letter, Gilbert's account also indicates that Alexius sent requests for help to Robert and other princes:

> At last, a certain Constantinopolitan emperor, Alexius by name, trembling, with his kingdom being diminished to a great extent by the incessant incursions of the Gentiles, sent messengers into France with letters for the purpose of stirring up the princes so that they might bring aid to forsaken Jerusalem and imperiled Greece. Whence he wrote more confidently to the elder Robert, count of the Flemish.[89]

[87] de Waha, "La lettred d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert I le Frison," p. 118.
[88] "Domino et glorioso comiti Flandrensium Rotberto et omnibus totius regni principibus." Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 130.
[89] "Demum quidam Consantinopolitanus imperator, Alexius nomine, assiduis gentilium incursionibus minuto magna in parte regno suo, tremefactus misit nuncios in Franciam cum epistolis ad animandos principes, ut desolate Jherusalem et periclitanti Grecie subvenirent. Unde confidentius Roberto seniori Flandrensium comiti." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 23, p. 40.

In light of this evidence, de Waha concludes that Alexius sent an ambassador to Robert with a letter requesting the latter's help, which the ambassador read in the count's presence. While the letter was read, a clerk in the count's employ wrote down what it said in Latin. This explains the fact that the diction and tone of the letter seem ill-suited to the Byzantine chancery, while the content of the letter is actually perfectly reasonable. Peter Frankopan endorses this interpretation, noting that the letter could also have been composed in Latin on the emperor's behalf in Constantinople: "What is perhaps most striking about the letter is that almost everything it says tallies with the new picture of Asia Minor that can be established from other contemporary sources."[90] In other words, far from being an obvious fake created by a western cleric as an *excitatorium*, as Joranson, Sweetenham, and Schreiner claim, there are compelling reasons to believe that the letter represents an authentic appeal to Robert for help.[91]

Even so, what is most striking about the letter (with apologies to Frankopan) is the fact that it is addressed to Robert the Frisian. Claude Cahen tried to emphasize this fact in an oft-cited but little-engaged contribution to the debate over the letter's origin published in 1974, three years before de Waha proffered his thoughts on the question. While acknowledging that he is raising only questions and hypotheses without proving anything, Cahen asks why, if it was written to support Bohemond of Taranto, the Alexius letter was addressed to Robert of Flanders. He suggests that, far from being a piece of Norman propaganda, the letter was actually part of what he dubs "la politique orientale" of the counts of Flanders.

It is not clear whether Cahen envisions the Alexius letter as the product of a propaganda campaign undertaken on behalf of the counts of Flanders, or whether he merely sees its

[90] Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, p. 61.
[91] The arguments advanced by both Frankopan and de Waha essentially bypass Schreiner's exhaustive comparison of the letter to known Byzantine correspondence, because neither insists that the letter have had its origin among the Greek-speaking scribes of the chancery. Frankopan's argument is particularly attractive because he allows for the notion that Alexius might have endorsed rhetoric that would have appealed to its intended audience.

preservation as evidence that the counts were interested in the East. In a sense, it makes little difference, though it is difficult to imagine why the counts of Flanders would have sponsored the composition of the *argumentum*, given its anti-Byzantine tone—there is no evidence from the chronicles of the First Crusade that Robert II ever had anything but cordial relations with Alexius, just as his father had. The main point is that the nearly forty manuscripts that carried the letter across Europe, around a dozen of which date to the first half of the twelfth century, spread with it the idea that there was a special relationship between the counts of Flanders and the East.[92]

In fact, authors outside of the county had begun to associate Robert the Frisian with the East years before his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Lambert, a monk at the Benedictine abbey of Hersfeld in the center of the Holy Roman Empire, claimed in his *Annales*, written in the early 1080s, that Robert had already traveled to Constantinople. Lambert begins his description of Robert's early life by noting that his father, Baldwin V, had two sons, and that he named the elder son, Baldwin, his heir. According to Lambert, he then fitted out ships for Robert, gave him gold, silver, and other supplies, "and ordered him to go to foreign peoples and, if he be a man, to furnish a kingdom and riches for himself by means of his own strength."[93] After this dose of tough love, Robert departed. He first tried to conquer Galicia, in northwestern Spain, but was beaten off after just a few days of raiding by the inhabitants of the region. Having failed to prove himself a man on the Iberian Peninsula, he turned his attention eastward:

> With the ships repaired and the number of soldiers restored, he entrusted himself to the ocean waves a second time, ready to journey to a distant region where God had shown a place of repose to the wanderer. And behold, after a few days he was caught amid a savage storm, with many of his men lost to shipwreck, he himself, naked and wanting for

[92] For the complete list of manuscripts, see Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 129-130.
[93] "iussitque, ut ad gentes exteras iret et, si vir esset, propria sibi virtute regnum diviciasque pararet." Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti monachi hersfeldensis Opera*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1894), p. 121. All future references to this work will be to Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*.

> all things, escaped, with difficulty, and only by a whisker, to the shore. Then, having put on the clothing of a commoner, he made ready to go to Constantinople among those who were traveling to Jerusalem in order to pray, having been called there by repeated emissaries of the Normans who fought under the emperor of Constantinople, and who promised him the rule of all Greece if he would come there.[94]

Unfortunately for Robert, the wily emperor blocked all the points of ingress into his lands, intending, according to Lambert, to butcher him if he should try to enter. Consequently, the whole affair came to nothing, and Robert returned to his homeland, where he acquired a title and domain the old-fashioned way, namely by marrying a widow.

Lambert's *Annales* are the only source for both Robert's supposed invasion of Galicia and his intended usurpation of Greece. Verlinden rejects the veracity of the story, arguing that Lambert confused Robert the Frisian with Robert Guiscard, who, as he notes, was in direct conflict with Alexius Comnenus between 1081 and 1085.[95] He acknowledges that this conflict was not contemporary with the period in view in the *Annales*, which must be before 1063, the year in which Robert married Gertrude. Lambert, who wrote the *Annales* between 1077 and 1080, could have simply confused the chronology, or been working from hearsay.[96] Though there is no evidence to contradict the idea that Robert travelled to Galicia or the Balkans in his youth, the silence of Flemish sources speaks against its likelihood. Still, Lambert's *Annales* spread the idea that Robert the Frisian had an early interest in the East before he had actually traveled to the Holy Land, and would continue to disseminate it long after his death.[97] The

[94] "Reparatis navibus et numero militum instaurato marinis iterum fluctibus se credidit, in regionem longinquam, ubi sedem vaganti Deus ostendisset, iter facturus. Et ecce post paucos dies tempestate infestissima circumventus, multis suorum naufragio amissis, ipse nudus omniumque rerum egens vix et aegre in littus evasit. Dehinc assumpto plebeio habitu inter eos qui Ierosolimam causa orationis pergebant Constantinopolim ire parabat, vocatus eo crebris legationibus Northmannorum, qui sub imperatore Constantinopolitano militabant, quique ei, si illuc venire, tocius Greciae principatum pollicebantur." Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, p. 122.
[95] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, p. 25.
[96] For the dating of the work, se Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.
[97] For a list of codices preserving the *Annales*, see Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, pp. xlvii-lxviii. There is an eleventh-century copy of the *Annales* from the house of Augustinian canons at Wittenberg and twelfth-century copies from Erfurt, Gotha (perhaps from Reinhardsbrunn Abbey), and Pommersfelden.

manuscripts of the *Annales* are clustered in the land controlled by the Holy Roman Empire, from which most of the twelfth-century manuscripts bearing the Alexius letter also come.

Guibert of Nogent also relates both Robert the Frisian's pilgrimage and his relationship with Alexius. In the first book of his *Dei gesta per Francos*, an early twelfth-century history of the First Crusade, Guibert writes that the emperor appealed to Robert for help because he trusted him and believed him to be the kind of leader whom other men might follow to the Holy Land:

> Moreover, he [Alexius] appealed to this man not only because he reckoned that he could furnish an army with so great an exertion of himself alone, since he was extremely wealthy and able to procure a great host, but because he was not ignorant of the fact that if so powerful a man took up the expedition at once, he would draw in with himself many forces of our race on account of the sheer novelty of the thing. For this same count was a man as wise in military matters as he was perspicacious and polished in letters.[98]

Guibert also provides his readers with an epitome of the letter that the emperor sent to Robert, discussed in detail above. This epitome includes descriptions of the outrages committed by the Turks, but omits the enticing descriptions of relics found in the version of the letter that often accompanies Robert the Monk's *Historia*.[99]

Guibert also provides information about Robert the Frisian not found in any other crusading texts. In Book Seven of the *Dei gesta*, he recounts a conversation that Robert supposedly had with an aged Muslim while he was in Jerusalem on his pilgrimage. This seer tells the count that he has had a premonition that Christians will conquer the Holy Land.[100] Guibert notes that this prophecy accords perfectly with the premonition of disaster which Kerbogha's mother had before the battle outside of Antioch. Thus in Guibert's text, Robert is not only the man who paves the way for the First Crusade by garnering Alexius' invitation to come east, but

[98] "Non autem ideo sollicitabat eundem virum quod tanto negotio solius ipsius estimaret sufficere posse concursum, licet ditissimus esset et magnam valuisset conflare manum, sed quia non ignorabat quod si vir adeo potens idipsum aggrederetur iter, nostrae secum gentis auxilia plurima pro sola rei novitiate contraheret. Fuit vero comes isdem quantum sagax in rebus bellicis, tantum perspicax et facetus in litteris." Guibert, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 100.
[99] Guibert, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 101-102.
[100] Guibert, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 319-320.

also the man who hears the miraculous prophecy which promises the expedition's success. This story is almost certainly apocryphal, but while its details suggest that Guibert may not have been as well-informed about Robert as he claims—he says that the count's pilgrimage was undertaken "just twelve years before our nobles undertook the Jerusalemite way," by which he presumably means either 1083 or 1084[101]—its mere presence in the *Dei gesta per Francos* shows that Robert's pilgrimage was both known outside of Flanders and associated with crusading by the first decade of the twelfth century.

It is perhaps significant that none of the evidence surveyed above actually comes from Flanders. The manuscripts of the Alexius letter come mostly from German Cistercian houses, where it was copied together with Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, the Prester John letter, and a number of minor texts. Furthermore, there is only one extant copy of Guibert's *Dei gesta per Francos* from Flanders, though R.B.C. Huygens, the editor of Guibert's text, argues that there must have been at least one more in Flanders during the twelfth century, probably at Marchiennes or Anchin.[102]

Robert II, however, seems to have recognized the value of celebrating his father's pilgrimage. In a charter dated to January of 1093, when the elder Robert was alive but in retirement at Saint-Bertin, Robert describes himself as "Robert, the son of count Robert the Jerusalemite [*Iherosolimitanus*]."[103] This charter, in which Robert II takes the priory of Watten under his protection and grants it several new gifts, is the first that he issued after his father's retirement, and so represents an early example of the young count's self-styling. Since charters

[101] "Ante duodennium enim ferme quam proceres nostri Iherosolimitanum aggrederentur iter." Guibert, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 319.
[102] Guibert, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 24-50. The extant manuscript is Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. fol. 358, which belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Peter at Hautmont in the diocese of Cambrai. For Huygens's argument for the existence of another manuscript at Marchiennes or Anchin, see pp. 36-39.
[103] *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 12, p. 38.

were becoming the accepted way to legitimize political and economic control over resources, the younger Robert would have had good reason to want such a document confirming his privileges over the priory.[104] Watten was also a logical place to assert such control. It lies only ten kilometers from Saint-Omer, a major center of comital government. It was a burgeoning center of reform in a region noted for its weak bishops, and was subject to comital oversight.[105] There is even a charter claiming that Robert the Frisian took Watten under his protection shortly after the Battle of Cassel—though Fernand Vercauteren argues that it is likely a forgery, created as part of a dispute between the abbess of Bourbourg and the prior of Watten in the late twelfth century, the idea that there was a connection between Watten and Robert the Frisian was plausible enough for Lambert of Ardres to include it in his *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* in the 1190s.[106]

The fact that Robert II's 1093 charter refers to his father as "Iherosolimitanus" reveals the importance that the count's association with Jerusalem had assumed in 1093, just two years before the calling of the First Crusade. Robert the Frisian was about to die, and Robert II likely felt anxious about his succession despite his father's efforts to lay the groundwork for it. As indicated above, the elder Robert associated his son with the comital government several times, first in 1080 and again in 1086 before leaving for Jerusalem, and the youth had acquitted himself well during his absence, showing clear promise both as a soldier and an administrator. He had, for example, beaten back an invasion of the county launched by Baldwin of Hainaut during his father's absence, and also created a chancery for the court at the church of Saint-Donatian in Bruges.[107] Nevertheless, he was insecure enough in 1093 to list all of the territories under his

[104] For the increasing importance of charters, see Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders*, p. 15; M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 3rd ed. (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 1-82; and Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).
[105] Watten was founded in 1072. See Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, p. 179.
[106] *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 1, pp. 1-3. Cf. Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 28, p. 575.
[107] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, pp. 89-95, 140-142.

control explicitly in the Watten charter. Though later charters call Robert II only "count of Flanders," in 1093 he chose to style himself "Robert, by the grace of God monarch, prince of Flanders, Boulogne, Tournai, Thérouanne, and Arras."[108] This one-off list should be read as an effort to legitimize his coming reign, which may also help to explain why Robert calls himself a "monarch [*monarchius*]." The reference to Robert I as "the Jerusalemite" is part of the same program. Using "Iherosolimitanus" drew attention to the elder Robert's pilgrimage and simultaneously obscured his violent seizure of the county in 1071, an episode for which his original cognomen would have served as a reminder.

When Robert the Frisian died on October 13, 1093, his body was transported from Saint-Omer to Cassel, where he was interred in the hospital attached to the church he had founded eight years earlier.[109] Little is known about how his death was received in Flanders. If the conflicting portrayals of his seizure of the county are any indication, then responses were mixed. Some of the county's inhabitants were highly critical of Robert and so probably little inclined to mourn him. Others, mindful of his military achievements, peaceful government, and reputation for personal piety, might have agreed with the verdict of his lone twentieth-century biographer, Charles Verlinden: "L'histoire lui a donné le surnom de Frison; mais lui eût-on décerné celui de Grand, il eût été injustice d'y trouver à redire."[110]

Robert's original tomb does not survive. If it was anything like the one to which he was moved two centuries later, however, then it represented the triumph of his efforts to rewrite the memory of the Battle of Cassel. When the canons reburied Robert in the church at Cassel in 1281, they inscribed the following on his new tomb: "In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1093,

[108] "ego Robertus, Dei gratia Flandrensium, Bononiensium, Tornacensium, Tarvannensium, Attrebatensium princeps, monarchius." *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 12, p. 38.
[109] Louis Becker, *Le tombeau de Robert-le-Frison, comte de Flandre* (Bruges: Imprimerie de Vandecasteele-Werbrouck, 1850), p. 7.
[110] Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison*, p. 169.

Count Robert of Flanders, the Jerusalemite, died, he who founded this church in honor of the holy Savior, amen."[111] In death and in memory, at least at Cassel, Robert's pilgrimage mattered more than Arnulf's death.

THE OTHER ROBERT: THE COUNT OF FLANDERS AND THE FIRST CRUSADE

Historians have largely glossed over Robert II's crusading career. There is one article dedicated to Robert's role on the crusade written by Marshall Knappen, one of Dana Munro's students, in 1928. This article belongs to a different era of scholarship. As Jay Rubenstein observes in *Armies of Heaven*, Knappen's assessment of Robert verges on the hagiographic, even if his conclusions are generally correct.[112] There are a number of reasons why Robert has not been studied as much as other crusading leaders, like Robert Curthose, Bohemond, and Godfrey of Bouillon, but the most important is the one to which Knappen alludes when he bemoans the fact that no one in the Flemish contingent on the First Crusade produced a narrative of the expedition.[113] Consequently, while scholars can read crusade sources dedicated to the achievements of Bohemond, Tancred, and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, tracing the career of Robert of Flanders is much more difficult.

Robert II was already an experienced administrator and soldier when his father died in 1093. He had been associated with the comital government as early as 1080, when his signature appears, along with his brother Philip's, on a charter issued at Messines as "Count Robert and Philipp, sons of Count Robert."[114] He was confirmed in this office again in 1086 when his father departed for Jerusalem, and ruled with great success in his absence. By the time he was in full

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[111] "Anno Dominicae Incarnationis M. XCIII obiit comes Flandrensium Robertus Jerosolymitanus, qui fundavit hanc ecclesiam in honorem sancti Salvatoris, amen." Becker, *Le tombeau de Robert-le-Frison*, p. 7.
[112] M.M. Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays: Presented to Dana C. Munro be His Former Students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1928 [1968]), pp. 79-100; Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), p. 350n6.
[113] Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders," p. 85.
[114] "Rotbertus comes et Philippus, filii Roberti comitis." *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 5, p. 16.

control of the county in 1093 he was likely in his late twenties, a mature knight who was more than capable of looking after his interests in the county.[115]

In November 1095, two years after Robert II became sole count of Flanders, Pope Urban II preached a sermon before a massive crowd at Clermont in which he enjoined the Frankish nobility to march east to the aid of their Greek brethren, who were hard-pressed by the armies of the Seljuk Turks. Very few other sermons have been the subject of as much scholarly attention as this one, despite the fact that no direct report of what Urban said survives. Though it is not possible to reconstruct Urban's precise words, the sources do emphasize and repeat certain themes. Urban stressed the importance of the city of Jerusalem, the need for peace (in conjunction with both the Peace and Truce of God), and the danger that the Turks posed both to pilgrims and to Eastern Christians.[116]

As recent histories of the First Crusade have emphasized, Urban's sermon was not the only heavily-scripted element of that November day. The responses of both Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy and Raymond of Toulouse, both of him agreed to take the cross, had been secured beforehand. It was important for Urban to have the support of at least one ranking magnate well in hand from the start to reassure other potential crusaders who might have doubts about the expedition, and also to lend it clout. The wisdom of this course of action was demonstrated a few months later when, despite a great deal of papal pressure, Count Fulk of Anjou decided not to join the expedition.[117] Had Urban left the entire response to chance, he would have risked outright rejection of his message at a time when he was counting on the expedition to facilitate a

[115] Given that Robert the Frisian married Gertrude of Holland in 1063, it is reasonable to think that Robert II was born in the mid-1060s. This would be consistent with his appearance as "Rotbertus comes" in the Messines charter of 1080, as he would have been fifteen or sixteen at that point, and so old enough to have attained his majority.
[116] Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, pp. 22-28.
[117] Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, pp. 34-36.

rapprochement with the Byzantine church and empire that would stabilize his own tenuous position as pope.[118]

In light of this fact, it is somewhat surprising that Urban does not seem to have prioritized asking Robert II of Flanders to participate. The pope did not travel anywhere near Flanders in the recruitment campaign that followed Clermont. It is clear that Flanders was on his mind from the start, as he dispatched a letter to the county in December 1095, but this letter is addressed "to all the faithful dwelling in Flanders, as much to princes as to subordinates," rather than to Robert himself.[119] The count is never directly addressed in the letter. Jay Rubenstein suggests that Robert "answered with more enthusiasm than expected" when he vowed to join the expedition personally, characterizing Robert as one of several "accidental successes" that Urban enjoyed during his recruiting campaign.[120]

There is, however, another possible explanation for Robert's response. As Peter Frankopan's work has recently shown, Alexius Comnenus took a very active role in the genesis of the First Crusade, and was in communication with Urban to make sure that the pope's efforts would coordinate with his own.[121] Given that Alexius is known to have sent emissaries to particular magnates both before and after the expedition, it seems likely that he appealed personally to Robert II, the son of his ally from earlier in the decade. De Waha suggests that the famous letter discussed above was probably sent closer to 1095 than it was to 1090 or 1091.[122] It could very well have been addressed, not to Robert the Frisian, but to his son. There is nothing in the letter itself to suggest that it is addressed to the elder Robert—it is only in the *argumentum*,

[118] Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, pp. 13-25.
[119] "Uniuersis fidelibus, tam principibus quam subditis, in Flandria commorantibus." Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 136.
[120] Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, p. 40.
[121] See especially Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, pp. 87-117.
[122] De Waha, "La lettred d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert I le Frison," p. 124.

which is only present in one-third of the manuscript witnesses to the letter, that Robert the Frisian is specified as the recipient.[123] It is equally possible that Alexius did not know that the elder Robert had died when he sent either the embassy hypothesized by de Waha or the Latin letter alluded to by Frankopan. In the former case especially, there is every reason to think that an ambassador would have extended the same request to Robert II that he had intended for Robert I, likely appealing to the latter's reputation in the process. Perhaps the pope knew that this was Alexius's intention, and so did not bother traveling north to Flanders in person. This is all speculation, of course, but it seems highly unlikely, given the care with which the recruitment campaign seems to have been planned, that both the pope and the Byzantine emperor should have failed to appeal for help to the powerful son of a western prince who had already demonstrated his interest in and commitment to the Holy Land.

Personal invitations from popes and emperors notwithstanding, Robert II was ideally positioned to go to Jerusalem in 1096. He had enhanced the efficient comital government established during his father's reign by creating a central administration at the church of Saint-Donatian in Bruges which guaranteed the operation of the county's legal and financial apparatus in his absence.[124] He was also blessed with an exceptionally gifted regent in his wife, Clémence of Burgundy. The fact that his chief enemy, Count Baldwin II of Hainaut, had also taken the cross meant that he did not have to worry about Baldwin invading Flanders in his absence. Robert also had a clear sense of the risks entailed in leaving the county, especially in the absence

[123] Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 130.
[124] On Robert the Frisian's work to strengthen the county's government and institutions, see Raymond Monier, *Les institutions centrales du comté de Flandre de la fin du IX^e s. à 1384* (Paris: J. Loviton & C^le, 1943), pp. 18-19.

of an heir, for he had himself been forced to defeat an invasion of Flanders during his father's absence.[125]

The precise timing of Robert's decision to take the cross cannot be determined. The first mention of his intention to travel to Jerusalem is found in a flurry of three charters issued in the autumn of 1096, just before his departure, in which he twice describes himself as on "about to go to Jerusalem" [*iturus Jherosolimam*] and once requests that future generations note that he had gone to the holy city.[126] Robert's only other extant charter dated to the period between November 1095 and autumn 1096 was issued in favor of the canons of Saint-Martin of Tours at Arras on February 3, 1096. It says nothing about the expedition to the Holy Land, but this does not necessarily mean that Robert had not made up his mind at this point. Another charter, in which Robert and Clémence grant property to both Saint-George in Hesdin and the abbey of Anchin, probably dates to the autumn of 1096, but does not explicit mention of his imminent departure.[127] Regardless of when he decided to participate in the crusade, he made careful preparations—the selection of Saint-George as the beneficiary of a pre-crusade gift was a particularly pointed, and perhaps even prophetic, choice.

Robert set off for the Jerusalem in the autumn of 1096, probably in late September.[128] He and his army met his cousin, Robert Curthose of Normandy, in October, and together they marched to meet another of Robert Curthose's cousins, Stephen of Blois.[129] This meeting likely

[125] There is some evidence that Robert and Baldwin had mended their relationship by the time of the crusade. Albert of Aachen reports that they fought together against Sulayman at Dorylaeum in 1097—see Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), II.42, pp. 134-35. Future references to Albert's *Historia* will include chapter and book number as well as page number.
[126] *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, nos. 20-22, pp. 62-67. These donations were made to Saint-Peter in Lille, Saint-Mary and Saint-Eligius in Noyon, and Saint-Thierry in Rheims.
[127] *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 23, pp. 68-70.
[128] Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade," pp. 85-86.
[129] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), I.vi.8, pp. 159-161. Future references to Fulcher's *Historia* will include book, chapter, and sentence number, along with page numbers.

took place at Chartres. From there the army marched across France and into Italy.[130] They reached Lucca by late October, where Fulcher of Chartres says that Robert Curthose, Stephen, and "various others who wished [to do so]" met Pope Urban.[131] Though Fulcher fails to name Robert explicitly here, his modern editor, Heinrich Hagenmeyer, is probably correct to argue that the count of Flanders must also have had an interview with Urban.[132] From Lucca, the crusaders proceeded to Rome, where they were harassed by partisans of the antipope, Clement III, who threw rocks at them as they tried to pray in a basilica there.[133]

Stephen and the Roberts left Rome quickly and journeyed south, having elected to travel down the Italian peninsula into Norman territory and then to take ship for the Byzantine world. Though Frankopan argues that the crusader itineraries may have been set by Emperor Alexius, the crusaders had compelling reasons to travel through Italy instead of Dalmatia without any external impetus.[134] Italy was far safer for Latin pilgrims than the eastern side of the Adriatic, and Robert Curthose and Stephen of Blois had cultural connections to the Normans of the south.[135] Furthermore, Robert II had family connections in the region. Roger Borsa, the duke of Apulia and Calabria, was married to his sister, Adele. Robert met Roger in Apulia and, according to a charter issued by his wife back home in Flanders, turned down his brother-in-law's offer of gold, silver, and precious jewels. Instead, Clémence relates that her husband, "since he was rich and not lacking in such things, requested from him this thing alone, that he [Roger] might bestow

[130] Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, p. 69.
[131] "ceteri qui voluimus." Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I.vii.2, p. 164. Hagenmeyer indicates that these meetings took place on or around October 25—see Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie de la première croisade (1094-1100)* (Paris, 1902), p. 45.
[132] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I.vii.2, p. 164n4.
[133] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I.vii.1-3, pp. 164-166.
[134] Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, pp. 110-117.
[135] For an overview of Norman involvement and culture in southern Italy, see Marjorie Chibnall, *The Normans* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), pp. 75-83.

upon him very precious relics forthwith, which he had arranged to send to me."[136] Roger obliged by handing over some of the Virgin Mary's hair and bits of the bodies of the Apostle Matthew and of Saint Nicholas, whose earthly remains had only recently been stolen by Norman soldiers from Greek monks in Asia Minor. This meeting must have taken place sometime in November, while the crusaders were marching through Apulia. They reached Bari in late November or early December.[137] Stephen of Blois and Robert of Curthose decided to winter in Calabria, ostensibly because the seas were too rough to cross. Count Robert, however, crossed the Adriatic immediately along with his army, and arrived in Constantinople in the deep of winter.[138]

Several aspects of Robert's behavior during the journey from Flanders to Constantinople deserve special attention. First, although he traveled with Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, he was by no means beholden to their plans, either during the march eastward or at any point later on. His decision to cross the Adriatic straightaway, rather than wintering with his fellow pilgrims in Calabria or with his brother-in-law elsewhere in southern Italy, demonstrates this relative independence. Rubenstein attributes his decision to head straight for Constantinople to impatience, and this may well be its cause. It could also be, however, that Robert had already been in communication with Alexius, and had more reason than his compatriots to hurry on to Constantinople, where he likely met with a warm welcome from the emperor.

Second, even at this early stage in the crusade, Robert seems to have been aware that the crusade offered chances to enhance his reputation. His decision to ask Roger Borsa for relics instead of accepting cash illustrates this point. While Knappen is right to note that Robert showed a keen interest in relics, his reference to this episode as proof of that predilection is

[136] "utpote diues et harum rerum non egens, hoc solum ab eo exigit, ut ei quam pretiosissimas conferret reliquas, quas mihi transmitter disposuerat." Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 143.
[137] Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, p. 49.
[138] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I.vii.4, p. 168.

problematic.[139] Clémence reports that Robert asked for relics not because he valued them more highly than money, but because he was already well-equipped with the latter. He must surely have known that sending relics back to Flanders would build his reputation for piety in the county, and provide its residents with a tangible reminder of his pilgrimage. The relics dispatched from Apulia made their way to Watten, where Clémence founded a new church dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[140] Robert and his wife seem to have worked out a plan for acquiring relics in advance, for Clémence indicates her confirmation charter that Robert had already arranged their transport to Flanders before he made his request of Duke Roger.[141] Furthermore, Watten was the site where Robert II had issued his first charter, the one in which he describes himself as "Robert, the son of count Robert the Jerusalemite." As early as 1093-1096, then, Robert and Clémence took steps to commemorate the pilgrimages of both Roberts at Watten.

Once all of the crusading leaders were in Constantinople, things began to get contentious. Alexius wanted all of them to swear an oath that they would not use their considerable forces to launch an attack on him.[142] Some of the leaders balked at this request, none more vehemently than Raymond of Saint-Gilles. Robert of Flanders, on the other hand, does not seem to have objected to the oath—Fulcher specifically mentions that he took it.[143] When Raymond's refusal threatened to derail the expedition, Robert went with Godfrey and

[139] Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade," p. 83.
[140] Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe,* p. 143. Robert the Frisian had never been a supporter of the papacy, even after his return from pilgrimage. On his rocky relationship with popes Gregory and Urban, see above.
[141] Clémence reports that Robert had asked Roger "to confer upon him the most precious relics possible, which he had arranged to send to me." Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe,* p. 143.
[142] For a discussion of the importance of this strategy, see Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, pp. 132-137.
[143] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana,* I.ix.2, p. 178.

Bohemond to urge him to reconsider his position.[144] That Fulcher reports both that Robert took the oath and that he was part of the delegation to Raymond suggests that he may have been perceived as particularly enthusiastic in his support of the emperor. At the very least, it supports Knappen's argument that Robert was a peacemaker.[145] Certainly he demonstrated himself capable of working with all of the other crusading leaders during the course of the campaign.

With respect to Robert's overall activity on the crusade, a few points deserve emphasis. First, the sources for the expedition are favorable in their reports of his military skill and piety. The *Gesta Francorum,* the source text for many of the other chronicles of the First Crusade, and a text written by an eyewitness, describes him in battle as "the outstanding count of Flanders, fortified on all sides by the rule of faith and the sign of the cross, which he bore faithfully every day."[146] Robert the Monk describes him riding with Hugh and Godfrey into the thickest part of the fighting during the battle against Kerbogha outside of Antioch and driving the enemy so hard that they had to abandon their baggage train.[147] Baldric of Bourgueil characterizes him as "the readiest knight of all."[148]

Another important point is that there is no indication that Robert ever sought to bring territory in the East under his rule. It is unsurprising that Robert, who already controlled a thriving county in Europe, would have been disinterested in land in the East. This indifference, however, distinguished him from many of the crusade's other notables. Bohemond, Tancred, and Baldwin of Edessa all sought out territory in the East, while Godfrey accepted the rule of the

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[144] *Hystoria de via et recuperatione Antiochiae atque Ierusolymarum (olim Tudebodus imitates et continuatus)*, ed. Edoardo D'Angelo (Firenze: Sismel, 2009), 5.92-106, pp. 24-25. Future references to this text will include chapter and sentence number, as well as page number.
[145] Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade," p. 87.
[146] "Egregius itaque comes Flandrensis undique regimine fidei signoque crucis quam fideliter cotidie baiulabat armatus." *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 31.
[147] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), p. 76.
[148] "per omnia miles expeditissimus." Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolomitana*, ed. Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 33.

kingdom of Jerusalem after it was refused by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who nonetheless worked to establish himself as count of Tripoli. Robert, by contrast, seems to have been focused on returning home. In this he was more like Stephen of Blois and Robert Curthose than he was the other crusading leaders, though his homecoming was markedly different from the receptions that would greet his fellow travelers.[149]

Robert's focus on Flanders is best illustrated by two anecdotes about relics. The first is recorded in the "Narratio quomodo relliquae martyris Georgii ad nos Aquicinenses pervenerunt," dated to 1100, which credits Robert with safeguarding the arm of Saint George and transporting it safely from the Holy Land to Europe, where he gave it to Abbot Haimeric of Anchin.[150] As a result, the abbey church at Anchin, like the priory at Watten, would have served as a visible reminder of Robert's connections with relics and crusading. A poem copied at the end of a history of the First Crusade at Marchiennes Abbey, Anchin's mother house, describes Robert as "the excellent count of Flanders, a renowned knight, called 'the son of George' by the Turks."[151] Such a reference would clearly have reminded a reader that the count had brought a relic of the warrior saint back with him, and that it was at nearby Anchin. This confluence of text, relic, and crusade was a powerful testimony to the sanctity and skill of the count.

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[149] Stephen of Blois met widespread condemnation on his return because he had deserted the crusade at Antioch—he would later made a second journey in 1101 in an attempt to redeem his reputation, only to die at Ramla in 1102. Robert Curthose returned to Normandy to discover that his younger brother, Henry, had claimed the crown of England after the death of William Rufus on August 2, 1100—after an abortive attempt to wrest the crown away, Robert had to content himself with Normandy. In 1105, however, Henry invaded Normandy, and in the ensuing Battle of Tinchebray he defeated and captured Robert, who spent the last twenty-eight years of his life under house arrest, first at Devizes and then at Cardiff. On the 1101 crusade and Stephen of Blois, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 14; on Robert Curthose, see William M. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy (c. 1050-1134)* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2008).

[150] *Narratio quomodo relliquae martyris Georgii ad nos Aquicinenses pervenerunt*, RHC, Occ. Vol. 5 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1895), p. 251.

[151] "Robertus comes flandrensis probus miles inclitus· ´ A turcis appellabatur Gerogii filius;" Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 882, fol. 35rb, ll. 21-22. Knappen cites this poem as evidence that the Turks called Robert "the Arm of St. George," but this is an error—see Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade," p. 84.

The second example relates to the best-known relic of the First Crusade, the lance discovered during the siege of Antioch in June 1098. This relic provided a major boost to the morale of the crusaders just before their crucial victory over Kerbogha, but quickly became divisive, as some of the crusaders doubted its authenticity and seem to have resented the prestige that it brought to those who wielded it. The two crusading leaders whose names are most closely associated with the lance are Adhemar of Le Puy and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, both of whom defended it vigorously. The fact that both of them were part of the southern French contingent on the crusade has reinforced the impression that belief in the lance was primarily a Provençal phenomenon. However, there is evidence that Robert II also believed in the lance's authenticity or at the very least in Saint Andrew's role in offering it to the crusaders as a gift. While still on the crusade, he sent a letter to Clémence asking her to secure permission from the bishop of Tournai to refound a monastic community near the comital capital of Bruges, with the intention of dedicating it to Saint Andrew.[152] He confirmed the foundation and gave placed it under the supervision of Abbot Fulgentius of Afflighem shortly after returning home.[153]

While contemporary sources are silent regarding the reception that awaited Robert in Flanders, it must have been both joyous and relieved. For all of the preparations Robert and Clémence had made, there had still been problems in his absence. For example, there had been serious civil unrest in Bruges during the crusade.[154] Long-standing political disagreements had flamed up as well, including a conflict over the bishopric of Cambrai, where Henry IV had rejected a French candidate in favor of an imperial appointee in 1093. This dispute erupted into

[152] Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 154.
[153] *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 25, pp. 75-77. Robert is also among the crusade leaders who sent a letter to Urban II on September 11, 1098 describing the capture of Antioch and stressing the role that the lance played; cf. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 161-165.
[154] Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 145-146.

open warfare shortly after Robert's return in 1100.[155] It is a mark of how highly the papacy thought of Robert after his endeavors on crusade that Paschal II wrote to him in 1103, nearly three years into this conflict, to urge him to persevere in his struggle against Henry. Paschal even cribbed Urban II's language to describe the spiritual benefits that he and his soldiers were earning: "We command this to you and your knights for the remission of sins and the friendship of the apostolic see, so that by these labors and triumphs, with God preserving you, you may reach the celestial Jerusalem."[156] When Robert II returned home from the crusade, then, his reputation extended all the way to the papal curia.

Robert's crusading exploits were already inscribed on the county of Flanders by the time he got back from Jerusalem in the form of the abbeys and churches to which he had given relics and land. At Afflighem, Anchin, Bruges, Marchiennes, and Watten, monks, canons, and the lay people whose spiritual needs they served had daily reminders that their count had played a pivotal role in the greatest military and spiritual expedition of their time, for his deeds were inscribed on parchment and in stone in the forms of relics, churches, and human memories. One early artifact created as part of this commemorative process deserves special mention in conjunction with Robert's career, for its creation was occasioned by his death. This is the complicated and beautiful book known as the *Liber Floridus*.

ROBERT II, SAINT-BERTIN, AND THE *LIBER FLORIDUS*

Robert II of Flanders died in October 1111 while campaigning with King Louis VI of France. The cause of his death is unclear, though some scholars have found in Suger's *Vita Ludovici grossi* the suggestion that he drowned in the River Marne after a bridge collapsed under

[155] I.S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 316-317.
[156] "Hoc tibi ac militibus tuis in peccatorum remissionem et apostolicae sedis familiaritatem praecipimus, ut his laboribus ac triumphis ad coelestem Jerusalem Domino praestante pervenias." Paschal II, "Ad Robertum Flandrensium comitem," *PL* 163, col. 108A-C.

him.[157] Orderic Vitalis indicates that Robert fell from his horse during a retreat while fighting Count Theobald of Blois, was "trampled by the iron hooves of the horses," and died several days later.[158] In either case, it was an ignominious end for an illustrious prince. Shortly after Robert's death, early in 1112, a canon named Lambert of the church of Saint-Omer began work on what Jay Rubenstein has described as "an eight-year process of writing everything that he had ever learned into a book."[159] On the very first page of this book, Lambert made a list of famous "firsts." This list includes the first person to found a city (Cain) and the first person to find the True Cross (Helena). It is a summary both of Lambert's book, which he called the *Liber Floridus*, and of all sacred history. At the end of this list, he wrote the following four lines:

> Lidric of Harelbeke, first count of Flanders, began to reign in the year of our Lord 792;
> Baldwin "Iron Arm," fourth count of Flanders, took Judith, the daughter of Charlemagne, to wife in the year of our Lord 862;
> Godfrey, the son of Eustace, count of Boulogne, captured Jerusalem in the year of our Lord 1099;
> then Robert, the fourteenth count of Flanders, crowned Godfrey king of Jerusalem.[160]

The summary stops here, as if to suggest that Godfrey's coronation marked the end of history itself.

These four lines represent Lambert's attempt to write the counts of Flanders onto the world stage, both geopolitically and eschatologically. They connect the counts with the Carolingians, lending them a historically-rooted dynastic significance. They also give Robert II a starring role in the most important military and political venture of the age by making his

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[157] Suger, *Vita Ludovici grossi*, in *Œuvres completes*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1979), c. 18, p. 77. For a rebuttal of the interpretation of this passage mentioned above, see pp. 437-438.
[158] "ferratis equorum ungulis conculcatus." Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.290, pp. VI.162-163.
[159] Rubenstein, "Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade," p. 69.
[160] "Lidricus Harlebeccensis primus comes Flandrię anno Domini DCCXCII regnare cępit/Balduinus Ferreus quartus comes Flandrię anno Domini DCCCLXII Iudith filiam regis Karoli cepit/Godefridus filius Eustachii comitis Bolonię anno Domini MXCVIIII Iherusalem cępit/Rotbertus quartus X^{mus} comes Flandrię Godefridum Hierosolimis tunc regem constituit." *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus. Codex authographus bibliothecae universitatis Gandavensis*, ed. Albert Derolez (Ghent: In aedibus Story-Scientia, 1968), p. 4, hereafter *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus*. Derolez provides a transcription of this plate in his appendix on page [*3*].

coronation of Godfrey the culmination of sacred history. The list's trajectory seems to argue that figures like Abraham, Moses, Solomon, Julius Caesar, Claudius, and Ptolemy—all of whom are included in Lambert's summary—had all played important roles in advancing the divine plan, but that Robert oversaw its fulfillment. Lambert drives this point home by framing Godfrey's coronation with the word "then" [*tunc*]. Although this could simply connect the coronation with the capture of Jerusalem in the previous line, the fact that it is the only sequential word in a long list of people and events designated *primus* seems to indicate that Lambert considered it an especially important event. Read in this light, it could be rendered "and finally," or even "at last." It is as if Lambert intends to tell his readers that all of the great men and women of history did their bits *and then* Robert crowned Godfrey. This is high praise indeed for the recently-deceased count.

The complexity of the *Liber Floridus* makes it a favorite topic of scholarly investigation. Its study has become a life's work for several notable academics, most prominently Albert Derolez, who has literally written the book on the *Liber Floridus* no less than three times.[161] Not all of these scholars have been complimentary of Lambert's work. This is understandable, given the current garbled and incomplete state of the *Liber Floridus*. Derolez himself, who is generally sympathetic to Lambert, describes the canon as "a mediocre Latinist and clumsy compiler."[162] Even so, Derolez praises Lambert's imagination and skill as an artist and insists that Lambert had a set of principles undergirding his work which are communicated with particular brilliance and originality in the codex's illustrative program.[163] The importance of the counts of Flanders is one of these guiding principles.

[161] See above, p. 8n26.
[162] Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, p. 181.
[163] Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, pp. 11-34, 181-183, and passim.

One of the longest sections of the *Liber Floridus* comprises a series of historical texts. Derolez aptly dubs it the "historical texts group." This section includes five quires that were created at the same time, and which form part of the original program of the manuscript. The first text in the historical texts group is the *Historia Anglorum*, which narrates the history of the English from their origins to the time of Henry I. Lambert compiled this history from the works of Nennius, Bede, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[164] At the end of this compilation, however, Lambert suddenly shifts his attention to Flanders by adding a notice from the *Annales Bertiniani*, composed roughly a mile from his own church of Saint-Omer at the Abbey of Saint-Bertin. This addition connects the English kings with the counts of Flanders: "With [king Æthelbald] dead, Judith went back to her father, Charles, in France and was kept under paternal tutelage at Senlis, just as it is read in the *Gesta Francorum*. Later on, Baldwin Bras-de-Fer, the count of Flanders, had her [as his wife]."[165] This is the final line of the prose history. Immediately after this, Lambert begins a list of the cities of Britain.

In a similar spirit, Lambert emphasizes the role that a Fleming had played in English and Norman history in the short *Genealogia comitum Normannorum* which follows the history of the English. This text ends with an account of Henry I of England's seizure of the throne and his conflict with his brother, Robert Curthose, after the deaths of William the Conqueror and William Rufus:

> This William the Bastard had three sons, namely Robert and William Rufus and Henry from Mathilda, the daughter of Count Baldwin [V] of Flanders, who is buried near the city of Lille. When William the Bastard died his son William Rufus was made king and Robert was made Count of Normandy. And while William Rufus was in the forest for the sake of hunting, a certain soldier of his, while he was shooting at a stag with an arrow, killed the king himself instead of the stag. With William having died, Robert, the king's

[164] Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, pp. 88-89.
[165] "Quo defuncto Iudith ad patrem suum Karolum in Frantiam rediit et Siluanectis sub tuitione paterna seruabatur, sicut in Gestis Francorum legitur. Quam postea Balduinus Ferreus comes Flandrię habuit." *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus*, p. 151.

> brother, who should have been his successor, was then at Jerusalem and Henry, his brother and man, usurped his kingdom unjustly. Moreover, when Robert returned after Jerusalem had been captured, Henry attacked him (having crossed over the sea), captured him in Normandy by means of trickery, and sent him to England as a prisoner. Thus Henry took over Normandy with England.[166]

Lambert's reference to the burial place of Baldwin V feels out of place here. It is the only reference to a tomb included in the genealogy, even though it has no bearing whatsoever on the counts of Normandy. Lambert seems to have included this detail to emphasize the connection between the Count Baldwin, the kings of England, and the counts of Normandy, a connection with the Conqueror's queen, Mathilda, as its linchpin. Lambert employs a similar strategy later in the codex in both the *Genealogia et historia regum Francorum* and his *Gesta Francorum regum*. In both of these texts, he emphasizes the fact that Philipp I of France had married Bertha, who was Robert the Frisian's stepdaughter, and so Robert II's half-sister.[167]

The works that follow the *Historia Anglorum* and the *Genealogia comitum Normannorum* form the backbone of the historical texts section of the *Liber Floridus*. The first of these is not a text at all but an illustration, the famous Palm Tree [FIGURE 1.1]. As Derolez notes, this illustration is both a symbol of the Church and a symbol of the victory that the Franks had achieved on the First Crusade.[168] However, Derolez mischaracterizes the Palm Tree's relationship to the texts that follow it, and so misses a key part of Lambert's message. He argues that the illustration, with its crusading overtones, was intended as a frontispiece to the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*, a history of the First Crusade which was originally part

[166] "Willelmus iste Nothus tres filios habuit, Rodbertum videlicet et Willelmum Rufum atque Henricum, ex Mathilda filia Balduini comitis Flandrię, qui sepultus est aput Insulanum opidum. Willelmo Northo defuncto Willelmus Rufus eius filius rex creatus est et Rodbertus comes Northmannię. Willelmus quoque Rufus cum esset in silva venandi gratia, quidam eius miles dum sagitta cervum appeciit, pro cervo ipsum regem occidit. Quo interfecto Rodbertus regis frater, qui successor eius esse debuit, tunc erat Hierosolimis et Henricus frater eius et homo iniuste regnum eius invasit. Rodberto autem, urbe Iherusalem capta, regresso Henricus mare transmeato fratrem expugnavit in Normannia et dolo cepit captumque transmisit in Angliam, et Northmanniam cum Anglia optinuit." *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus*, p. 155, transcribed on p. [*56*].
[167] *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus*, pp. 474, 478-479.
[168] Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, p. 90.

of the next quire in the manuscript.[169] There is, however, a clear problem with this argument. A frontispiece adjoins the text it accompanies, but even if the quires on which the Palm Tree and the *Gesta Francorum* are copied were placed next to each other, another text would stand between them. This text is the *Genealogia comitum Flandrie*. In his most recent work on the *Liber Floridus*, Derolez claims that "no doubt there is no link between the last page of quire IX (the palm tree) and the text on the first page of the original section of quire XIV (f. 104r), which is the opening page of the genealogy of the counts of Flanders."[170] In fact, the Palm Tree and the genealogy are intimately connected.

Lambert originally intended the Palm Tree to serve as a frontispiece for the *Genealogia comitum Flandrie*. After all, the most recent count had played a critical role in the First Crusade. This interpretation makes even more sense when the contents and context of the *Genealogia* are taken into account. As Derolez rightly notes, the *Genealogia comitum Flandrie*, which Lambert himself composed, focuses a great deal of attention on the misdeeds of Robert the Frisian, beginning with an unfavorable portrait of his accession. Despite swearing an oath to respect the rights of his brother and his future offspring, Robert had conspired with traitors and invaded the county, killing Arnulf, "his own nephew," and usurping power for himself. Lambert goes on to describe Robert's many attacks on ecclesiastical property, even quoting a letter from Pope Urban II in which the pontiff had to rebuke the wayward count for his pillaging.[171] Robert the Frisian was, then, an enemy of the reforming church. The next text, the *Conflictus Henrici et Paschalis*, narrates the bitter conflict between Pope Paschal II and the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry V, that

[169] Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, 90-91.
[170] Derolez, *The Making and Meaning of the "Liber Floridus,"* p. 94.
[171] "Horum patruus Rodbertus duxit filiam Bernardi ducis Saxonum, Gertrudem Furnis sepultam scilicet, viduam Florentii Fresonum comitis, et cum ea eius regnum obtinuit. Hic accepta a patre suo pecunia maxima, sacramento Flandriam abdicavit, quam iure hereditario fratri suo Balduino Montensi eiusque successoribusque concessit. In vita enim fratris Rodbertus siluit; sed post eius obitum traditorum auxilio Arnulfum nepotem suum comitem Flandriae apud Casel interfecit, et Balduinum fratrem Arnulfi á regno expulit illutque obtinuit." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, pp. 309-310.

was taking place as Lambert was making the codex. It extends the subject matter of the end of the genealogy, while transposing the scene of the action from Flanders to Germany.

In marked contrast to these two texts, the Palm Tree illustrates the harmonious coexistence of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. The trunk of the tree is framed by two lists, one of kings and the other of popes. These lists dwell together in harmony around the tree, which is labeled *Ecclesia*. Medieval readers would likely have recognized this as a reference to the words of the psalmist, who writes that "the righteous flourish like the palm tree, and grow like a cedar in Lebanon. They are planted in the house of the Lord; they flourish in the courts of our God."[172] The message is clear. In order for both kings and clerics to flourish, they must dwell together in harmony under the nurturing fronds of *Ecclesia*. This harmonious coexistence had broken down during the tenth and eleventh centuries, a fact that the *Genealogia* and the *Conflictus Henrici et Paschalis*, with their tales of comital and imperial assaults on ecclesiastical property and rights, illustrate perfectly. Lambert underscores this breakdown, and its dangers, by juxtaposing these works with a text on the Antichrist, perhaps suggesting, as Derolez notes, that Robert and Henry were the great enemy's forerunners.[173] Lambert was well-positioned to know about Robert the Frisian's conflicts with the reform papacy, as a canon of Saint-Omer named Enguerrand had been one of Gregory VII's key sources of information about Flanders in the early 1080s—Enguerrand had, in fact, complained to the pope directly about Robert's behavior.[174] Small wonder, then, that Robert is portrayed unfavorably in the *Liber Floridus*.

[172] Psalm 92:12-13. All references to biblical texts are from the NRSV, unless otherwise noted. This image is also found in Jeremiah 17:7-8: "Blessed are those who trust in the Lord, whose trust is the Lord. They shall be like a tree planted by water, sending out its roots by the stream. It shall not fear when heat comes, and its leaves shall stay green; in the year of drought it is not anxious, and it does not cease to bear fruit."
[173] Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, pp. 112-113.
[174] See *Das Register Gregors VII*, nos. IX.13, 33-36, pp. II.591-592, 619-629.

However, the story does not stop there. The Palm Tree also signals for the reader the importance of the text that follows the works on the Antichrist by providing clues as to how the old harmony of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* may be recovered. In the illustration, the Church speaks with the voice of Wisdom from the book of Ecclesiasticus: "Like a cedar in Lebanon and a cypress on Mount Zion, like a palm in Kadesh and a rose bush in Jericho, like an olive tree in the fields and a plane tree near water and a terebinth and a vine, I gave forth the sweetness of perfumed air."[175] This passage's reference to a "plane tree near water" evokes the language of the first psalm, in which the psalmist describes the righteous as being "like trees planted by streams of water, which yield their fruit in its season, and their leaves do not wither. In all that they do, they prosper."[176] In order to prosper, these biblical trees must be planted in particular places. Similarly, the Palm Tree in Lambert's illustration is planted in a very specific place. It rests upon Mount Zion, in "the land of Judah" [*terra Iudae*].[177] In order for *Ecclesia* to flourish, then, it must be rooted in the earthly Zion—in other words, it must stand in Jerusalem.

The First Crusade had, in Lambert's view, restored the balance between secular and lay power. The "historical texts group" of the *Liber Floridus*, from the history of the English to the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*, which follows the texts about the Antichrist, tells the story of how God raised up the counts of Flanders so that they could play a key role in this restoration. Consequently, the victorious, virtuous *Ecclesia* of the Palm Tree illustration is remarkably Flemish. Lambert records the names of three kings of Jerusalem and four Latin

[175] "Quasi cędrus in Lybano et cypressus in monte Syon et palma in Cades et plantatio rosę in Hiericho et oliva in campis et platanus iuxta aquam et terebyntus et vitis dedi suavitatem odoris." *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus*, p. 156. This is an elision of Ecclesiasticus 24:13-17.
[176] Psalm 1:3.
[177] The reference to Judah here encourages a literal reading of Mount Zion by invoking the biblical Kingdom of Judah. There is a certain resonance with Psalm 48:11 [47:12 in the Vulgate]: Let Mount Zion be glad, let the towns of Judah rejoice because of your judgments.

patriarchs of Jerusalem beneath the tree.[178] Of these seven figures, Lambert lists three of them as Flemish: Baldwin I, Arnulf, and Ehremar. Though both of the aforementioned patriarchs were indeed from Flanders, Baldwin I was the son of Count Eustace of Boulogne. Though Boulogne was in fact part of Flanders, Baldwin had spent most of his life in Lorraine and Normandy.[179] Elsewhere in the *Liber Floridus*—in the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*, for example—Baldwin is described as "Baldwin of Edessa" but never "Baldwin of Flanders."[180] Lambert decided to stretch Baldwin's Flemish credentials in order to have Flemish leaders on both the *regnum* and *sacerdotium* sides of the Palm Tree. A careful reader might well have remembered from the beginning of the book that it had also been a count of Flanders who had crowned Baldwin's older brother king in 1099.

Lambert was working in an environment in which there was particular interest in the counts and crusading. Saint-Omer, the town in which Lambert lived, was the home to a comital castle, in addition to the abbey of Saint-Bertin and the collegiate church of Saint-Omer. The motte-and-bailey fortress was a stone's throw from the church of Saint-Omer, and Lambert must certainly have met his hero, Robert II, at some point during his life. Furthermore, Saint-Bertin was a comital necropolis with strong ties to the counts. Robert the Frisian had spent Lent there in 1092, and retired there before his death in 1093.[181]

Shortly after the end of the First Crusade, the monks of Saint-Bertin had begun copying a history of the expedition. This was the first copy of the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem*

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[178] The kings are Godfrey, Baldwin I, and Baldwin II, and the patriarchs are Daimbert, Ehremar, Arnulf, and Warmund. Lambert provided spaces for the names of additional kings and patriarchs, and a later hand has added two of the former and three of the latter. In light of the fact that Baldwin II and Warmund (each of whom took office in 1118) are both recorded in Lambert's hand, Derolez dates the lists to 1118. See Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, p. 90.

[179] For details about the career of Baldwin I, see John Francis Lowe, "Baldwin I of Jerusalem: Defender of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem" (master's thesis, Portland State University, 2013), http://proxy.lib.utk.edu:90/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1418480921?accountid=14766.

[180] See, for example, *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus*, pp. 235-236.

[181] For Robert's Lenten fast, see Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, p. 111.

expugnantium, the text that Lambert would copy into his *Liber Floridus* a few years later. This history is a reworking of the first redaction of Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Iherosolymitana*, and is sometimes attributed to a cleric named Bartolf of Nangis.[182] In fact, there is no evidence that anyone named Bartolf had anything to do with the text. Derolez has recently shown that it was composed at Saint-Bertin, and that the surviving copy of it in the municipal library of Saint-Omer is the autograph of its first fifty-one chapters.[183] Lambert copied this portion of the Saint-Bertin manuscript into the *Liber Floridus*. From this point on, Derolez posits that he copied a different exemplar, and that the scribes of Saint-Bertin then copied the version in the *Liber Floridus* in order to finish their own manuscript. Rather than positing a second exemplar, it seems much easier to suggest that Lambert cooperated with the monks of Saint-Bertin in the creation of this text, a text that emphasizes the deeds of Robert II in a fashion not seen in other chronicles, and indeed not seen in later copies of the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium* itself.[184] It was not just Lambert, then, but a much wider community at Saint-Bertin that wished to commemorate the crusade and the role that their count, Robert II, had played in it.

EPILOGUE

At the end of the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*, Lambert had to find a suitable text to follow the story of the First Crusade. Derolez argues persuasively that this text was probably meant to be the *Epistola Alexandri Magni ad Aristotilem*, a famous text purporting to be written by Alexander the Great to his tutor, Aristotle, in which the general describes his

[182] See Susan B. Edgington, "The *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* of 'Bartolf of Nangis,'" *Crusades* 13 (2014), pp. 21-35.
[183] Albert Derolez, "The Abbey of Saint-Bertin, the *Liber Floridus*, and the Origin of the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*," *Manuscripta* 57, no. 1 (2013), pp. 1-28, especially pp. 24-27. The Saint-Bertin manuscript is Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 776.
[184] Derolez, "The Abbey of Saint-Bertin," p. 26.

adventures. As Derolez notes, this placement would have paired texts that described military expeditions in the East and had eschatological overtones.[185] The final folio of the quire on which the crusade chronicle is copied was originally left blank to accompany a frontispiece for this text. Though this space was eventually filled in, Lambert did create a picture of Alexander the Great later on in the *Liber Floridus* [FIGURE 1.2], which in all probability provides a rough approximation of what was intended to follow the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*.

There are two strong indications that this image is meant to depict Robert II of Flanders, or at least to suggest an association between the two figures. First, Alexander's pose in the picture bears a striking resemblance to the one depicted in the seals of both Robert the Frisian and Robert II.[186] Given Lambert's proximity to the comital castle and to Saint-Bertin, it is likely that he had seen such a seal. Equestrian seals were common—indeed, Robert the Frisian modeled his seal on that of William the Conqueror—but a reader in Saint-Omer would have been more likely to see a seal of Robert II than of any other magnate. Second, as Derolez notes, the border decoration resembles the mosaics that covered the floor under which Robert II's son, William, was buried, just down the hill from Saint-Omer in the abbey of Saint-Bertin.[187]

When William was buried in 1109, the monks created an elaborate mosaic to cover the pavement of the choir surrounding his body. Roughly a quarter of this mosaic survives at the Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin in Saint-Omer. In situ, it depicted David [FIGURE 1.3], Solomon [FIGURE 1.4], and the dead prince [FIGURE 1.5] along three of the four sides of a square, with a decorative border running around the entire choir [FIGURE 1.6]. If the border of the Alexander illustration is meant to recall the choir at Saint-Bertin, the association may help to explain a number of later changes that Lambert made to the *Liber Floridus*. Derolez notes that when

[185] Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, p. 122.
[186] For an image of Robert II's seal, see Nieus, "*Cum signo auctoritatis et excellentie mee sigillo*," p. 62.
[187] Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, p. 122.

Lambert revised and expanded his book in the late 1110s, he seems to have been particularly interested in King Solomon.[188] Perhaps this interest was spurred, in part, by the idea that the great biblical king was a forerunner of his hero, Count Robert, an idea that was inscribed on the floor at the abbey of Saint-Bertin.

Derolez stresses that many of Lambert's shortcomings as a compiler and scribe stem from the fact that he was trying to make both a rough draft of his book and a presentation copy at the same time, but he does not offer any explanation for why the canon of Saint-Omer had to finish his codex quickly. The significance that Lambert attaches to the counts of Flanders and the fact that he started work on the *Liber Floridus* immediately after Robert II's death suggest an answer. Lambert had to create a luxury codex quickly because he intended to present the codex to the new count of Flanders, Baldwin VII, in order to exhort him to imitate his great predecessor.[189] Perhaps he was inspired by the work of the monks of Saint-Bertin, or perhaps he undertook the creation of the *Liber Floridus* in collaboration with them.[190] Either way, the fact that he was still at work on the book after the death of its intended recipient in 1119 suggests that he got sidetracked. Alternately, he may have executed a fair copy of the *Liber Floridus* as it existed in around 1115, including the crucial "historical texts group," and presented it to Robert's son, keeping the autograph at Saint-Omer and refining it until his death.[191]

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[188] Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, pp. 45-57, 84-87; idem, *The Making and Meaning of the "Liber Floridus,"* p. 181.

[189] For a slightly later codex created for a very similar purpose, see Jay Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context," *Viator* 35 (2004): pp. 131-168.

[190] On the relationship between the *Liber Floridus* and Saint-Bertin, see Derolez, "The Abbey of Saint-Bertin," pp. 1-28.

[191] If there was a fair copy, it has presumably been lost—it was almost certainly not the exemplar for the Wolfenbüttel *Liber Floridus*, which is the earliest extant copy, for that manuscript does not contain the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*. For the dating of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, see Derolez, *The Making and Meaning of the "Liber Floridus,"* p. 190; for its contents, see M. Léopold Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits du « Liber floridus » de Lambert, chanoine de Saint-Omer* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), pp. 593-600.

There is another tempting possibility. Derolez has confirmed the relationship between the *Liber Floridus* and one of the manuscripts damaged in the Ashburnham House fire. He describes this manuscript, which is London, British Library, Cotton Fragments vol. 1, as a "Liber floridus primitif."[192] It is not, however, Lambert's handiwork—instead, Derolez argues that it was probably made at Saint-Bertin sometime between 1118 and 1119.[193] The thirty folios that survived the fire contain, among other things, a set of *annales* that mention the Council of Clermont, a description of Jerusalem, a map of Jerusalem very similar to the one in the *Liber Floridus*, the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*, the "Conflictus Henrici et Paschalis," the "Genealogia comitum Flandrie" (including the letter from Urban II to Robert the Frisian that Lambert copied into the *Liber Floridus*), and what Derolez calls "un texte concernant les Sibylles."[194] The final text is drawn from Isidore of Seville, and is used in the autograph of the *Liber Floridus* to introduce the famous sibylline prophecy "Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet."[195] These texts constitute the core of the "historical texts group."

Cotton Fragments vol. 1 is not a deluxe manuscript. Derolez describes is as "of a middling size, rather poorly written," noting that its ruling is uneven.[196] Its only surviving illustration is the map of Jerusalem. It seems, then, to be a poor candidate for a comital library. The timing of its creation, however, provides a justification for considering the possibility that it was meant as a gift for the count of Flanders. In 1118, Robert II's son, Count Baldwin VII, was badly wounded at the Battle of Bures-en-Brai. It quickly became clear that he would not recover

[192] Albert Derolez, "Le 'Liber Floridus' et l'enigme du manuscrit Cotton Fragments vol. 1," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 17 (1982), p. 128.
[193] Derolez, "Le 'Liber Floridus' et l'enigme du manuscrit Cotton Fragments vol. 1," pp. 127-128. Despite the later date, most of the texts copied in Cotton Fragments vol. 1 were part of the *Liber Floridus* as it probably existed in 1115.
[194] Derolez, "Le 'Liber Floridus' et l'enigme du manuscrit Cotton Fragments vol. 1," pp. 122-126.
[195] Cf. Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*, p. 79; for the same text in the *Liber Floridus*, see Ghent, Universiteits bibliotheek, MS 92, fol. 56r.
[196] "de taille médiocre, assez mal ecrits." Derolez, "Le 'Liber Floridus' et l'enigme du manuscrit Cotton Fragments vol. 1," p. 122.

from his wounds, and he was taken to Saint-Bertin, where he prepared himself for death by becoming a monk. Perhaps his arrival at the monastery spurred Lambert to collaborate with the monastic scriptorium there to quickly produce a streamlined version of the *Liber Floridus*, focusing on the "historical texts group" that tied together the histories of the counts of Flanders and the crusade, with the intention of giving it to Baldwin's heir, Charles of Denmark. The need for haste would explain both the size and the relative plainness of the manuscript, as well as its contents. There is some evidence to suggest that a copy of either the *Liber Floridus* or something like it was circulating in the county in the twelfth century, for the monks at Marchiennes created a crusading book mid-century that includes both the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium* and the "Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet."[197] While a comital copy of the *Liber Floridus* is not the only possible source for such a book, it is an appealing one.

Lambert's great work testifies to the sudden importance that crusading had assumed for the counts of Flanders in the early twelfth century. A mere twenty-five years before the First Crusade, no Flemish count had ever been to Jerusalem, and there was virtually no hint of any association between the counts and the East. By the second decade of the twelfth century, it was possible for authors within Flanders to claim seriously that their counts were, to borrow a phrase from Spielberg's *Lincoln*, "stepped out upon the world stage." Though Robert II was the crusading hero whose exploits people like Lambert were keen to remember, it was Robert the Frisian who had laid the groundwork for him, for it was the elder Robert who made the route to Jerusalem the object of, in Knappen's words, the younger Robert's "natural desire…to emulate his father."[198] Nicholas Paul has shown how important this desire was for those who took the

[197] The manuscript is Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 882. For the contents, see *Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits des Bibliothèque publiques des Départements*, vol. 6, Douai, pp. 637-643.
[198] Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade," p. 83.

road to Jerusalem after the First Crusade.[199] Robert II was special because when he left for Jerusalem in 1096, he was already following in his father's footsteps.

[199] Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, passim.

CHAPTER 2: THE SECOND MURDER
Civil War and Chivalry, 1111-1168

INTRODUCTION

On March 2, 1127, a day that was "so intensely dark and foggy that no one was able to see anything a spear's length from himself," Count Charles I of Flanders rose early, got dressed, and distributed gifts to the poor who had gathered in his house.[1] He then walked from the house to the church of Saint-Donatian, just across the courtyard of his castle at Bruges. He heard mass in the church with his chaplain, who handed him coins to give to the poor as he prayed.[2] As he was distributing these alms, just after the recitation of the Lord's Prayer at the end of the office of Terce, two groups of men set upon him, led by a knight named Borsiard. Drawing swords from beneath their cloaks, these men hacked Charles to death in a violent frenzy. They left the count's lifeless body where it lay, still oozing blood, and rushed out of the church, intent on finding and slaughtering the count's loyal retainers.[3]

Charles's murder touched off a year-long civil war that destabilized the county. A number of neighboring princes seized on this conflict as an opportunity to try to make political inroads in Flanders, including the king of France and the Holy Roman Emperor. When Thierry of Alsace emerged as the new count in 1128, he presided over a county that was scarred and deeply divided. Within a decade of his accession, however, Thierry was able to make the first of his four pilgrimages to Jerusalem. He would later participate in the Second Crusade as a trusted advisor of Louis VII of France. When Thierry died in 1168, he had been Count of Flanders for nearly four decades, and he had presided over not only a period of great economic growth and

[1] "cum dies obvenisset obscura valde et nebulosi, ita ut hastae longitudine nullus a se discernere posset rem aliquam." Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 12, p. 29.
[2] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 15, pp. 35-37.
[3] Glabert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 16, pp. 37-41.

prosperity in the county, but also the solidification of the comital crusading tradition begun by his predecessors.

The fledgling crusading tradition begun by the two Roberts between 1086 and 1099 could have waned and disappeared in the aftermath of Robert II's death, particularly given the turbulence that accompanied the reign of his son, Baldwin VII. Instead, it survived two irregular successions and a bloody civil war to find its most dramatic expression in the person of Thierry, a man described by one crusade historian as a "Holy Land addict."[4] In addition to his own dedication to Jerusalem, Thierry tried to pass on his interest in the crusading venture to his son, Philip of Alsace, whose career would be equally auspicious. By the end of Thierry's reign, crusading was an integral part of Flemish comital identity.

A Crisis of Succession: Baldwin VII and Charles the Dane

The Flemish civil war of 1127-28 grew out of the second major crisis in comital succession in a single decade. The first took place in 1119, and set the stage for the dramatic events of March 1127. Both crises were closely tied to Flemish relations with England and France and highlight the potential dangers attendant to the county's geopolitical position. Yet between them, these two crises led to the reign of the greatest Flemish crusader count, Thierry of Alsace.

Just a few years earlier, in the mid-1110s, there were few hints that any such crises would emerge. Baldwin VII had acceded to the comital office after his father's death in 1111 without incident, despite his youth—Herman of Tournai, who incorporated a history of the counts of Flanders into his book about the reform of the abbey of Saint-Martin of Tournai, says that

[4] Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006), p. 341.

Baldwin had not yet been belted a knight when he became count.[5] One key to the smooth transition was the fact that Baldwin was surrounded by savvy advisors to whom he could turn for help in governing the county. His mother Clémence, who had governed expertly during Robert II's crusade, was alive and very much a force in the county. Baldwin could also look to his cousin, Charles, for advice. Charles was the son of Cnut IV of Denmark, whose murder in 1086 had played such an important role in the birth of the Flemish crusading tradition. After Cnut's death, his wife Adele, Robert the Frisian's daughter, fled to Flanders with their oldest child, Charles, probably still an infant. Charles remained in Flanders even when his mother travelled to Apulia in 1090 to marry Roger Borsa, so Robert the Frisian was responsible for his education and military training. He probably became a knight around 1100, so by the time Baldwin VII became count Charles was already a veteran soldier in his mid-twenties with a sparkling reputation. He quickly became Baldwin's closest advisor.[6] In two charters issued at Aire in 1112, for example, his name appears first in the list of witnesses as "Charles, the son of Saint Cnut, king of the Danes."[7]

An external conflict that ultimately proved to be Baldwin's undoing. While Robert Curthose of Normandy was on his way back from Jerusalem in the company of Robert II of Flanders in 1100, his younger brother Henry had claimed the English crown. Henry later took possession of Normandy after capturing and imprisoning his older brother after the Battle of Tinchebray in 1106. This deprived Robert Curthose's son, William Clito, of his patrimony. [8] The young man's fate became something of a *cause célèbre* among the aristocracy of Northern

[5] Herman of Tournai, *De Restavratione*, c. 20, p. 58.
[6] Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, pp. viii-ix.
[7] "Karolus sancti Cnutonis Danorum regis filius." *Actes des comtes de Flandre (1071-1128)*, nos. 58-59, pp. 142-144.
[8] For an overview of Robert Curthose's career and the troubles of his son, William Clito, see Aird, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 153-273.

France in the early twelfth century. The powerful Norman lord Robert de Bellême supported William after his flight from King Henry in 1110. When Robert was captured by the king later that year, William fled to Flanders, where Baldwin welcomed him warmly. As a result, Flanders became embroiled in the cross-Channel conflicts that were distressing its western neighbor, Normandy.

Baldwin invaded Normandy on William Clito's behalf in both 1116 and 1117, withdrawing each time without making any progress against King Henry.[9] During one of these abortive campaigns, Herman of Tournai reports that the count, frustrated by Henry's unwillingness to engage him in pitched battle, took out his frustration by launching a ferocious attack on a pen of deer: "Charging straightaway with his knights with swords drawn, he rent asunder that most powerful hedge, made from logs, which held the enclosed deer, and he scattered the deer through the fields, and thus he returned to Flanders with nothing accomplished."[10] This rather derisory anecdote notwithstanding, Baldwin posed a major threat to Henry, and he won several victories when he invaded Normandy for a third time in 1118 together with Louis VI of France. While besieging the castle of Bures, however, Baldwin sustained a wound. Herman indicates that a sword blow caught him over the nose.[11] Both Herman and the Norman historian Orderic Vitalis indicate that Baldwin failed to take this wound seriously, eating heavy foods and carousing instead of convalescing. As a result, the wound gradually sapped the young count's strength, and by early 1119 he was clearly dying. He traveled to Saint-Omer, where he named Charles his successor before retiring to Saint-Bertin as a

[9] Aird, *Robert Curthose*, p. 256.
[10] "statimque cum militibus currens, gladiis evaginatis fortissimam sepem illam, que de stipitibus facta cervos reclusos tenebat, abscidit cervosque per agros dispersit, et sic nullo negocio peracto Flandriam rediit." Herman of Tournai, *De restauratione*, c. 25, p. 61.
[11] Herman of Tournai, *De restauratione*, c. 26, p. 62; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, XII.2, p. 6:190-191.

monk.[12] Days later he was dead, and the direct male line of succession established by Robert the Frisian with him.

Charles was a logical choice as a successor. He had a solid claim to the comital title, for he was a maternal grandson of the first Flemish Jerusalemite count. He was also well-known to the nobility of the county. Still, despite Baldwin's efforts to pass power smoothly to his cousin, Charles's accession was not without controversy. A powerful coalition of nobles opposed him. Baldwin's mother, Clémence, seems to have been at the center of this opposition, perhaps, as Jeff Rider notes, "because she resented the sway Charles had had over her son Baldwin VII."[13] Though his narrative does not specifically describe the relationship between Charles and Baldwin as a stumbling block for Clémence, Walter of Thérouanne does indicate that Baldwin "profited especially from the council of the lord Charles, and was instructed by his arrangements."[14] This might well have made Clémence, a powerful and adept administrator and politician in her own right, jealous. Though it is far from proof, the fact that Clémence and Charles were present together for only a few of Baldwin's forty odd charters also suggests a certain coolness between them.[15] Though Clémence and Baldwin seem to have worked together effectively throughout the latter's reign, the former seems to have lost influence to Charles between 1112 and 1119.[16] Because Clémence was a powerful landowner in the county, the lack of a close relationship with Charles was a potential problem—her land lay in the western part of

[12] Herman of Tournai, *De restauratione*, c. 26, p. 62.
[13] Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, p. x.
[14] "domni Karoli precipue consiliis usus et institutionibus instructus." Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, c. 6, pp. 31-32.
[15] For Baldwin VII's charters, see *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, nos. 52-92, pp. 130-209. Charles witnessed a transaction that Baldwin made at Clémence's request, but it is not clear that she was present when the charter was issued; cf. *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 58, pp. 142-143. Charles and Clémence only appear together in one charter, no. 74 in the *Actes*, before 1119. Clémence did, however, witness Baldwin's final charter, which Charles, styled as "successor comitis Balduini," confirmed; cf. *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 92, pp. 208-209.
[16] Penelope Ann Adair, "'Ego et uxor mea': Countess Clemence and her role in the comital family and in Flanders (1092-1133)" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa-Barbara, 1993), pp. 254-264.

the county, and while Baldwin had been prepared to shift comital priorities to defend it from Henry I of England, Charles was unlikely to do so.[17]

Clémence had little difficulty finding other nobles who were sympathetic to her cause. Several of these were men whose lands lay within Flanders, like Counts Walter of Hesdin and Hugh III of Saint-Pol. Charles had backed Baldwin's seizure of the county of Hesdin in 1111, and had received one of Hugh's castles, Encre, from his cousin in 1115 after Baldwin asserted that it was a comital possession.[18] Charles's marriage to Marguerite, which Baldwin brokered in the late 1110s, seems to have been aimed at asserting Flemish control over both Hesdin and Saint-Pol, so it is not surprising that both Walter and Hugh III were keen to oppose Charles in 1119.[19] Clémence also had the support of several magnates from outside of the county, most notably Baldwin III of Hainaut, whose grandmother Richilde had been Robert the Frisian's inveterate enemy. Baldwin's father, Baldwin II, had served with distinction on the First Crusade before disappearing in 1098, and his fate was still uncertain as late as 1106, when his wife Ida made inquiries about him during a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[20] Because Baldwin III was a direct descendant of Baldwin V of Flanders through the male line, his claim on the county was better than that of Charles, who was related to the usurper Robert the Frisian through his mother.[21] Baldwin III's brother-in-law, Thomas of Marle, a crusading hero who was perhaps better known for hanging peasants up by their testicles, was also part of Clémence's party.[22] In the end, Charles succeeded in consolidating his control over the county, but it took years, and it was not to last.

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[17] Adair, "'Ego et uxor mea'," pp. 256-262.
[18] Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, p. xi.
[19] Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, pp. xi-xii.
[20] Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 147.
[21] Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, p. xii.
[22] In the *Vita Ludovici grossi*, Suger calls Thomas "an utterly incorrigible man" [*homo perditissimus*]; idem, *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, p. 93.

During the few happy years that followed this consolidation of power, Flanders seems to have prospered. Galbert of Bruges, a cleric who was employed in the comital government and wrote a famous account of the 1127-28 civil war, indicates that the surrounding counties and kingdoms were either allied to Flanders or else feared Charles's power.[23] Within Flanders, Charles dedicated himself to both the administration of the county and to the exercise of his own military prowess.[24] Galbert notes that he fought alongside several hundred choice knights in tournaments throughout Normandy, France, and beyond in order to perfect his training and to win glory for himself and his county.[25] Herman of Tournai, who is generally critical of tournaments, says nothing about Charles's military skill, noting instead that Charles outpaced his predecessor "in prudence and caution" [*in prudentia et cautela*].[26]

In the end, Charles's personal qualities counted for relatively little, for he was not to be count for very long. The affair that would lead to his assassination began sometime in the mid-1120s. Charles had earned the thanks and goodwill of the people of Flanders by using comital supplies of grain to alleviate a famine that had struck the county in 1124.[27] Perhaps hoping to capitalize on this newfound popularity, Charles began to make inquiries into the question of whether there were any people of servile status in the county who were passing themselves off as freemen.[28] These inquiries posed a particular threat to the powerful Erembald clan, one of the most important families in the county—indeed, the Erembalds may have been the targets behind

[23] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 4, p. 13.
[24] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 4-7, pp. 10-19.
[25] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 4, p. 13.
[26] Herman of Tournai, *De restauratione*, c. 26, p. 62. Herman is generally critical of tournaments—for example, he devotes an entire chapter of the *De restauratione* to the story of how Henry of Brabant was accidentally killed while jousting with a friend; Herman of Tournai, *De restauratione*, c. 17, p. 56.
[27] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 62.
[28] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 7, pp. 16-19.

Charles's decision to raise the issue in the first place.[29] As David Nicholas notes, "it seems clear that their status was an open secret among the other potentates and that none was particularly bothered by it until Charles raised the issue."[30]

By the mid-1120s, the Erembalds had been at the center of Flemish politics for decades. The patriarch of the family had been the castellan of Bruges, the center of comital government, before the accession of Robert the Frisian, and his descendants continued to hold the post.[31] They were also heavily involved in the financial and administrative affairs of the county. Bertulf, who was one of Erembald's five sons, had been provost of the Church of Saint-Donatian since 1091, and in that capacity was chancellor of Flanders and thus the rough equivalent of the county's chief financial officer.[32] Consequently, Bertulf was a man of considerable influence, and the Erembalds were second in power in Flanders only to the count himself. As Jeff Rider notes in *God's Scribe*, Charles was, in all probability, far less interested in the legal status of the Erembald family than he was in curbing their social and institutional power in the county.[33]

Galbert reports that Charles only learned of their servile status after a knight in his retinue refused to accept a challenge from one of them on the grounds that he would not fight a man of lower social status.[34] Galbert says that Bertulf and his family grieved when their servile status was revealed. Walter of Thérouanne, who otherwise tells a similar story, says instead that "for this reason, the whole clan of the provost [Bertulf] burned in intolerable anger against Count

[29] R.C. Van Caenegem argues that the inquiries were politically expedient; see idem, "Galbert of Bruges and 'Law is Politics,'" in *Galbert of Bruges and the Historiography of Medieval Flanders*, ed. Jeff Rider and Alan V. Murray (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), pp. 39-55.
[30] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 62-63.
[31] Rider, *God's Scribe*, pp. 11-12.
[32] Rider, *God's Scribe*, p. 12. David Nicholas also uses the language of "chief financial officer" to refer to Bertulf; see Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 62.
[33] Rider, *God's Scribe*, p. 66.
[34] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 7, pp. 18-19.

Charles and his knight."[35] Walter's account of the emotional response of the Erembalds rings a bit truer than Galbert's, particularly in light of the fact that the family may not actually have been of servile status at all.[36] In any case, by the time Charles was prepared to press his claim over them, the Erembalds had decided to defend themselves with arms. They reportedly brought three thousand men-at-arms to court on the day that Charles was to inquire into their status, preventing Charles from pronouncing against them for fear of violence.[37]

Events would prove that his challenge to the clan's social status was a grave miscalculation. Faced with the open defiance that accompanied his initial attempts to cow them, Charles looked for a new avenue of attack. It opened quickly when, in early 1127, one of Bertulf's nephews, Borsiard, entered into open warfare with Thancmar, another noble whose family came from Bruges. When a group of peasants whose possessions had been destroyed in the fighting presented their case to Charles at Ypres in February 1127, he decided, with the advice of his councilors, to burn Borsiard's house to the ground.[38] Having done so, he continued on to Bruges.

Charles would never leave Bruges again. He was assassinated on March 2, 1127 by a group of knights, perhaps a dozen, led by Borsiard and Isaac, who were Bertulf's nephews, and by the provost's brother, Wulfric Cnop.[39] These members of the Erembald clan were joined by other Flemish knights who were unhappy with Charles and his administration of the county. After slaying the count, they spent the rest of the day running down the count's allies and searching the comital castle in Bruges for his erstwhile supporters.[40] The castellan of Bourbourg

[35] "Quamobrem omnis illa prepositi cognatio in intolerabilem aduersus comitem Karolum et militem illum exarsit iram." Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, c. 16, p. 43.
[36] Rider, *God's Scribe*, p. 66.
[37] Rider, *God's Scribe*, p. 12.
[38] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 10, pp. 22-25.
[39] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 11, pp. 24-25; Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, c. 25, p. 49.
[40] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 16-21, pp. 36-53.

and Walter of Loker were among their most prominent victims—the latter's discovery and death are described in particularly vivid detail in Galbert's *De multro*.

The details of the subsequent course of events are well-known from Galbert's account in the *De multro*, and do not merit further attention here. The Erembalds were ultimately trapped in the comital castle in Bruges, where they endured a long siege conducted by the people of Bruges and Ghent. There was little coordination between these two groups, who openly fought each other during the siege. Some of the Erembalds managed to escape from the castle but were later captured and killed. Galbert provides an especially vivid description of the execution of Bertulf, who, after being dragged through the streets of Ypres, was stripped, hung on a gallows, pelted with stones, torn with iron hooks, and ultimately strangled with the entrails of a dog. Galbert explains the symbolism of the last element of the execution for anyone in his audience who might have missed it: "Therefore the crowd of men from Ypres, burning for the death of the provost, twisted the entrails of a dog around his neck and set the mouth of the dog next to his mouth as he breathed out his vital spirit, equating the man and his deeds with the dog."[41] Bertulf's execution took place on April 11. A few weeks later, on May 5, twenty-eight other conspirators, including Wulfric Cnop, were executed by being pushed, one at a time, from the tower of the count's house in Bruges.[42] As it turned out, these executions were but the opening salvos in what would be a particularly brutal war.

Amid the succession crises and civil war of the 1110s and 1120s, crusading played a small but crucial role. Its importance is most clearly visible in the way that it shaped the relationship between Charles and Baldwin. Baldwin seems to have admired Charles and looked

[41] "Iprensium igitur turba, furens in mortem praepositi, canis viscera contorserat circa collum ejus et os canis ad os ejus jam vitalem spiritum expirantis opposuerunt aequiparantes cani ipsum et facta ipsius." Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 57, p. 109.
[42] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 81, pp. 132-133.

up to him. A number of factors doubtless contributed to the young count's affection for his older cousin. Charles would have been a teenager while Robert II was away on the First Crusade, and he may have served as a father figure to Baldwin. Charles may also have had a hand in some of Baldwin's military training. But it is also likely that Baldwin admired Charles because of his status as a crusader.

Like his uncle Robert II, Charles went to the Levant early in his career, sometime around 1108. Walter of Thérouanne discusses the future count's journey to Jerusalem in terms similar to those used to discuss the First Crusade:

> Moreover this Charles of ours, a mature man, with the years of his boyhood at an end, after he received the belt of knighthood, went to holy Jerusalem, having vowed to visit the Sepulchre of the Lord, and there, bearing arms against the pagans, the enemies of our faith, he soldiered strenuously for a considerable time for Christ the Lord, and he dedicated the first-fruits of his labors and deeds to the one who, he perceived, ought to be served before all others.[43]

Charles returned to Flanders, where his uncle Robert II received him with honor shortly before his own death.[44] This means that his journey must have been complete just before October 1111. A contingent from Flanders went to the East in 1107-08. Albert of Aachen reports that this group included men from Denmark, Flanders, and Antwerp, and Charles may have traveled with them.[45]

The journey to Jerusalem must have enhanced Charles's standing at court. In particular, the act of going on crusade cemented the association between Charles and his uncle. As discussed in Chapter 1, Robert's crusading pedigree mattered a great deal within the county.

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[43] "Hic autem noster Karolus, annis puericię transactis, adultus, postquam milicię cingulum accepit, Ierusalem sanctam sepulchrum dominicum uisitaturus deuotus adiuit, ibique aduersum paganos fidei nostrę inimicos arma ferens, Christo Domino aliquanto tempore strenue militauit, et ei cui pre omnibus seruiendum esse prudenter aduertebat suorum primitias laborum et actuum dedicauit." Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, c. 3, p. 30.
[44] Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, c. 5, p. 31.
[45] Jeff Rider surveys the possibilities for the dating of Charles's journey in Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, p. viiin3. 1107-08 was originally suggested by James Bruce Ross in his 1960 translation of the *De multro*. For the expedition, see Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, X.i, p. 719

Reminders of his prowess on crusade remained inscribed on the county's landscape and its collective memory after his death. The arm of Saint George preserved at Anchin and Robert's tomb at Saint-Vaast were both powerful witnesses to the deeds he had done beyond the sea, as was the monastery he had dedicated to Saint Andrew near Bruges.[46] Books like the *Liber Floridus* presented Robert as a leader on par with the dukes of Normandy and kings of England and connected his standing to the First Crusade. By associating himself with Robert, who received his cousin with honor after his return from Jerusalem, Charles staked a claim to that legacy—perhaps Charles's exploits in Jerusalem helps to explain why there were many in Flanders who desired to have Charles as count even while Baldwin was still alive.[47] Galbert also asserts that the journey affected Charles's character: "Through the need and poverty of the pilgrimage, the pious manservant of the Lord learned, as he often mentioned while sitting at court, in what great indigence the paupers toil, by what pride the wealthy are puffed up, and finally by what misery the whole world is troubled."[48] Galbert goes on to attribute the count's continued commitment to the poor to his crusading experience.

By the time he became count in 1111, then, Baldwin had two close relatives who were distinguished crusaders. Respect and admiration for crusaders may help to explain why Baldwin was so vigorous in his support for William Clito. Their fathers had, after all, gone to Jerusalem together. It is clear that he was mindful of the importance of crusading, for he invoked his father's pedigree in a charter issued at Saint-Bertin as he lay dying in 1119, styling himself "the son of count Robert, who, along with the other princes of the army of Christians, conquered the

[46] Nicholas Paul refers to the role that these memorials played in creating a "burden of memory" for the young Baldwin VII; see idem, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, pp. 43-44.
[47] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 1, p. 5.
[48] "In qua peregrinationis necessitate et angustia didicit pius Domini vernaculus, sicut in comitatu sedens saepe retulit, quanta egestate pauperes laborarent, qua superbia divites extollerentur, et tandem quota totus mundus miseria concuteretur." Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 12, p. 31.

Sepulcher of the Lord and Jerusalem by means of his arms, with God helping."[49] Baldwin draws parallels in this charter between his father's achievements abroad and his own efforts to defend local churches as ways of gaining the intercession of the saints after his death. It seems that Baldwin had crusading on his mind right at the end of his life. As Nicholas Paul notes, he "must have wished that like his cousin and successor Charles of Denmark, who was present with him when he enacted his deathbed charter, he had taken the cross in the year he received the belt of knighthood."[50]

Though neither Baldwin VII nor Charles the Good actually went on crusade as count of Flanders, they contributed to the development of the comital crusading tradition nevertheless. By failing to take his duties as count seriously, at least in the eyes of those contemporaries who wrote about him, Baldwin VII provided a warning to later counts. The contrast between his failure and the knightly credentials of Charles the Good were definitely noticed—as we have seen, Herman of Tournai points them out explicitly. Galbert of Bruges and Walter of Thérouanne both emphasize Charles's crusading credentials, and the former stresses the fact that the citizens of Jerusalem were sufficiently impressed with him to offer him the crown in the mid-1120s. As a result, the stage was appropriately set for the accession of the greatest Flemish crusader count.

CIVIL WAR AND THE ACCESSION OF THIERRY OF ALSACE

In the 1140s, as he looked back on the turbulent period between 1127 and 1128, Herman of Tournai blamed Robert the Frisian. According to Herman, after Arnulf's death in 1071, Robert had sent legates to Henry IV of Germany to seek an alliance with the empire as a safeguard against possible interference from the king of France. As these legates neared the city of Cologne, they met "a certain matron, noble and unknown" [*quaedam matron honesta et*

[49] "filius Roberti comitis qui sepulcrum Domini et Jerusalem cum ceteris principibus militie christianorum, Deo cooperante, armis suis devicit." *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 87, p. 195.
[50] Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, p. 44.

ignota], who asked them who they were, where they were going, and what business they were about.[51] When the legates refused to answer her questions, the mysterious matron revealed that she already knew that they were emissaries from Robert the Frisian, who, "having trampled underfoot the oath that he had sworn to his father regarding his brother," had killed his brother's son and usurped the county, and that they were seeking an alliance with Henry.[52] She went on to prophesy success for their expedition.

The unknown woman, however, also made a second prophecy, one touching upon the future of Robert's line:

> Know…that Robert himself, with his son, will possess Flanders peacefully, but his grandson, who will be born from his own son, will die without children. A certain handsome youth, coming from Dacia, will succeed him—he too, however, will die without offspring. After him, two others will contend over Flanders, and one of them will kill the other. The victor will secure Flanders and his heirs will possess Flanders all the way to the time of Antichrist.[53]

Herman claims to have heard this story himself from a monk of Canterbury named Baldwin when he was a little boy—apparently this Baldwin had once been the advocate of the city of Tournai, and was one of the legates who heard the prophecies. This seems difficult to believe, given how prescient the woman's predictions are. Regardless of the prophecy's origin, its presence in Herman's *De restauratione* testifies to the enduring association of Robert the Frisian and dynastic crises in Flemish memory. Galbert of Bruges also attributed the events of 1119 and 1127 to Robert's ancient sin.

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[51] Herman of Tournai, *Liber de Restauratione ecclesie sancti Martini Tornacensis*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), c. 13, p. 50. Future references to the *De restauratione* will include chapter and page numbers.
[52] "qui iuramentum, quod patri suo pro germano suo fecerat, pretergressus." Herman of Tournai, *De restauratione*, c. 13, p. 50.
[53] "'Sciatis…ipsumque Robertum cum filio suo Flandriam pacifice possessurum, sed nepotem suum, qui ex filio suo genitus fuerit, sine prole moriturum; cui succedet quidam pulcher iuvenis de Dacia veniens, qui tamen et ipse sine prole morietur; post quem duo alii contendent de Flandria alterque eorum alterum interficiet et victor Flandriam obtinebit ipsiusque heredes Flandriam possidebunt usque ad tempus Antichristi.'" Herman of Tournai, *De restauratione*, c. 13, p. 51.

In the end, however, the man who secured Flanders did so because, not in spite, of Robert the Frisian. This man was Thierry of Alsace, who was count of Flanders at the time that Herman of Tournai was writing his account of the civil war. Thierry was a late entrant to the contest for Flanders. Initially, the Erembalds had offered the position to William of Ypres, grandson of Robert the Frisian. However, the ultimate capture and near destruction of the family forced William to distance himself from them. Meanwhile, Louis VI had seized upon the death of Charles the Good as an opportunity to extend French royal influence over Flanders. He summoned the Flemish barons to a summit in Arras in March 1127, where he convinced them to accept William Clito as their count, rather than William of Ypres. The king and the new count also won the support of the burghers of Flanders by promising exemptions from several taxes.[54]

Almost immediately, however, things began to go wrong for William Clito. Even before the summit at Arras, Galbert of Bruges informs us that Thierry had staked his claim to the county by sending a letter to Flemish nobles.[55] Thierry's familial claims were predictably tangled. He was the eldest child from Duke Thierry II of Lorraine's second marriage, to Gertrude of Flanders, the daughter of Robert the Frisian. When Thierry II died in 1115, his half-brother Simon became duke of Lorraine, and Thierry became the lord of Bitche, in Alsace.[56] As Robert the Frisian's grandson, Thierry had a far better claim to Flanders than did William Clito, who was in no way related to the hereditary counts who had ruled the county for centuries. He was also less objectionable than William of Ypres, a bastard who had thrown in his lot with the Erembalds after the assassination. Though Thierry's letter arrived too late to affect the council at

[54] This summary of events is based upon Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 62-66.
[55] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 47, pp. 97-98.
[56] Thérèse de Hemptinne and Michel Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre: Biographie et actes," *Annales de l'Est* 43 (1991), pp. 83-84.

Arras—Galbert tells us that the barons thought it fraudulent, and ignored it[57]—the legitimacy of his claim made him an appealing candidate for those who did not care for the French candidate, William Clito. This party grew throughout 1127, first as the result of the machinations of King Henry I of England, who could not allow the son of his imprisoned older brother to become the count of such a wealthy and strategically-positioned county as Flanders, and later as William Clito reneged on his promises to the burghers of Flanders, who gradually withdrew their support. By the early spring of 1128, most of the northern towns had abandoned the Norman and given their approval to Thierry.[58]

Even so, the war initially went quite badly for Thierry. Most of the Flemish nobility continued to back William Clito, who won a major victory over his Alsatian rival at Axspoele in June 1128. Even within the northern towns, where sentiment favored Thierry, there were still pockets of dissension. Galbert of Bruges, for example, thought Thierry's election illegitimate, arguing in the *De multro* that only God could depose political leaders, even if those leaders broke faith with their subjects, as William Clito had.[59] Galbert was so committed to this position that he seems to have abandoned work on his history after Clito's death. As Jeff Rider has suggested, Galbert's decision not to revise the end of the history was the result of his differences of opinion with the townspeople of Bruges, for whom he had originally written the *De multro*. When it became clear to Galbert that Thierry had won, and that his conclusions about William Clito's legitimacy would put him on "the wrong side of history," he stopped working.[60]

[57] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 47, pp. 97-98.
[58] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 64-65.
[59] For an analysis of Galbert's position, see Rider, *God's Scribe*, pp. 142-183.
[60] Rider, *God's Scribe*, pp. 184-201. Though the *De multro* ends with an argument that Thierry's claim had been more just all along since he was descended from Robert the Frisian, and thus that William had actually usurped the throne from Thierry rather than the other way around, it lacks the conviction of Galbert's earlier, carefully crafted conclusions about William's right to the county; cf. Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, c. 121, pp. 168-169.

In the end, Thierry won the civil war as a result of chance—or, in Galbert's estimation, divine providence—rather than skill. Shortly after his defeat at Axspoele, Thierry was forced to retreat to Aalst, to which William promptly laid siege. Just when matters looked bleakest, William suffered a wound in battle. The wound became infected with gangrene, and William died at the end of July 1128. Thierry was left as the last man standing. Galbert closes his narrative by reporting that he was formally invested with the county by both the king of France and the German emperor, though the latter event did not take place until 1130.[61] The second succession crisis in a half-century was over, and Thierry of Alsace was count of Flanders.

THIERRY, THE CISTERCIANS, AND THE CRUSADES IN FLANDERS, 1128-1164

As Thérèse de Hemptinne and Michel Parisse note in their short biographical article, Thierry of Alsace was "un candidat irrécusable" for the office of count during the great crisis of 1127.[62] Once William Clito died in 1128, his claim to the county was essentially uncontested, and even those who could have caused trouble for him, like Clémence of Burgundy or Gertrude of Holland—Robert II's widow and mother, respectively—accepted his accession.[63] Consequently, he enjoyed a relatively free hand within Flanders from the very beginning of his reign. However, he operated under constraint with regard to his relations with his neighbors, especially England. One of the keys to Thierry's ability to advance his claim to Flanders had been his willingness to guarantee the rights of the towns and cities of the county. This marked an important development in the history of the county. As Nicholas notes, "no one could function as count in Flanders from this time on without the consent of the towns."[64] In practical terms, this meant that it was in Thierry's best interests not only to protect the rights and prerogatives of his

[61] Galbert of Bruges, *De* multro, c. 122, p. 169; De Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace," p. 87.
[62] De Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace," p. 84.
[63] De Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace," pp. 87-88.
[64] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 66.

burgeoning cities, but also to pursue foreign and domestic policies that ensured their continuing prosperity. For example, he needed to maintain good relations with England for the sake of the Flemish wool industry, which was dependent on cross-Channel trade.[65] Like his predecessors, Thierry needed a way to enhance his social and political prestige in Flanders that would not draw him into conflict with his powerful neighbors. Crusading provided him with such an opportunity.

Thierry of Alsace was the most prolific of the medieval Flemish crusader counts. He made four separate journeys to the Holy Land and seems to have intended to embark on a fifth expedition in the early 1140s, which he abandoned for reasons unknown.[66] A number of scholars have noted his commitment to crusading, but not its connection to his political, legal, and religious priorities within the county of Flanders.[67] A close examination of Thierry's charters and of his crusading activity reveals that crusading was a major part of his successful program of Flemish government.

From the very beginning of Thierry's tenure as count, the intersection between crusade and domestic government were on display. For example, Thierry issued a charter at Cassel in September 1128, mere months after William Clito's death, in which he bestowed on the Knights Templar a donation made on behalf of both his dead ancestors, those men who had died on his behalf in the civil war, and—surprisingly—William Clito:

> In the eleven hundred twenty-eighth year from the incarnation of the son of God, with King Louis [VI] holding the *imperium* of the Franks, and with Bishop John of Morini (or Thérouanne) presiding in Flanders, in the ninth year from the creation of the Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon, I, Thierry, by divine grace count of Flanders, give and concede a certain funerary gift which we call the "relief of Flanders"

[65] Renée Nip, "The Political Relations between England and Flanders (1066-1128)," *Anglo Norman Studies* 21 (1998), pp. 165-167.
[66] De Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace," p. 98.
[67] David Nicholas, for example, notes that "[c]rusading enhanced the prestige of the Flemish counts…The Flemish involvement with the East becomes more serious with Thierry of Alsace." Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 71. Nicholas Paul singles out the counts of Flanders as a noble family for whom crusading was an especially important feature of *honor* and family tradition; Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp. 39-47.

> [*relicus Flandrie*], to the Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon, and, by hereditary right, to their successors, for the salvation of the soul of my uncle, Count Robert, and of Count Baldwin, his son, and likewise of Count Charles, as well as for the redemption of my own soul, and also of Count William, and of all my predecessors—likewise, for those departed ones who died in my service under arms.[68]

That Thierry chose to make this commemoratory donation at Saint-Pierre at Cassel despite the fact that it was not the canons of Saint-Pierre who were receiving the donation suggests that he wished to associate his gift with the memory of Robert the Frisian, who had founded the church in an act that was similarly aimed at the spiritual wellbeing of his forebears, including forebears who had died in civil wars. Surely it is also significant that Robert the Frisian's name is prominently absent in the list of predecessors on whose behalf Thierry made his gift, given that he owed his claim to Flanders to his descent from Robert.

In this charter, Thierry simultaneously associates himself with and distances himself from both Robert the Frisian and the former count's twin legacies of nepotocide and pilgrimage. The choice of Saint-Pierre invokes Robert's effort to make amends after the civil war of 1071, and perhaps also his trip to Jerusalem, since the church was founded just before his departure. The fact that the Templars were the beneficiaries of this gift would, in conjunction with Thierry's explicit mention of his close relationship to Robert II, have highlighted the crusading legacy of the earlier counts and connected Thierry to it. Hugh de Payns, the first Master of the Temple, and two of the other original Templars, Godfrey of Saint-Omer and Payen de Montdidier, were

[68] "Anno ab incarnato Dei filio M C^{o} XX^{o}VIII^{o}, Lodovico rege tenente Francorum imperium, Johanne Morinorum vel Tahurane episcopo episcopante in Flandria, anno IX ab institucione comilitonum Christi Templique Salomonis, ego Terricus, divina gratia comes Flandrie, quoddam funeste munus, quod relicum Flandrie vocamus, comilitonibus Christi et Templi Salomonis, pro salute anime avunculi mei, comitis Roberti, atque comitis Baldoini, filii eius, necnon comitis Karoli, insuper pro redencione anime mee, atque comitis Willelmi, necnon omnium antecessorum meorum, do et iure hereditario successoribus eorum concedo, illis tantum remotis qui in servicio meo cum armis obierint." *De Oorkondon der Graven van Vlaanderen (Juli 1128-Septeber 1191)*, II. Uitgave, Band I, *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas (Juli 1128-17 Januari 1168)*, ed. Thérèse de Hemptinne and Adriaan Verhulst (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1988), no. 3, p. 18. Future references to this volume will be to the *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, and will include both charter and page numbers. The precise nature of the "relief of Flanders" is obscure. I have followed de Hemptinne and Verhulst, who refer to it as "le droit dit relief de Flandre;" cf. "DiBe 3948," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed March 3, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=3948.

witnesses to the charter, underscoring the Jerusalem connection. At the same time, Thierry's failure to mention Robert the Frisian by name signals his understanding of his grandfather's fraught legacy. Unlike Robert, Thierry names his dead predecessor in his charter as an explicit beneficiary of his largesse. Thus Thierry presents himself as a pious knight, concerned with Jerusalem and aware of his place within a proud lineage of Flemish counts stretching back to Robert the Frisian, but also as someone fundamentally different from that kin-killing count. This drama, played out in front of what was no doubt a large group of people at Saint-Pierre, was intended to communicate to the people of Flanders that he shared the penitential priorities of his predecessors, but not their sins.

Thierry's charter takes on added meaning when put in historical, chronological context. The civil war of 1127-28 had marked the end of an era in which the count of Flanders was unrivalled for his political influence within the county. The towns, while increasingly powerful during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, had not been able to directly check comital authority. In 1127, however, they had successfully pressed William Clito for recognition of certain rights, including exemption from having to pay the tax known as tonlieu to the count.[69] The Norman claimant's subsequent revocation of these rights was the main reason why the towns switched their allegiance to Thierry. The townspeople had even insisted that Louis VI respect these rights.[70] This was, then, a momentous occasion, one that François-Louis Ganshof described as the beginning of "une période toute nouvelle." As Ganshof writes at the very end of his study of Flanders under its early counts, after the civil war "le comte, les villes et le roi, tels

[69] François-Louis Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes*, 3rd ed. (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1949), pp. 117-124. The burghers also won the right to have a voice in the election of a new count in the event that a future count died without an heir.
[70] Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes*, pp. 123-124.

seront les facteurs essentiels de l'histoire politique de la Flandre jusqu'à la fin du XIV^{me} siècle."[71]

It is a mark of Thierry's political acumen that he understood how important the towns were to twelfth-century Flanders.[72] He may have been aided by the examples of his predecessors. The contrast between William Clito's disdain for the rights of the towns and the support for the towns that the counts since Robert the Frisian had pursued was evident. Robert II had been a particularly ardent defender of urban liberties, and had taken pains to promote peace in the county in order to facilitate trade, but Robert the Frisian and Charles the Good had also used the *pax Dei* and *truga Dei* to protect commerce.[73] So, while the extension of legal rights to the towns was new, the tenor of Thierry's policy toward them was not. In the same way, Thierry seized upon the growing popularity of the Templars, and the Flemish identity of one of the original knights, to craft a public demonstration of his commitment to crusading a full decade before he set foot himself in the Holy Land.

The Cassel charter issued on behalf of the Templars in September 1128 provides strong evidence that Thierry was already invoking the crusading tradition of his predecessors at the beginning of his reign. He furthered this connection to crusading several years after the death of his first wife, Swanhilde, in 1132 by marrying Sybilla of Anjou in 1138.[74] Sybilla was the daughter of Fulk of Anjou, who had been king of Jerusalem since 1131, and had lived in the Kingdom of Jerusalem for many years. Within a year of this marriage, Thierry had departed on the first of his four trips to the Levant. There is no explicit evidence that his new wife

[71] Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes*, p. 124.
[72] In addition to Ganshof, a number of other scholars have noted how important the emerging towns were to the general prosperity of the county; see Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 66, and Nip, "The Political Relations between England and Flanders," p. 167.
[73] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 60-61.
[74] William of Tyre notes this marriage in his *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*. See William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), XIV.1, p. 631. All references to the *Historia* will include book, chapter, and page numbers.

encouraged this course of action, but it seems likely that she was a catalyst for it, if not the outright cause.

Thierry left on this first journey east in 1138 and returned in 1139. While he was away Sybilla issued charters on his behalf.[75] William of Tyre notes that Thierry arrived in Jerusalem in the summer of 1139, "with a distinguished company of noble men."[76] Fulk and his advisors decided to take advantage of the arrival this force to besiege a stronghold near Mount Galaad, from which bandits were in the habit of raiding the countryside.[77] The expedition was something of a fiasco, for though the Christian forces succeeded in capturing the stronghold, the Turks took advantage of the army's preoccupation and launched a raid deep in the kingdom, sacking several cities and defeating a force of Christians led by Bernard Vacher and Robert the Burgundian, Master of the Temple at the time. William ends his account of this episode by noting that war sometimes brings victory and at other times defeat, and by reporting that Thierry and the others who besieged the stronghold at Mount Galaad returned "with glory and triumph."[78] Since he says nothing further about Thierry until his account of the Second Crusade, and since Thierry was back in Flanders by the end of the year, it seems that the Flemish count returned home straightaway.

Shortly after Thierry's return home from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, he and Sybilla took steps that wove crusading deeper into the fabric of Flemish society. During Thierry's absence, Sybilla had granted a sizeable tract of land near Ramskapelle to the monks of Ten Duinen ["the Dunes"]. [79] Ten Duinen was a relatively recent foundation, to which Thierry himself had also

[75] *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, nos. 46-49, pp. 82-87.
[76] "cum honesto nobilium virorum comitatu." William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XV.6, p. 681.
[77] William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XV.6, pp. 681-682.
[78] "cum gloria et triumpho." William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XV.6, p. 684.
[79] *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no.46, pp. 82-84.

made several gifts in the mid-1130s.[80] In 1138, while Thierry was in the east, Abbot Fulk decided that he wanted to reform the abbey by ceding it to Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercians.[81] As it happened, there were a number of Flemish monks at Clairvaux, perhaps as many as thirty, who had been inspired by Bernard of Clairvaux's 1131 visit to Flanders and had, under the leadership of one Gunfrid, travelled to the saint's monastery to join his order.[82] When Fulk arrived at Clairvaux, Bernard designated one of the Flemings, Robert of Bruges, to succeed him as abbot of Ten Duinen. He also sent Gunfrid back to Flanders with Robert. All of this was done with Sybilla's blessing—indeed, she would prove a constant champion of monastic reform throughout her reign as countess.[83] Thus when Thierry returned from Jerusalem, he found Ten Duinen transformed into a Cistercian house. Furthermore, Sybilla had communicated to Bernard her interest in having another Cistercian house in the county.[84] Thierry must have been amenable to this desire, for in 1140 he founded another Cistercian monastery, Clairmarais, just a few miles from the comital castle at Saint-Omer.

The Cistercian presence in Flanders was to play an important role in recruitment for the Second Crusade. In the aftermath of the fall of Edessa in December 1144, Eugenius III worked with Louis VII and Bernard of Clairvaux to put together a new crusading expedition. Thierry witnessed the fruit of their preparation at Vézelay on Easter of 1146, when Bernard preached the crusade and Louis took the cross publicly before all of his most important nobles.[85] He may also have been in attendance at Louis's Christmas court at Bourges in 1145, when the young king

[80] Ten Duinen was founded in 1107. Thierry granted the monks two pastures near the castle of Ruhout to Ten Duinen for sheep-grazing in 1136, a donation which he confirmed the following year while making other gifts to the monastery. See *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, nos. 31 & 37, pp. 64-65, 71.
[81] Henri de Laplane, *Les abbés de Clairmarais* (Saint-Omer: Imprimerie Fleury-Lemaire, 1868), pp. 10-11.
[82] deLaplane, *Les abbés de Clairmarais*, pp. 5-8.
[83] de Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre," pp. 90-91.
[84] deLaplane, *Les abbés de Clairmarais*, p. 12.
[85] "Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici VII," *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Léopold Delisle, vol. 12 (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1877), p. 126.

first revealed his interest in crusading to his courtiers.[86] Indeed, given Thierry's status at the French court and the role that he subsequently played on the Second Crusade, it seems likely that he was at Bourges. As Jay Rubenstein has shown, Louis received a crusade history from a French knight in 1137 that told the triumphant story of the First Crusade, and specifically urged the king to emulate the deeds of his ancestors, naming Robert II of Flanders prominently among them.[87] Given this connection and the fact that Thierry had recently been on crusade himself, it is likely that Louis would have invited Thierry to Bourges. In any case, Thierry was certainly at Vézelay—the anonymous *Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici VII*, written around 1165, lists Thierry among the *optimates* who joined their king and queen in taking the cross there.[88]

By late summer 1146, Thierry had been joined in Flanders by Bernard of Clairvaux himself. Since Easter, Bernard had been busy writing letters and organizing preaching tours of France, Germany, and the Low Countries, all to recruit for the crusade.[89] As Jonathan Phillips notes, the precise dates of Bernard's visit to Flanders are impossible to establish, but he is mentioned in a charter issued at Ghent on August 14 and another issued in nearby Brabant on October 18, so it seems that he spent at least two months there.[90] He must certainly have passed much of this time at the three major Cistercian monasteries of Vaucelles, Ten Duinen, and Clairmarais.[91] In addition to his role in the conversion of Ten Duinen and the foundation of

[86] As Jonathan Phillips points out, there is no known list of who was present at Bourges in December 1145; see Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 66.
[87] Jay Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context," pp. 133-144. For the relevant passage in the manuscript given to Louis, see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 14378, fol. 1vb.
[88] "Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici VII," p. 126.
[89] For a summary of Bernard's activities, see Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 68-98.
[90] Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 81.
[91] Dom Pitra, "Documents sur un voyage de saint Bernard en Flandres," *Patrologia Latina* 185 (Paris, 1854), col. 1812D; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 82-83.

Clairmarais, Bernard had personally laid the foundation stone of Vaucelles at Cambrai in 1132.[92] He also visited the important Benedictine abbeys of Saint-Bertin and Afflighem.[93]

For at least part of Bernard's preaching tour, Thierry was in the abbot's company. A charter dated August 14, which records Thierry's confirmation of "many privileges, immunities, and liberties" [*multa privilegia, immunitates, et franchisias*] for the canons of Saint-Pharailde [Sint-Veerlekerk] in Ghent, relates that "[f]or this reason [i.e., the confirmation] he was praised by the lord Bernard, who had come from France to preach the cross against the Sarracens in Brabant and Flanders."[94] Bernard also witnessed charters for Thierry benefitting religious houses at Ypres and Furnes, probably issued in those churches.[95] All across Flanders, Bernard appeared in concert with Count Thierry, approving his pious gifts to monasteries and churches and preaching the crusade as he did so. Given the distances between Ghent, Ypres, and Furnes, Thierry must have spent a great deal of time with Bernard.

Thierry's proximity to the great Cistercian crusade champion reinforced his prestige and crusading credentials within the county. Bernard's public praise of his piety—and no doubt of his commitment to the crusade, as well—would have been particularly dramatic at the church of Saint-Pharailde in Ghent. The location of the twelfth-century church is unknown, but in the early thirteenth century the canons moved into a building that had formerly been the bailey of the comital castle in Ghent [the Gravensteen], right next door to the parts of the castle on the old motte, which Thierry himself had renovated. It seems likely, based on the proximity between castle and church at other comital residences, like Saint-Omer, that the original church of Saint-

[92] On Vaucelles, see Kathryn E. Salzer, *Vaucelles Abbey: Social, Political, and Ecclesiastical Relationships in the Borderland Region of the Cambrésis, 1131-1300* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).
[93] Pitra,"Documents sur un voyage de saint Bernard en Flandres," cols. 1812D-1816C.
[94] "Ideoque per dominum Bernardum laudatus qui ex Francia advenerat predicaturus Crucem contra Sarracenos in Brabantia et Flandria." *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no.90, p. 150.
[95] *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, nos. 91-92, pp. 151-152.

Pharailde also adjoined the castle. By praising Thierry in such a context, Bernard was placing his stamp of approval not only on the gift itself, but also on Thierry's administration of the county, an administration that was based, like the crusade itself, on the cooperation of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*.

The public nature of the donations and confirmations that Thierry issued between August 1146 and his departure for the East in June 1147 was important even after Bernard of Clairvaux had left Flanders and made his way into Brabant, for each act offered the count an opportunity to present himself to his subjects as both a pious crusader and a powerful political figure. In some cases, Thierry did this explicitly. In the charter issued on behalf of Saint-Martin of Ypres in Bernard's presence, for example, the count is named as "Thierry, by divine permission count of Flanders, about to depart for Jerusalem with Louis, glorious king of the Franks."[96] On June 7 of the following year, at Lille, Thierry concludes a record of the purchase of some land by the monks of Clairvaux on behalf of the church of Sainte-Marie at Loos by noting that the act was "done at Lille in the year 1147, on the vigil of Pentecost, while I was leaving a second time for holy Jerusalem."[97]

At other times, Thierry issued charters that did not overtly reference his departure or crusading experience, but the context invoked crusading all the same. A particularly important example of this phenomenon can be found among the charters that Thierry issued just before his departure on the Second Crusade. Sometime between Christmas 1146 and the beginning of the expedition he confirmed several donations made by Clémence to the church of Notre Dame at Avesnes in a pair of charters. In one of them, he notes that Clémence made the original donation

[96] "ego Theodericus, divina permissione Flandrensium comes, cum glorioso Francorum rege Lodevico Iherosolimam profecturus." *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no.91, p. 151.
[97] "Actum Insul(is) anno M C XL VII, in vigilia Pentecosten, dum secunda vice pergerem ad sanctam Jerusalem." *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no.98, p. 161.

"for the salvation of the soul of her husband, the lord Robert, venerable count of Flanders, her own [soul], and mine."[98] That Thierry chose to confirm gifts made by Clémence on behalf of her crusader husband is suggestive—he could have made pious donations to any house in Flanders in anticipation of his departure, so his choice of Notre Dame at Avesnes was probably aimed at strengthening his association with Robert II, the greatest Flemish crusader of the age.

Thierry produced a final, dramatic act of political theater in early 1147. The beneficiaries of this act were the monks of Saint-Bertin, so while the location at which it was given is not certain, the abbey seems like a reasonable guess.[99] The expansive charter that Thierry issued confirmed all of Saint-Bertin's privileges and possessions, enumerating them in detail and also situating the monastery's rights to them within the context of comital activity from the time of Baldwin V (r. 1035-1067) to his own.[100] The charter begins with a lengthy rationale for the confirmation:

> Thierry, by the grace of God count of Flanders, to Leo, venerable abbot the monastery of Sithiu, and to all his regularly-appointed successors in perpetuity. Since both those who defend ecclesiastical possessions or resources daily by the law of God and those who grant them to the use of the faithful from the devotion of faith earn one wage and reward, I wish it to be known to all of my successors that, bowing to the entreaties of the aforementioned abbot, I have conceded and reconfirmed all those things which were granted to the church of Saint-Bertin, through the liberality of my predecessors or the

[98] "pro mariti sui domini Roberti venerabilis Flandrensium comitis sueque et nostre animarum salute." *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, nos.105-106, pp. 170-172. The quotation is from no. 106.

[99] Two charters issued in early 1147, nos. 108 and 109 in the *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, deal with the monastery of Saint-Bertin. The first of these, which was issued at the urging of Abbot Leo of Saint-Bertin, extends the *pax* already enjoyed by the residents of Veurne to the *homines* of Saint-Bertin who lived and worked at the monastery's priory in Poperinge. While neither it nor no. 109 are localized, they were probably issued at about the same time, for six of the eight witnesses of no. 108—Walter, castellan of Saint-Omer; Gilbert, castellan of Bergues; Henry, castellan of Bourbourg; Anselm, seneschal [*dapifer*]; Michael, constable; and Rodulf of Poperinge—also witnessed no. 109. The only witnesses to no. 108 who are not listed as witnesses to no. 109 are Baldwin, the brother of Rodulf of Poperinge, and Radulf, castellan of Veurne. Given the proximity of Veurne, Poperinge, and Saint-Omer—Veurne and Poperinge are roughly thirty kilometers apart, while forty-five kilometers separate Poperinge from Saint-Omer—which would have allowed the shared witnesses to move easily between locations, no. 108 could have been issued at Poperinge itself, while no. 109 was issued at Saint-Omer. This would explain why Radulf of Veurne witnessed the former but not the latter, and also why Baldwin (presuming that he lived at or near Poperinge) was present for no. 108. Alternately, it is possible that both charters were issued at the same place, though if that is the case it is surprising that Radulf is not listed among the *testes* for no. 109.

[100] *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no. 109, pp. 174-178.

> munificence of princes as well as commoners, up to the present time, so that the brothers of that monastery, possessing these things with peace and security under divine protection and my own, may, interceding on account of my transgressions, commend me and all my affairs to God and the Word of his grace with their prayers.[101]

Most of the ideas present in this rationale are common, boilerplate for medieval charters. Yet at Saint-Bertin, center of contemporary Flemish crusade historiography, this charter, issued by a crusader in the presence of multiple Templars at the urging of an abbot who was himself about to depart on crusade, would have been deeply meaningful.[102] If, as the presence of the Templars and the long list of witnesses suggests, this charter was issued shortly before Thierry's departure, then his request for the intercession of the monks would have been especially pointed. Perhaps the charter's initial reference to the reward that awaited those who defended ecclesiastical possessions would have served as a reference to the coming struggle for the Holy Land.

Thierry left Flanders in June 1147. He travelled in King Louis's retinue, which assembled at Metz.[103] A number of noteworthy Flemings travelled with him, including Bishop Alvisus of Arras and the abovementioned Abbot Leo. Both of these men had close ties to Saint-Bertin. Alvisus had been a monk at the monastery before going on to be prior of Saint-Vaast, abbot of Anchin, and ultimately bishop of Arras.[104] Both men played prominent roles on the expedition as diplomats not only for Thierry, but also for Louis. Both, for example, were sent from Metz to Worms ahead of the French army in order to deal with the logistics of crossing the Rhine. Odo of

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[101] "Theodericus, Dei gratia comes Flandrarum, venerabili Sithiensis cenobii Leoni abbati eiusque universis successoribus regulariter substituendis in perpetuum. Cum unius sint mercedis et premii et hi qui ecclesiasticas possessiones vel substantias cotidie iure tuentur Dei, et hi qui eas largiuntur usibus fidelium ex devotione fidei, ego prenominati abbatis precibus annuens notum fieri volo cunctis successoribus meis me concessisse et reconfirmasse universa que predecessorum meorum liberalitate vel principum simul et vulgarium munificentia ecclesie Sancti Bertini usque in presens sunt collata, quatinus eiusdem cenobii fratres, ea cum quiete et securitate sub divina meaque tuitione possidentes, pro meis excessibus intervenientes, me meaque omnia suis precibus Deo et Verbo gratie eius commendent." *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no. 109, pp. 175.

[102] Two Templars, named Osto and Robert, witnessed the charter—more may have been present. *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no. 109, pp. 176.

[103] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 20-21. Quotations from the *De profectione* will be of Berry's translation unless otherwise noted.

[104] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, p. 22n5.

Deuil, whose *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* is the best eyewitness account of the French prong of the Second Crusade, notes that "they completed their task excellently, with so great a multitude of boats gathered together that they did not requre a bridge."[105] When a brawl erupted between the crusaders and the townspeople of Worms, it was Alvisus who risked crossing the river and, along with "certain of the barons" [*quibusdam baronibus*], made peace with the citizens.[106] The king sent both Alvisus and Leo to Ratisbon with his chancellor, Bartholomew, to meet imperial messengers from Manuel I.[107] He later sent Alvisus, along with several other emissaries, to Constantinople in advance of the army to open talks with the Byzantine emperor.[108] After Alvisus died in September 1147, Leo continued to play an important advisory role. Unlike Alvisus, Leo would survive the expedition, ultimately returning to Saint-Bertin and serving as abbot until his death in 1163.[109]

Louis's reliance on Alvisus, Leo, and other Flemings like Thierry's seneschal, Anselm, shows the close bond between the king and the Flemish count. It is clear that he trusted both the count himself and Thierry's advisors. Odo says little about Thierry during his account of the crusaders' journey through Byzantine territory, though the abbot does mention his involvement in the repulse of a Turkish attack near Antiochetta.[110] When Louis decided to take ship at Adalia (modern Antalya) for Antioch in January 1148, however, he left the bulk of the French army to march along the coast of Asia Minor, which was hostile territory. Louis appointed Thierry, together with Archambault VII of Bourbon, to make sure that his provisions for the army's poor

[105] "quod optime compleverunt congregata undique tanta multitudine navium ut ponte non egerent." Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 22-23.
[106] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 22-23. Odo's interest in glorifying Alvisus is evident throughout Book II of the *De profectione*, which may explain why he highlights the intercessory role of the bishop here, rather than the barons. One wonders whether Thierry, with his Lotharingian background, was one of the barons who accompanied Alvisus.
[107] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 24-25.
[108] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 28-29. Anselm, who was the seneschal of Flanders, was another one of these emissaries—this is the same Anselm who witnessed both of the charters [nos. 108 and 109] discussed above.
[109] *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1725), cols. 498-499.
[110] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 110-111.

were respected and that the Greeks followed through on their promises of aid. In Odo's words, "fearing deception where he had often found it, he had the count of Flanders and Archibald of Bourbon stay behind until the departure of the column."[111] Louis's fears proved well-founded, for the Turks attacked the crusaders who were still at Adalia the day after his departure, and it was left to Thierry and Archambault to direct the defense. Despite their success, the Greeks reportedly reneged on their promise to provide an escort for the crusaders to Tarsus. Thierry and Archambault could not secure protection for the army's poor, and so a few days later "[w]hen the fleet arrived, the king's deputies went on board, grieving at their inability to avenge the wrongs done them."[112] The prompt massacre of the elements of the army that remained at Adalia after their departure suggests that it was the martial prowess and savvy of Thierry and Archambault that had held the Turks at bay, however briefly.

The rest of the story of the Second Crusade is well-known and does not need retelling here.[113] At the Council of Acre in June 1148, Conrad, Louis, and Baldwin III decided to attack Damascus. The subsequent siege was a fiasco, failing after a mere four days despite a successful initial assault. William of Tyre reports that the siege failed because some treacherous nobles from the Kingdom of Jerusalem convinced the leaders to employ a strategically foolhardy plan once they had invested the city.[114] Whatever its cause, the failure at Damascus broke the back of the Second Crusade. It also dampened crusading enthusiasm in Europe for decades to come. Writing with the benefit of hindsight some twenty-five years later, William of Tyre notes that the crusading leaders, ceasing to care about the affairs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, returned home

[111] "fraudemque timens ubi saepius illam invenerat, comitem Flandrensem et Archembaldum Burbonensem usque ad processum illorum dimisit." Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 138-139.
[112] "Quo facto viri regii vadunt ad naves, eo quod suas iniurias non possunt vindicare dolentes." Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 138-139.
[113] For a good general narrative, see Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 207-227.
[114] William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XVII.5, pp. 765-767. Jonathan Phillips provides a plausible reconstruction of the decision to relocate that makes sense of the decision to move away from an advantageous position with victory all but achieved—see Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 223-226.

"ever mindful of the injuries they had received."[115] This was, in William's view, a perpetual disaster, for the returning crusaders would spread their disillusionment at home, making recruitment for future expeditions more difficult.

In an effort to understand the treachery of his countrymen, William interviewed a number of his contemporaries. He reports several rumors that purported to explain events, one of which concerns Thierry of Alsace. The treacherous nobles were reportedly disgruntled because Thierry had sought and obtained assurances from Louis, Conrad, and Baldwin III that he would be granted the city of Damascus after it fell.[116] There is no evidence for the truth of this rumor, and William presents several other possible explanations for why the siege failed, including simple bribery by the Damascenes and also the possibility that the local Frankish nobles were encouraged to sabotage the expedition by Raymond of Antioch. It is by far, however, the best-developed of the possibilities in William's narrative. Jonathan Phillips notes its plausibility in his account of the Second Crusade, citing Thierry's ability to martial the money and men necessary to hold the city and his familial ties to Baldwin III, though he does not endorse the rumor.[117] In any case, William is critical of the Jerusalem nobles, not of Thierry:

> For it seemed to them very unworthy that they, who had undertaken countless labors, fighting for the kingdom through their whole lives, be neglected and without hope of reward while those who had come recently were collecting the fruits of such labors, fruits that they seemed to have collected for a long time by means of their own merits.[118]

[115] "susceptarum perpetuo memores iniuriarum." William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XVII.6, pp. 767-768.
[116] William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XVII.7, pp. 768-769.
[117] Phillips, *The Second Crusde*, p. 222.
[118] "indignum enim eis admodum videbatur ut qui tota vita sua regno militantes infinitos labores pertulerant, aliis, qui recentes advenerant, tantorum laborum fructus colligentibus, ipsis neglectis et absque remunerationis spe, quam diu et ex meritis videbantur collegisse." William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XVII.7, p. 768.

This is an allusion to the parable of the laborers in the vineyard in the Gospel of Matthew.[119] Like the querulous servants in the parable, the Frankish nobility had, in William's mind, disputed God's right to dispose of his gifts and property freely, and it was they, not Thierry, who were in the wrong.

Thierry was back in Flanders by early November 1149.[120] It seems likely that, given the failure of the expedition, his return was something of an anticlimax. Much of the crusading fervor that had pervaded Christendom in 1146 had been replaced with, in Christopher Tyerman's formulation, "shock, sorrow and blame."[121] The gloomy atmosphere was not to keep Thierry in Flanders for long, however. By the spring of 1157, he was once again preparing to go on crusade to Jerusalem. The impetus for this new expedition is not known, though it seems likely that the growing power of the Zengid ruler of Aleppo, Nur al-Din, was an important cause. Nur al-Din had captured the city of Damascus in 1154, greatly increasing Zengid power in Syria. After fighting between Zengid and Jerusalemite armies near Harim, on the border between the two kingdoms, Nur al-Din agreed to a treaty with Baldwin III.[122] The latter, however, promptly broke the treaty and attacked Zengid forces near Banyas.[123] According to the contemporary Damascene chronicler Ibn al-Qalanisi, Baldwin broke the treaty because crusaders had arrived from the west, and he felt that he had an opportunity to strike.[124] William of Tyre, on the other hand, says that the king broke the treaty because he was urged to do so by "impious men, sons of Belial," and

[119] cf. Matthew 20:1-16. In this parable, a landowner hires workers at several points of time during the day, offering to pay each of them a denarius—at the end of the day, those hired first complain that they have been treated unfairly because those hired later in the day are receiving the same pay for less work. The landowner dismisses this complaint, noting that he may do whatever he pleases with his property.
[120] Sometime during or before that month he sanctioned the gift of a meadow and a neighboring plot of woodland made by Walter, castellan of Saint-Omer, to the abbey of Clairmarais. See *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no. 115, pp. 186-187.
[121] For a sampling of these responses, see Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 335-338.
[122] Paul Cobb, *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 142-145.
[123] William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XVIII.11, pp. 825-826.
[124] Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London: Luzac & Co., 1932), pp. 327-328.

because he needed the plunder that the attack would bring.[125] Perhaps he was also emboldened because he anticipated the arrival of his half sister's husband, Thierry—given his family connection to Sybilla, it is possible and even likely that he would have appealed to his powerful relative for help against the growing Zengid threat.

In any case, Thierry was making preparations to depart by spring 1157. He issued a charter at Bruges on April 7 in which he again gave the "relief" [here the *reliquia*] from all of his lands to the Knights Templar—this was the same gift he had given in September 1128, shortly after he became count:

> Since generation succeeds generation, and the evidence of letters preserves the memory of things done more tenaciously, I Thierry, by the grace of God count of Flanders, have undertaken to commend the things which I have given freely to the ministers of God and the famous knights of the Temple of Jerusalem. Therefore I give and I confirm by writing that I have given for many days, to God and to the famous brothers of the Temple of Jerusalem who lay down their lives for their brothers in the manner of the Maccabees, the "reliefs" [*reliquiae*] belonging to me, to wit of all my land, by means of the tax by which my predecessors collected the aforementioned reliefs from their vassals.[126]

Later in the charter Thierry mentions that he feels this gift to be merited, "since the aforementioned brothers of the Temple have brought aid to us when we were in great need, and, standing in battle lines, they pour out their blood on behalf of God's church.[127] Both Thierry's wife Sybilla and their son Philip also subscribed to this charter, and to another one issued at Veurne on April 21 on behalf of the Abbey of Fontevraud near Chinon. Here Thierry gave Fontevraud, where his daughter Mathilda was a nun and later abbess, an annual rent of twelve

[125] "viri impii, filii Belial." William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XVIII.11, p. 825.
[126] "Quoniam generatio generationi succedit, memoriam autem rerum gestarum tenacius conservant indicia litterarum, ego Theodericus, Dei gratia Flandrensium comes, que gratuito ministris Dei et preclaris militibus Templi Ierosolimitanensis donavi scripto commendare curavi. Dono igitur et scripto confirmo quod ad diebus multis deo donaui et preclaris fratribus de templo de Ierusalem qui animas suas more machabeorum pro fratribus ponunt reliquias scilicet uniuerse terre mee ad me attinentes eo scilicet tenore quo predecessores mei predictas reliquias susceperunt ex feodariis." *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no. 157, p. 254.
[127] "qui animas suas more Machabeorum pro fratribus ponunt;" "quoniam predicti fratres de Templo in magnis necessitatibus nobis presidium contulerunt et pro ecclesia Dei stantes in acie sanguinem suum effundunt." *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no. 157, p. 254.

pounds.[128] Philip's explicit subscription seems to have been aimed at transitioning him into power. The youth had been associated with the comital office for a long time, and styling himself a count since at least 1149, though he had not played a significant role in governing the county.[129] Thierry also issued charters explicitly mentioning his impending departure in early May—by the end of the month, he and Sybilla were en route to the East.[130]

Thierry and Sybilla arrived in Beirut during the late summer of 1157. William of Tyre indicates that Thierry's presence was a major boon for the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had just suffered a significant military defeat to Nur ad-Din at the Battle of Jacob's Ford.[131] William writes that "straightaway after his arrival he was at hand, an angel of great council. He, directing our course to the benefit of the kingdom and the glory of the Christian name, led us mercifully."[132] The Jerusalemite forces quickly marched against Shayzar, which they besieged. They were on the point of taking the city, when a squabble over fealty arose. Baldwin III intended for Thierry to take charge of the city, thinking him wealthy and powerful enough to protect it, and the count was apparently willing to do homage to the king in exchange for it. However, Renaud of Antioch insisted that Shayzar was part of his principality, and that its lord would have to do homage to him. Apparently this was a deal-breaking proposition for Thierry, who replied that he never did homage to anyone except for kings.[133] The rift that this caused was so serious that the Franks lifted the siege and returned to Antioch. As at Damascus in 1148, at

[128] *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no. 158, pp. 255-256.
[129] See *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no. 116, pp. 187-189.
[130] *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, nos. 172-173, pp. 273-275.
[131] Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations Between the Latin East and the West, 1119-1187* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 129.
[132] "Nam statim post eius ingressum affuit magni consilii angelus, qui nostrorum vias dirigens ad regni compendia et christiani gloriam nominis eos misericorditer precessit, sicut consequenter dicetur." William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XVIII.16, p. 834.
[133] William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XVIII.18, pp. 836-837.

least according to the rumormongers, territorial ambition had derailed a promising military campaign.

Thierry remained in the Levant for about a year, participating in several other battles and helping Baldwin to retake an important fortress near Antioch. After his account of the siege of Shayzar, however, William of Tyre does not mention the possibility of territorial acquisitions for Thierry again—one wonders whether the spat with Renaud rendered further discussion of such schemes impossible. By the autumn of 1158, Thierry seems to have had his fill of the Holy Land. When he returned to Flanders, he did so alone—Sybilla had decided to stay behind in Jerusalem. She entered the convent of Saints Mary and Martha, where her step-aunt, Yvette, was abbess.[134]

Perhaps Sybilla stayed in Jerusalem because she and Thierry had planned to stay together in the Holy Land after the 1157-58 crusade. On at least one and probably two occasions, Thierry was prepared to accept territory in the East. Before Thierry, counts of Flanders had gone on pilgrimage and crusade in order to secure and enhance their position and prestige at home. Indeed, Charles the Good reportedly turned down the very crown of Jerusalem in order to continue in his vocation as count. Yet certain circumstantial evidence pertaining to this third of Thierry's journeys suggests that he was not only willing to accept territory in Kingdom of Jerusalem but was even planning on it—this would explain both why Sybilla went with him to Jerusalem and also why he had his son Philip subscribe to charters issued just before his departure, something he had not done before his first and second expeditions. Perhaps, having come close to becoming the lord of a powerful city in the Holy Land on the Second Crusade, Thierry decided to try once more to profit from his familial connections to the rulers of Jerusalem and move permanently to the East. There was precedent for such a decision—Sibylla's father, Fulk of Anjou, had left Anjou in 1129 to marry Melisende, daughter of Baldwin II and

[134] Nicolas Huyghebaert, "Une comtesse de Flandre à Béthanie," *Les cahiers de Saint-André* 21 (1964), pp. 1-11.

heir to the throne of Jerusalem.[135] Such a course of action need not have been motivated only or even primarily by the desire for territorial gain. It is possible that Melisende and Baldwin III had encouraged Thierry to relocate to the East because his presence would strengthen the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the other crusader states. As Jonathan Phillips has shown, the Frankish rulers of Jerusalem and Antioch made repeated appeals to the West for help over the course of the twelfth century.[136] Thierry would have been a natural target for such an appeal.

A later tradition from the fourteenth century held that, in order to get Thierry to agree to allow Sybilla to stay in the East, Baldwin III gave the count a relic of the Holy Blood.[137] According to this tradition, Thierry had the relic installed in Bruges at Saint-Basil. The count himself had ordered the construction of Saint-Basil in 1134, and it was completed shortly before his return in 1158.[138] Several scholars, most notably (and extensively) Nicolas Huyghebaert, have demonstrated that the tradition is too late to be given real credence. Huyghebaert argues persuasively that the relic had its origin in the period after the capture of Constantinople in 1204. Yet the tradition shows the degree to which Thierry's activity cemented the connection between the counts of Flanders and the crusade. The story that he had brought the relic back from Jerusalem was an easy one to believe, given Thierry's reputation—as Huyghebaert puts it, "Ce récit est d'une logique impeccable."[139] One hundred and fifty years later, Thierry was still remembered as the model crusader count.

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[135] For the political maneuvering that accompanied Fulk's relocation and eventual accession to the throne of Jerusalem, see Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 14-43.
[136] Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 14-40, 51-59, and passim.
[137] John of Ypres, "Ex chronico Sithiensi S. Bertini," *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Léopold Delisle, vol. 13 (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1869), p. 471. There are a number of traditions surrounding the precise timing of the arrival of the relic in Flanders, but the account of John of Ypres, which is the most detailed, conflates Thierry's second and third journeys to Jerusalem, while making it very clear that the relic was given to Thierry in order to gild the pill, as it were, of Sybilla's decision to remain in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.
[138] For a brief overview of architectural history of the church, see Livia Snauwaert, *Gids voor Architectuur in Brugge* (Tielt: Lannoo Uitgeverij, 2002), pp. 58-60.
[139] Huyghebaert, "Iperius et la translation de la relique du Saint-Sang à Bruges," p. 187.

THIERRY OF ALSACE AND BRUSSELS, KBR, MS 9823-34

By the late 1150s, Thierry of Alsace was approaching the age of sixty, a relatively old man. Though he was still a powerful knight, as his military exploits in the crusade of 1157-58 had shown, he seems to have begun to turn his attention to securing a peaceful transition of comital power. As the beneficiary of a succession crisis, he must also have been acutely aware of the dangers that could accompany the transfer of comital power. Whether or not he had departed in 1157 with territorial ambitions in the East, the desire for a smooth succession was clearly his reason for designating Philip count in 1157, and doubtless contributed to his decision to retire from public life completely in 1166 after returning from his fourth and final journey to the Levant.[140] He may have patterned his approach to the comital succession on the actions of Robert the Frisian, who had also associated a son with the comital government before journeying east and then retired shortly after his return.

At around the same time that the aged count made his fourth journey, a scriptorium in Flanders produced a carefully-crafted manuscript containing a number of crusading texts. Today this manuscript is Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 9823-34. It is largely known on account of its marvelously detailed map of the city of Jerusalem, complete with intricate drawings of pilgrims making their way around the holy sites in the city and its environs.[141] The codex has not been the subject of much study, in part because its provenance is unknown.[142] A careful examination of its contents and construction, however, reveal a great deal about when

[140] For these actions, see de Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre," pp. 99-100.
[141] The map is on fol. 157r.
[142] Damian Kempf and Marcus Bull mention Brussels, KBR, MS 9823-34 as a codex that would have served as a nice base for their recent edition of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, but do not delve into its contents or history. See Damian Kempf and Marcus Bull, eds., *The "Historia Iherosolimitana" of Robert the Monk* (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2013), p. lxv. Henceforth this edition will be cited as Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*.

and where it was created. This information reveals, in turn, a surprising connection between the manuscript and Thierry of Alsace.

Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 9823-34, which will be called the Brussels Crusade Codex hereafter, is a parchment codex of 161 folios. The pages measure 313mm x 200mm, while the writing occupies a space measuring 246mm x 145mm. The texts are written in two columns, with thirty-three lines to the column, in a carefully executed Protogothic script. The codex was ruled in leadpoint. All of these features are typical of monastic manuscripts produced in the twelfth century. Most of the codex is the work of single scribe. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, who used this manuscript to produce his critical edition of Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana*, claims that it was the work of three scribes, arguing for a change in hand at the beginning of the second book of Fulcher's *Historia*.[143] Hagenmeyer seems, however, to have been mistaken—there is no appreciable change in the letter forms or aspect of the script at this point in the manuscript.[144] He is correct to note that a second scribe copied the final text in the manuscript, the *Flandria generosa*.[145] This scribe may also have written the captions on the map of Jerusalem that directly precedes the *Flandria generosa*.

There are seventeen discrete texts in Brussels, KBR, MS 9823-34, counting the map of Jerusalem [TABLE 2.1]. Of these, only four occupy more than ten pages: Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, Fulcher's *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Rorgo Fretullus's *Descriptio locorum circa Ierusalem adiacentium*, and the *Hystoria de Mahumet* of Embrico of Mainz. The other thirteen texts are relatively short, several of them roughly the length of a paragraph. As analysis below will show, with the exception of the last two texts in the codex, the *Flandria*

[143] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913), p. 103.
[144] See Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 9823-34, fol. 80v.
[145] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 103.

generosa and the map of Jerusalem, all of the texts in the codex were part of a single manuscript program. The consistency of both the script and the decorated initials, which remain neat and meticulously executed throughout the codex, testify to a desire for the finished book to be attractive and readable from beginning to end.

Because the bulk of the texts in the Brussels Crusade Codex were copied at the same time, it is possible to use the dating of individual texts to establish a window within which the codex as a whole could have been created. One text, Aimery of Limoges's letter to Louis VI, provides a useful terminus post quem. This letter, one of several that the patriarch of Antioch wrote to the French king in order to try to persuade him to come east to defend Jerusalem, was written in 1164, and is dated to that year in the codex.[146] Another text, the *Genealogia francorum regum*, provides two possibilities for a terminus ante quem. This text originally ended with the birth of Louis VII [*ludouicus genuit ludouicum*].[147] A later hand added, at the same time, the births of Philip Augustus and Louis VIII [FIGURE 2.1]—since the latter was born in 1187, this addition must postdate that year. It seems likely, however, that the original scribe would have updated the list by adding Philip if he had already been born when the manuscript was made. Alternately, the scribe may have omitted Philip Augustus because he was copying a genealogy of kings, and Philip was not yet a king when the manuscript was created. If the latter is true, then the codex was likely made before November 1179, when Philip was crowned—if the former, then it must have been made before August 1165.[148] On the basis of internal evidence along,

[146] Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 9823-34, fols. 125vb-126vb. For the published text of the letter, see Martin Bouquet, ed., "Regis Ludovici VII et variorum ad eum volumen epistolarum," *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 16 (Poitiers, 1878), no. 196, pp. 61-62. On Aimery's letters to Louis, see Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 141.
[147] Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9823-34, fol. 148vb.
[148] Kempf and Bull indicate that the manuscript is from the second half of the twelfth century, but before 1182. Though they do not explain this dating, it agrees generally with the argument made above. Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*. p. lxv.

then, the codex is probably datable to the period between 1164 and 1179, and a case can be made for an even narrower window of 1164-65.

As noted above, the provenance of the Brussels Crusade Codex is not known. However, it has well-recognized connections to other codices with known Flemish provenances. For example, Hagenmeyer suggests in his edition of Fulcher's *Historia Hierosolymitana* that the Brussels Crusade Codex was copied from a codex from the abbey of Marchiennes (Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 882).[149] Similarly, Damien Kempf and Marcus Bull note in the introduction to their edition of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* that the Brussels Crusade Codex is part of a family of manuscripts created at Benedictine monasteries in northern France—they draw particular attention to the fact that all of these manuscripts share the *De situ urbis Ierusalem*, Fretellus's *Descriptio locorum*, and a description of the Lateran Palace.[150] Other manuscripts in this family include books from Saint-Amand and Mont-Saint-Quentin.[151]

In fact, the Brussels codex was almost certainly copied from the Saint-Amand manuscript. The Saint-Amand codex is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, hereafter the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex. It was copied at the abbey of Saint-Amand in southeastern Flanders, right on the border with Hainaut, between 1147 and 1153.[152] André Boutemy produced a careful study of this codex in 1948 in which he described its forty-five texts and analyzed its poetic content.[153] Of the seventeen texts present in the Brussels Crusade Codex, ten are also present in the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex [TABLE 2.2]. Most of these comprise descriptions of the city of Jerusalem and its surrounding environs, or else are lists of important

[149] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 104.
[150] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. xlii-xliii.
[151] These manuscripts are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129 and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS reg. lat. 712, respectively.
[152] For a detailed analysis of the history of this codex, see Chapter 4.
[153] André Boutemy, "Le recueil poétique du manuscrit latin 5129 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris," *Scriptorium* 2, no. 1 (1948), pp. 47-55.

ecclesiastical officials from the East. The manuscripts also share a description of the Lateran Palace in Rome, a verse life of Muhammad, and a short text entitled the "Relatio miraculi in regione Saxonum facti," which describes an episode in which a number of individuals did a diabolical dance in a cemetery in Cologne in 1021.[154] The latter is a particularly odd inclusion. The story appears in only a handful of twelfth-century manuscripts, none of which shares more than one other text with the Brussels codex.[155]

Furthermore, a number of paleographical features of the Brussels codex support the idea that it was copied directly from the Saint-Amand codex. First, in the text of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, the codices share the same sequence of first- and second-level initials and *litterae notabiliores*. Some of the decorated initials are also strikingly similar, most notably the decorated **A**s with which the text of Book I of Robert's *Historia* begins. In each codex, this initial takes the form of a winged dragon painted green and red who breathe cascades of white vines into a field of blue. Second, both codices include a large gap between the end of the "apologeticus sermo" and prologue, which are presented more or less continuously, and the beginning of Book I. While both scribes could have decided to format their work this way independently in order to make sure that Book I began at the top left-hand corner of a page, this sort of gap is noticeably absent in other codices that appear to be closely related to the Saint-Amand codex.[156] Third, the marginal hexameter glosses that appear in each manuscript begin

[154] For the text, see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fols. 67va-68rb. For an analysis of the importance of the story, see Chapter 3 of the present work.
[155] In addition to the two manuscripts under consideration, the other two French copies are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18108 and Reims, Bibliothèque de Reims, MS 1410. For the manuscript history of the text, see Edward Schröder, "Die Tänzer von Kölbigk," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 17 (1897), pp. 96-100.
[156] Cf. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fols. 1va-2rb and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9823-34, fols. 2ra-2vb. For related manuscripts that lack this gap, see Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ott. lat. 8, fol. 1v and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 712, fol. 1v. The latter was copied at Mont-Saint-Quentin, a relatively short distance from Saint-Amand. Both of these manuscripts have the marginal hexameters present in the Saint-Amand codex, which tend to become rubrics or drop out of the manuscript tradition altogether in manuscripts copied in the German Empire.

adjacent to the same lines of text in each codex, and not merely in the same general area. The first set of hexameters, for example, begins next to the line reading "Gens francorum, gens transmontana" in each codex.[157] The second set begins at "Iherusalem umbilicus est terrarum" in each codex, and the pattern continues from there throughout both codices.[158]

Finally, and perhaps most conclusively, the list of popes that appears in both manuscripts supports a direct connection between them. This list, which appears on fols. 88v-89r in the Saint-Amand codex, begins with the apostle Peter and provides a continuous list of popes that runs into the early fifteenth century. The original list was once thought to have extended to Adrian IV (r. 1154-1159), who appears as "Adrianvs· ·III·" at the top of fol. 89r. However, André Boutemy has shown that the list originally ended with Eugenius III (r. 1145-1153), whose name appears at the bottom of fol. 88v.[159] As Boutemy rightly notes, the names of Anastasius IV and Adrian IV differ from those of their predecessors, most notably in their use of **v** rather than **u** and in the presence of an extra point between the papal name and number. It follows that the original list was created sometime between 1145 and 1153 when Eugenius III was pope, and that the names of Anastasius and Adrian were added shortly after the completion of the codex, since they are in a hand very similar to the one that wrote the original list. Another hand later added the names of Alexander III and Lucius III, and perhaps that of Urban III, as well—since Lucius did not become pope until 1181, that year provides the terminus post quem for the second set of additions to the papal list in the Saint-Amand codex.

The corresponding list concludes on fol. 141v in the Brussels codex [FIGURE 2.2]. This list originally ran through Adrian IV—the color of the ink used to write the list changes after his

[157] Cf. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 2va and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9823-34, fol. 3ra.
[158] Cf. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 3rb and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9823-34, fol. 3vb.
[159] Boutemy, "Le recueil poétique du manuscrit latin 5129," pp. 51-52.

name, as does the aspect of the capital **A** with which his successor's name begins. Furthermore, the regnal numbers of the popes up to Adrian are given in red with a single point after them, while both Alexander and Lucius have regnal numbers written in brown, like their names, which are unpointed. Finally, Adrian is misnumbered "III" here, just as he is in the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex. All of this evidence indicates that the Saint-Amand codex served as an exemplar for the Brussels codex.

The Saint-Amand Crusade Codex was not the only exemplar for the Brussels Crusade Codex. As Hagenmeyer indicates in his edition of Fulcher, a manuscript from Marchiennes provided the *Historia Hierosolymitana*. This manuscript—now Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 882, hereafter the Marchiennes Crusade Codex—shares four other texts with the Brussels codex in addition to Fulcher's history. These are the letter from Aimery of Limoges to Louis VII, Heiric of Auxerre's "De septem miraculis mundi, the "Historia regum Francorum," and a short text concerning King Baldwin's actions in 1112, published in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades* as "De quibusdam expeditionibus Balduini regis Iherusalem ab anno 1112."[160] All of the texts in the original program of the Brussels Crusade Codex that were not copied from the Saint-Amand codex are present in this codex.

This analysis supports two important preliminary conclusions about the creation of the original portion of the Brussels Crusade Codex. First, the abbeys of Marchiennes and Saint-Amand cooperated to create the codex. There were a number of precedents for collaboration between these monasteries, and for the movement of books between them. For example, Boutemy suggests that there was probably some sort of relationship between Sawalo of Saint-

[160] For the text of the "De quibusdam expeditionibus," see *Assises de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, ed. Auguste Beugnot, *RHC Lois* 2, pp. 181-184. Beugnot prints a transcription of this text made in 1775 by Jean-Baptiste Queinsert in a footnote. Queinsert indicates that he transcribed the passage from a manuscript of Marchiennes, but Beugnot seems to have thought that the manuscript Queinsert had used was KBR 9823-34, for he indicates that he knows of its existence through the aid of a M. Claude who works at the Bibliothèque royale.

Amand and André Dubois of Marchiennes, both of whom were famous illustrators in the mid-twelfth century.[161] Similarly, Andrew J. Turner shows that the monks of Marchiennes copied the histories of Sallust from manuscripts at Saint-Amand during the same period.[162] The scriptorium and library at Saint-Amand, which had prospered in the ninth century and then fallen on hard times, experienced a major renaissance in the twelfth century, and it is not surprising that nearby monasteries like Marchiennes sought to increase their own collections by copying books at Saint-Amand.[163] Indeed, the presence of a number of shared texts in the Saint-Amand and Marchiennes codices actually suggests that the former may have been used in the creation of the latter.[164]

Second, the collaboration between Saint-Amand and Marchiennes was carefully planned. The fact that once scribe copied the entire Brussels codex means that the Saint-Amand and Marchiennes codices must have been brought together in one place. Someone then decided which texts from each codex to incorporate into the new manuscript—the texts from the Saint-Amand and Marchiennes exemplars are interspersed throughout the Brussels codex, so this collaboration was not a case of simple addition in which the contents of one exemplar were added to those of the other. Indeed, a number of texts with crusading themes from both exemplars were omitted from the Brussels manuscript, including the *Historia Vie*

[161] André Boutemy, "Quelques aspects de l'oeuvre de Sawalon, decorateur de manusrits à l'abbaye de Saint-Amand," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 9 (1939), pp. 314-315.
[162] Andrew J. Turner, "Reading Sallust in Twelfth-Century Flanders," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 21, vol. 3 (2014), pp. 203-204.
[163] For the twelfth-century library at Saint-Amand, see Boutemy, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand," pp. 6-16.
[164] These two manuscripts share the "Lamentum lacrymabile," the lists of popes and ecclesiastical figures in the Holy Land, Gilo of Paris's verse history of the First Crusade (the *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*), the *Physiologus*, Embrico of Mainz's *Historia de Mahumet*, and the *De excidio Troiae*. P.C. Boeren dates the Marchiennes codex to the reign of Amalric I of Jerusalem (1162-1173) because a scribe added a note to the text of Fretellus's *Descriptio* that indicates that Amalric "holds the kingdom to this day, with the grace of God governing." So, this manuscript postdates the Saint-Amand codex, which was created between 1147 and 1153. See P.C. Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte: Histoire et édition du texte* (New York: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980), p. 2.

Hierosolimitane of Gilo of Paris, the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*, and two poems about the Second Crusade, "Lamentum lacrymabile" and "Gloria Francorum dudum concepit honorem." This suggests that the texts that were included in the Brussels codex were chosen purposefully with a specific end in mind.

Unlike both of its exemplars, the Brussels codex presents a carefully ordered narrative to its reader.[165] It begins with six texts, including the histories of Robert and Fulcher, which narrate the history of the crusade movement from 1095 to 1164, ending with Aimery's letter to Louis VI. A block of five texts that describe the geography and churches of the Holy Land and Rome follows. The codex concludes with two texts about wonders [*miracula*]—the "Relatio miraculi in regione Saxonum facti" and the "De septem miraculis mundi"—the "Genealogia regum Francorum," and the *Historia de Mahumet*. It is only these last four texts that seem to break the narrative flow of the book. Ironically, however, it is one of them, the "Relatio miraculi," that holds the key to understanding the purpose behind the codex.

The "Relatio" tells the tale of a self-described sinner named Otbert. Along with seventeen others, he skipped church on Christmas in favor of other activities: "With Matins complete on the day of the most holy nativity of the Lord, we danced and sang in a circle in a cemetery, at the devil's urging, when we ought to have been attending to the solemnities of the mass."[166] The priest saying the mass, one Ruthbert, urges the dancers to leave off their sacrilegious bacchanal

[165] Both the Saint-Amand and Marchiennes codices are composite codices, bound together in the twelfth century to form single books. On the Saint-Amand codex, see Charles Samarn and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture Latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste: Tome II, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds Latin (N^os 1 à 8.000)* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1962), p. 261. Far less work has been done on the Marchiennes codex, but the presence of a quire mark designating a first quire [·I^us·] in the final text of the manuscript, the *Historia regum Britonum*, suggests that it was once a standalone book.

[166] "Qui in sanctissima nativitate Domini expletis matutinis cum missarum sollempniis interesse deberemus, suadente diabolo choros in cimiterio duximus." Schröder, "Die Tänzer von Kölbigk," p. 101. Schröder provides an edition of this text on pp. 101-103 of his article. The version that appears in the Brussels and Saint-Amand codices corresponds to the set of variants found in MSS 6-8 using his sigils—this includes a manuscript from Reims (Bibliothèque Carnegie, MS 1410, olim K.786). The full text of the "Relatio miraculi," along with an English translation, is included in Appendix C.

and come to church, but they ignore him. Spurned [*spretus*] by the dancers, Ruthbert curses them: "Would that, by the power of God and the merit of Saint Magnus the martyr, you should keep up your singing like that, without ceasing, for a year!"[167] The priest's curse is realized immediately—the unfortunate band keeps up its singing and dancing, and when the priest sends his son John to pull his daughter Mersint, who is dancing among them, out of the circle, a grisly scene ensues: "John, grabbing her by the arm, tried to pull her out of the dance. Thereupon, however, he pulled the arm off of her body—nevertheless, not a drop of blood dripped out."[168] *Mirabile dictu*, the entire party, sans the single unfortunate limb, sings and dances for the entire year prescribed by the priest's curse, gradually trudging their way deeper and deeper into the earth so that after a year, they are entombed up to their sides. At this point the dancers are saved by the intervention of Bishop Herbert of Cologne, who prays for them and reconciles them before the altar of Saint Magnus. The exhausted dancers collapse at the foot of the altar and sleep for three days and three nights. The ending of the story, however, proves bittersweet, particularly for the priest—his daughter, the other two female dancers, and one of the men all die before the altar. No doubt the priest, like Jephthah, regrets his oath.[169] The other fourteen dancers survive, but they retain a shaking of the limbs [*tremor membrorum*] "as a sign of remembrance, or, even better, of proof."[170]

In order to understand the presence of the "Relatio miraculi" in the Saint-Amand and Brussels codices, it is necessary to consider the context in which they were made. The Saint-Amand codex had been created in the immediate aftermath of the Second Crusade. Unlike the

[167] "'Utinam potentia Dei et merito sancti Magni martiris sic inquieti annum cantando ducatis.'" Schröder, "Die Tänzer von Kölbigk," p. 101.
[168] "Johannes brachio apprehendens conabatur a choro retrahere. Sed mox brachium a corpore abstraxit; attamen una gutta sanguinis non manavit." Schröder, "Die Tänzer von Kölbigk," p. 101.
[169] For the Old Testament story of Jephthah, who made an oath that he would sacrifice the first thing that came running from his home if God would help the Israelites win a battle, only to have his daughter run out of the house to greet him when he returned from battle, see Judges 11:29-40.
[170] "in signo recordationis vel potius approbationis." Schröder, "Die Tänzer von Kölbigk," p. 102.

First Crusade, the Second Crusade did not spark the creation of narrative sources. While there are more than a dozen narrative histories of the first expedition, the second is recorded in only one comparable work, Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, a text that survives in a single manuscript witness. There are many other sources of information for the Second Crusade, as Giles Constable has shown, particularly if the scope of the Second Crusade is expanded to include campaigns in Portugal and the Baltic.[171] However, none of these other sources are narrative histories like those that document the First Crusade in such large numbers. In the words of Virginia Berry, who edited Odo's *De profectione*, the expedition's "patent lack of success discouraged men from writing histories of the expedition."[172]

That does not mean, however, that scribes did not commemorate the Second Crusade in the codices that they produced. The Saint-Amand Crusade Codex contains two short poems, "Lamentum Lacrymabile" and "Gloria Francorum dudum concepit honorem," that were composed in response to failed crusading ventures, the former specifically in response to the Second Crusade. The tone of these poems can be gauged from the opening lines of the latter:

> The glory of the Franks conceived honor only recently,
> but, pregnant, it labored in childbirth, and it birthed anguish.
> It was astonishing when that glory, the pinnacle of honor, was ruined
> by giving birth. Glory becomes the cause of pain.
> The mountains are in labor, and pride gave birth to mice.
> The mountain tumbles down, the high places fall; many more perish in blood.
> That army, hungering, returns to nothing—
> God, wash away our crimes, and cleanse us, Christ.
> The little Greek, slavering, destroyed us with his ravening—
> the cruel hand seized and devastated us with smiting.[173]

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[171] See Giles Constable, "The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio* 9 (1953), pp. 213-279.
[172] Virginia Gingerick Berry, introduction to the *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, by Odo of Deuil (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. xiv.
[173] "Gloria Francorum dudum concepit honorem/Sed gravis in partu peperit, peperitque dolorem/Res miranda fuit, cum gloria culmen honoris/Parturiendo ruit, fit gloria causa doloris/Parturiunt montes, peperitque superbia mures/Mons cadit, alta ruunt pereunt in sanguine plures/Ad nihilum redit esuriens exercitus iste/Ablue nostra Deus, et munda crimina, Christe/Graeculus esuriens nos destruit esuriendo/Nos rapit et vastat manus aspera percutiendo." Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 69r. This poem is in PL 155, 1095A-1098B.

For the poet, the debacle of the Second Crusade undoes the success of the First. It is also an anticlimax—the descriptions of mountains in labor and pride giving birth to mice reference Horace's *Ars poetica*, in which the image of a mountain giving birth to a mouse is a metaphor for writers who begin their works with spectacles that promise much, but deliver little in the end.[174] This poet was not alone in this assessment of the crusading venture. Across Europe, there was a growing sense that it had ended, not with a bang, but a whimper.[175]

The scribes who created the Saint-Amand codex needed a way to work these gloomy poems into a codex that began with the triumphal narrative of the First Crusade. They hit upon the idea of using the "Relatio miraculi" as a pivot, placing it between Robert's *Historia* and its accompanying itineraries and the poems. The idea was to signal to the reader that something had gone wrong with the attitude of Christians who, when they should have been attending to the divinely-ordained work of crusading, chose instead to pursue other ventures. They were like the dancers who, in Otbert's words, "when we should have been attending to the solemnities of the Masses, conducted a ring dance in the cemetery, with the devil driving us on." The use of an allegorical miracle story has the virtue of being entirely unspecific about the identities and crimes of the individuals who were responsible for the failure of the Second Crusade. Some readers surely identified the dancers as the nobles from the Kingdom of Jerusalem who had, according to William of Tyre betrayed the Christian forces during their siege of Damascus in 1148. For others, it may have been a critique of knights who did not take the cross. Perhaps, if rumors of his purported behavior had reached as far as Flanders, it may even have been read as a

[174] Horace, *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, ed. and trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), p. 462, l. 139.
[175] Martin Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades (XII^e^-XIII^e^ siècle)* (Fayard, 2013), pp. 52-112. See also Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 269-279.

criticism of Count Thierry. In any case, the use of the "Relatio miraculi" was a way of working a rebuke into the Saint-Amand codex without actually having to name names.

The omission of the "Lamentum lacrymabile" and "Gloria Francorum" from the Brussels codex changes the meaning of the "Relatio miraculi." While in the Saint-Amand codex its role was to rebuke the sort of sinful inattention to God's work that had caused the failure of the Second Crusade, in the Brussels codex it is a warning, rather than an indictment. The Brussels codex looks forward, rather than backward. As indicated above, the final historical text of the Brussels codex is the letter from Patriarch Aimery to Louis VII requesting military aid in the East. There is no reference in the codex to any reply or response from Louis, but most people in Flanders would have known that Count Thierry himself had answered the call by taking the cross for a fourth time in 1164. Yet the codex does not mention Thierry's crusade either. Instead, it leaves the call from the East unanswered.

Though the two texts are separated in the Brussels codex, there is good reason to think that Aimery's request for aid and the "Relatio miraculi" are supposed to be considered together. All of the short texts that lie between the Aimery letter and the "Relatio miraculi" are descriptive, taking the reader on a tour of the holy places and listing the popes and religious leaders of the important sites in the Holy Land all the way back to the time of Christ. These texts present the reader with what is at stake in Aimery's plea for help. Then the "Relatio miraculi" reminds the reader of the consequences of refusing to do God's work when called. The codex leaves the reader with a decision to make—will he answer the call and go to the East, or will he allow the devil to drive him to some other activity instead? And even without an explicit reference to the Second Crusade, any knowledgeable reader of the twelfth century would have remembered what the consequences of such a choice had been in 1147-48. The Brussels Crusade

Codex is, then, designed rhetorically to try to convince its reader to go on crusade in order to relieve the Holy Land.

If the Brussels codex ended at fol. 156v with the *Historia de Mahumet*, as it originally did, it would be difficult to speculate further about the history of the manuscript, or whom it was intended to persuade of the importance of crusading. However, shortly after the original manuscript was completed, two additional texts were added to the end of the codex. These two texts, the map of Jerusalem and the *Flandria generosa*, introduce a third Flemish monastery into the history of the Brussels codex.

The *Flandria generosa* is a history of the counts of Flanders that begins with the eighth-century reign of Lidric Harlebec, a shadowy figure who may be the product of legend, and concludes with the death of William of Ypres in 1164.[176] Jean-Marie Moeglin suggests that the bulk of the text may have been written between 1134 and 1136, when the events of the civil war described earlier in this chapter were still fresh memories.[177] The text was composed at Saint-Bertin, and the autograph manuscript survives at the Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer in MS 746, tome I.[178] Unfortunately, this is a composite codex, containing bits and pieces culled from a number of different manuscripts that were bound together in the seventeenth century, so it is impossible to say much about the manuscript context of the *Flandria generosa*, beyond the fact that it was composed at the end of an existing book that contained a work of patristic exegesis, the end of which is on the recto of the folio on which the history begins.[179] What is significant for the history of the Brussels Crusade Codex is that it connects it with the abbey of Saint-Bertin, an important administrative center and comital necropolis.

[176] On the *Flandria generosa*, see Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 456.
[177] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 456.
[178] For this codex's status as an autograph, see *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 314.
[179] For the dating of the codex in its present form, see *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, vol. 3, *Saint-Omer* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1861), pp. 333-334.

The Saint-Bertin copy of the *Flandria generosa* probably served as the exemplar for the Brussels Crusade Codex. Though the version of the comital history printed in the MGH, which remains the best edition of the text, lacks a stemma connecting all of the extant manuscripts, its editor, L. C. Bethmann, nevertheless asserts that the Brussels codex was copied directly from the Saint-Bertin manuscript, if "less than accurately" [*minus accurate*].[180] Several pieces of codicological evidence support this claim. First, the text has the same title in each codex, "Genealogia Flandrensium comitum," while later copies employ a number of different titles.[181] The colored initials with which the text begins are also similar in style and execution. Finally, the Brussels manuscript retains the marginal rubrics designating the counts that are found in the Saint-Bertin codex. Though none of these features constitute proof of direct copying, they are persuasive taken in conjunction with Bethmann's assessment and the early date of the Brussels manuscript relative to the composition of the history.

There are other connections to Saint-Bertin in the Brussels codex. The most dramatic of these is related to the text that was added along with the *Flandria generosa*, the famous map of Jerusalem. By the time this map was created in the 1160s or 1170s, there was already tradition of cartography at Saint-Bertin that stretched back to the first decade of the twelfth century, just before Lambert of Saint-Omer began work on the *Liber Floridus*. At around that time, the monks of Saint-Bertin produced a crusade history, based upon the first recension of Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana*. In the middle of their copy of this history, now Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 776, is a map of Jerusalem. This map was later to

[180] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 314. Jeff Rider is currently preparing a critical edition of the *Flandria generosa*, along with other Flemish historical texts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so confirmation of this assessment is forthcoming.
[181] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, pp. 314-317. Bethmann notes on p. 317 that the title he gives the text, "Flandria generosa," is the name under which it is cited by "learned men," rather than a title derived from any manuscript exemplar.

provide the basis for Lambert's rendering of the city in the *Liber Floridus*—though Lambert's map does not survive in the autograph manuscript of the *Liber Floridus*, it does in a copy in Leiden.[182] The Leiden map serves as a decent proxy for Lambert's original map.

A careful comparison of the maps in Saint-Omer 776 and the Brussels codex suggests a close relationship. Both maps depict Jerusalem as a circle, with the east at the top of the page. Both depict the city's five gates, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Dome of the Rock, and the Al-Aqsa Mosque in precisely the same layout. Both provide the same layout for the roads that connect the city with surrounding towns like Jericho, Bethany, and Bethlehem. In fact, although the Brussels map looks much more detailed at a glance because its illustrations are more intricate, there are only a few important differences between the places these maps depict.

One difference between the maps is the location of the Font of Siloam [*fons Sÿloe*], which is southeast of the Mount Zion Gate [*porta Montis Sÿon*] in the Saint-Omer manuscript, but southwest of the gate in the Brussels codex. In each case, the spring feeds a stream which runs through the Kidron Valley to the west. The Brussels map omits the strangely named *villa Gethsemani*, which is just outside the Jehoshaphat Gate in the Saint-Bertin codex, replacing it with Nazareth. The Brussels map adds a number of locations east of Jerusalem that are not present in the Saint-Bertin map, including Arabia, Mount Seir, Mount Zion, the Pentapolis, the Sea of Galilee (here comprising the Sea of Galilee, the Sea of Tiberias, and Lake Gennesaret), the Dead Sea, the rock that Moses struck to produce water for the Israelites, and a number of sites associated with Christ's temptation, including a spot simply labelled "desert" [*desertum*], the place where Jesus was refreshed by angels after his temptation, and the mountain from which Satan urged Christ to throw himself in a test of God's protection. Finally, the Brussels map

[182] Jay Rubenstein, "Bringing Jerusalem Home after 1099, in Pictures and in Words" (paper, 19th International Medieval Congress, Leeds, England, July 9, 2012).

includes a drawing of Acheldemach, the site of Judas's suicide, labelled here "the burial place of foreigners" [*sepultura peregrinorum*], just southeast of the Zion Gate. At the very least, the Brussels map shows a greater interest in the wider geography of the Kingdom of Jerusalem than does the Saint-Bertin map. Despite these differences, the Brussels map was almost certainly copied from the Saint-Bertin map.

The changes in scribe and quire numbering that take place between the *Historia de Mahumet* and the Jerusalem map give the impression that the map and the *Flandria generosa* are unplanned additions to the codex, rather than integral parts of the planned program. It seems likely that if the copyist of the Brussels Crusade Codex had intended to incorporate both the *Flandria generosa* and the map of Jerusalem into his work from the first, he would have placed them in the middle of his narrative, rather than at its conclusion. The map would have been put with either the "De situ urbis Ierusalem" or, more probably, with Rorgo Fretellus's *Descriptio locorum circa Ierusalem adiacentium*, for Fretellus was the source for the many locations east of Jerusalem lacking in the Saint-Bertin map.[183] The Jerusalem maps in both Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 776 and the *Liber Floridus* were copied in the middle of historical narratives, rather than at the ends of the codices, and while the original scribe of the Brussels codex may simply have decided not to emulate his predecessors, it seems more likely that he did not intend to include a map in his codex at all. The *Flandria generosa*, too, seems out of place at the end of the codex—it would have made more thematic sense to insert this text with

[183] See the critical edition in Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte*. The monk(s) of Saint-Bertin who created the map in Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 776 drew their map on the basis of an early recension of Fulcher of Chartres's history of the crusade, as Jay Rubenstein has shown; cf. "Bringing Jerusalem Home after 1099, in Pictures and in Words." The artist(s) responsible for the map in the Brussels Crusade Codex added to their exemplar by culling new locations from Fretellus's text, pointing to a noteworthy degree of institutional memory, cartographical training, or both. Many of the early manuscript witnesses to Fretellus's *Descriptio locorum* were made in Flanders, which makes one wonder whether the text was carried back to Europe by a Fleming—see the manuscript list, which excludes both the Brussels and Saint-Amand codices as later versions of the text, in Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 2-3. His D [Douai, BM, MS 882, discussed in this chapter], L, and Vat. manuscripts are all from Flanders.

the other historical narratives in the codex, such as the histories of Robert and Fulcher, rather than to place it at the end after the Jerusalem map. While any conclusions drawn from these arguments must remain speculative, it is probable that both map and genealogy were added to the manuscript at Saint-Bertin after the codex was already "finished."

The foregoing analysis allows a reconstruction of the history of the Brussels Crusade Codex. Sometime after 1164 and before 1179, possibly even before 1165, the monks of Saint-Amand and Marchiennes collaborated on the production of a deluxe manuscript. This new book included texts from the crusading histories of both houses, and was designed to present a narrative of the crusades that would convince its reader to go on crusade himself. Sometime shortly after the codex was finished, it travelled to the abbey of Saint-Bertin, on the other side of the county of Flanders. There the monks added a map of Jerusalem and a history of the counts of Flanders to the end of the codex. This brought the codex to the form in which it exists today.

Given these facts, it seems likely that it was made at the request of Count Thierry himself, and was intended for Philip of Alsace, Thierry's oldest living son, who had been governing Flanders alongside his father since the latter's departure on crusade in 1157, and to whom Thierry ceded full control of Flanders before departing on his fourth and final trip to the Holy Land in 1164.[184] Indeed, Thierry likely commissioned the creation of the Brussels Crusade Codex as a way of reminding his son of the importance of the crusading venture. There was precedent for such action. A knight named William Grassegals had presented a compilation of crusade histories to Louis VII on the occasion of the French king's accession to the throne in 1137.[185] This manuscript is known today as the Saint-Victor codex.[186] Grassegals was a veteran of the First Crusade who gave the book to Louis as an exhortation to live up to the crusading

[184] De Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre," p. 100.
[185] Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use," pp. 150-152.
[186] The manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 14378.

exploits of his ancestors.[187] In his dedicatory letter, the French knight urged the king to contemplate, in the pages of the book, "the images of your forebears, namely Hugh the Great and Count Robert of Flanders."[188] Furthermore, as Jay Rubenstein has shown most ingeniously, Louis almost certainly read this book (or had it read to him), and used the lessons he gleaned from it in his decision-making process while on crusade himself.[189] Thierry was in Louis's retinue during the Second Crusade, serving as a trusted advisor to the king. Rubenstein posits that Louis referenced the Saint-Victor Codex while discussing strategy with his generals, so Thierry would certainly have been aware of its existence and been in a position to see its influence over the young king. There is every reason to imagine that he would have wanted to pass on a similar book to his own son.

Thierry's presumptive sponsorship of this book project explains why the abbeys of Marchiennes, Saint-Amand, and Saint-Bertin all contributed to it. Both Saint-Amand and Marchiennes were frequent recipients of Thierry's gifts.[190] Given the count's impressive crusading credentials, it is easy to imagine that the monks of both houses would have made a point of showing their crusading histories off to Thierry during his visits.[191] Perhaps this inspired him to ask them to create a copy for his son. The proximity and prior collaboration of Saint-Amand and Marchiennes allowed the monks to produce something far more involved than a copy, updating and expanding the contents of their own histories to bring the narrative to 1164. This new narrative ends with Aimery's plea for help, addressed to Louis VII but answered, perhaps even as the Brussels Crusade Codex was being copied, by Thierry himself.

[187] Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use," pp. 131-144.
[188] "imagines Vgonis uidelicet magni atque Rotberti flandrensis comitis." Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 14378, fol. 1vb.
[189] Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use," pp. 152-160.
[190] De Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre," p. 109.
[191] For a detailed investigation of this history, see Chapter 4.

After the codex was presented, perhaps to Philip, or perhaps to Thierry after his return from the east, it was carried to Saint-Bertin, where the monks already had a long history of commemorating the crusading activity of the Flemish counts. The reasoning behind their decision to add the map of Jerusalem and the *Flandria generosa* remains a mystery, but one possible explanation may lie in the penultimate text of the original codex, the "Historia regum Francorum."[192] Despite the name of this text, it is not a text favorable to the kings of France. Instead, the "Historia regum Francorum" comprises two genealogies relating to the historical line of Charlemagne. The first genealogy traces the Carolingian line all the way from Priam of Troy to Godfrey and Baldwin of Bouillon, "kings of Jerusalem" [*reges iherosolimę*].[193] The second genealogy begins by advertising that "he who wants, therefore, to know how the kingdom of the Franks was severed from the genealogy of Charlemagne can learn it here."[194] It then goes on to explain how the Capetians wrested control of France from the Carolingians. Far from being a pro-Capetian text, the "Historia regum Francorum" emphasizes the fact that the Capetians are not descended from Charlemagne. Instead, this text emphasizes the connection between Charlemagne and the first two kings of Jerusalem, Godfrey and Baldwin.

Both Godfrey and Baldwin had died childless, so in the East the Carolingian line had expired by the time the Brussels codex was created. However, the counts of Flanders were also descendants of Charlemagne, and it seems likely that the "Historia regum Francorum" was meant to meant to suggest that they, rather than the Capetians, should follow in the footsteps of Godfrey and Baldwin. Since this is not explicitly stated in the text, the monks of Saint-Bertin may have decided that prospective readers could benefit from a more overt connection between

[192] This text is edited in the MGH as "Genealogia comitum Bulonensium," ed. L.C. Bethmann, *MGH SS* 9, pp. 299-301. Bethmann's text, however, only reproduces part of the first genealogy present in the Brussels Crusade Codex.
[193] Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 9823-34, fols. 147vb-148rb.
[194] "Qui ergo uoluerit agnoscere quomodo disiunctum sit regnum francorum a genealogia karoli magni ·´ hinc poterit asnoscere." Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 9823-34, fol. 148vb-ra.

Charlemagne, the counts, and crusading. They therefore added the map of Jerusalem and the recently-finished *Flandria generosa*, which narrates Baldwin Bras-de-Fer's marriage to Judith and hence emphasizes the Carolingian ancestry of the Flemish counts.[195]

CONCLUSION

Thierry of Alsace died in 1168. His son Philip would be the count for twenty-three years, presiding over an especially rich period in Flemish history. In particular, Philip was an avid patron of literature, and his court was the site of a great deal of literary production. Most famously, Chrétien de Troyes dedicated his fifth romance, *Perceval, le Conte du Graal*, to Philip. Within a few decades of his death, Flanders would witness the birth of vernacular French historiography, written in prose in response to the perceived mendacity of such literature.[196] The comital court began to take up the production of historical memory and became an important site of commemoration itself. For example, Jean-Marie Moeglin has argued recently that a revised version of the *Flandria generosa*, dubbed the *Flandria generosa* B by Bethmann in the MGH, was written and repeatedly revised at Philip's court. Moeglin rechristens this text, which survives in both Latin and French versions, the *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*.[197]

These developments at the comital court in Flanders were outgrowths of the commemorative activities that characterized the rule of Philip's father, Thierry. In the aftermath of Charles's murder and his own accession, Thierry seized upon the fledgling cruading tradition inaugurated by his grandfather, Robert the Frisian, and used it to strengthen his claim to the county. By going on crusade, Thierry proved, to borrow Nicholas Paul's formulation, that he fit the paradigm of a successful count of Flanders. The fact that Thierry returned to the East several

[195] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 317.
[196] See Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
[197] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," pp. 455-476.

times confirms the importance of this strategy. So, too, does the fact that he took measures to encourage his son to go crusading at the end of his rule.

The growth of the comital crusading tradition in Flanders was not the result of Thierry's activity alone. Both the act of crusading itself and the commemorative process required the participation of the nobles, burghers, canons, and monks of Flanders. They journeyed east in Thierry's army, governed the county in his absence, and conducted the trade necessary to finance the expeditions. They took part in the public donations through which the count articulated the importance of crusade. And they wrote books about the importance of crusading, both on their own initiative and at Thierry's request. A final anecdote highlights how important comital crusading was. In 1156, a moneylender from Saint-Omer named William Cade loaned twenty-seven silver marks to a man named Anselm. Anselm promised to pay the money back in two installments, "at the upcoming Christmas—after the King [Henry II] and Count Thierry of Flanders spoke near Durham; before the count, about to set out for Jerusalem, departs—and at the following Easter."[198] By the mid-twelfth century, the crusading tradition of the counts of Flanders was so well known that it could be used to date legal agreements.

[198] "ad proximum Natale postquam Rex et Comes Theodoricus Flandrie simul locuti fuerunt apud duure antequam comes m[o]uit Ierosolimam profecturus et ad Pascha sequens." Hilary Jenkinson, "A Money-Lender's Bonds of the Twelfth Century," in *Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, ed. H.W.C. Davis (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), pp. 192-193, 207. Jenkinson indicates that this means between April and December 1157, but Thierry's departure took place in the spring of 1157, and so the agreement must have been made before December 1156.

CHAPTER 3: FATEFUL DECISIONS
The Crimes and Crusades of Philip of Alsace, 1168-1191

INTRODUCTION

In June 1177, Philip of Alsace left Flanders for Jerusalem.[1] He reached Acre at the beginning of August, and was welcomed warmly. According to William of Tyre, Baldwin IV was "greatly delighted" [*exhilaratus plurimum*] at his arrival. He sent a cadre of important secular and religious leaders to meet Philip and escort him to Jerusalem.[2] So fortuitous was Philip's arrival that the nobles of Jerusalem decided unanimously to offer him power over the kingdom.[3] This offer seems to have been spurred by the need to find an appropriate general to command the kingdom's army in a joint Frankish-Byzantine attack on Egypt, recently proposed by Manuel Comnenus.[4] As Jean Dunbabin notes, Philip's arrival must have appeared as a godsend for the kingdom's leaders, for he was a famed knight and commander who could lead the army without threatening the position of the sickly king.[5] He was, in other words, a perfect solution to the kingdom's major political problems, which included Baldwin IV's leprosy, the youth of his presumptive successor (the future Baldwin V), and the growing power of Salah ad-Din, who ruled both Syria and Egypt and so could threaten the Latin kingdom on two fronts.[6]

Unfortunately for the barons and ecclesiastical leaders of Jerusalem, Philip refused their offer. William of Tyre records the reasoning behind the count's decision in his *Chronique*:

> He responded that he had not come to this place in order to accept any power, but in order to give himself over to the service of God, by whose grace he had come. Nor was it his intention to commit himself to any exercise of power [*administratio*], but rather to be

[1] The Anchin continuator of Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronicon* indicates that he left "around Pentecost" [*circa pentecosten*], which was celebrated on June 12; *Sigeberti Continuatio aquicinctina*, p. 415.
[2] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XXI.13(14), p. II.979.
[3] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XXI.13(14), p. II.979.
[4] Jean Dunbabin, "William of Tyre and Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders," *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België* 48, no. 1 (1986), pp. 112-113.
[5] Dunbabin, "William of Tyre and Philip of Alsace," p. 113.
[6] On Baldwin IV's effectiveness as a military and political leader, see Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

> free to return to his own lands when his affairs recalled him. Let the lord king appoint a procurator for his kingdom, whomever he wished, and the count was willing to obey him for the benefit of the kingdom, just as he would his own lord, the king of the Franks.[7]

Not only was he unwilling to commit himself to any position of leadership in the East, but according to William he reminded the court of Jerusalem that he was bound both to Flanders and to Louis VII. He was bound, in other words, to the West. Philip also refused to take command of the Frankish forces who were supposed to march against Egypt, reiterating his willingness to serve under the command of whomever Baldwin IV might choose.[8]

This seemingly reasonable response to the king's offer infuriated William of Tyre, whose subsequent descriptions of Philip's activity are punctuated by maledictions against the count. For example, immediately after refusing the command of the army, William reports that Philip tried to raise the question of who might marry Sybilla, Baldwin IV's older sister. Given Baldwin's illness, Sybilla's husband would be the presumptive heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and so a person of power. Philip, who was already married, was obviously not angling for the honor himself. Nevertheless, William reports that "hearing this speech, we wondered at the malice of this man and the sinister design of his mind."[9] William goes on to explain what it was that Philip was "wickedly plotting" [*maligne versatus*]. The count wanted to broker marriages between the two sons of Robert of Béthune, who had accompanied him on crusade, and Sybilla and her half-sister, Isabella. Robert had agreed to grant all of Béthune if he could arrange such a marriage.[10] William reports that this plan was rejected by the barons, which led Philip to abandon the

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[7] "respondit quod ipse non venerat ad hoc, ut potestatem aliquam acciperet, sed ut servicio se manciparet divino, cuius gratia venerat, nec erat eius propositi quod alicui administrationi se obligaret, quin libere posset cum eum sua revocarent negocia, ad propria redire, sed dominus rex in regno suo procuratorem ordinaret quem vellet, et ipse tanquam domino suo Francorum regi ob regni utilitatem ei vellet obedire." William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XXI.13(14), p.II. 979. I have rendered "servicio divino" as "the service of God" in order to make the subsequent relative clause work in English.

[8] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XXI.13 (14), p. 979.

[9] "Audientes hoc verbum admirati sumus hominis maliciam et sinistrum mentis conceptum." William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XXI.13 (14), p. 980.

[10] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XXI.13-14 (14-15), pp. 980-981.

scheme, "indignant and angry" [*indignans et iratus*].[11] Later on, in his account of the siege of the fortress of Harim, William asserts that Philip and his compatriots failed to take the castle because of their moral faults:

> For, having been given over to dissolution, they bestowed more care on dice games and other noxious pleasures than military discipline or the law of siege warfare requires. They hurried in continual journeys to Antioch, where, given to the baths, to carousing, and to drunkenness and other slippery pleasures [*lubricae voluptates*], they deserted the siege for idleness.[12]

Philip ultimately returned to Flanders in 1178 without capturing the fortress. William punctuates his account of the count by noting that "he left behind a memory blessed in nothing."[13]

William of Tyre's description of Philip of Alsace as a failed crusader is the only contemporary record of the count's deeds in the East. Several modern historians have rightly noted that William's scathing portrayal is colored by his disappointment and anger at the count's refusal to take up the regency of Jerusalem.[14] Nevertheless, William's judgment of Philip's character and motives has cast a long shadow over the Flemish knight's career. His account of Philip's behavior caused one modern historian, for example, to assert bluntly that "the count's political behaviour there [in the East] was bizarre and exasperating, to use very mild language."[15] Philip, however, was far more concerned with crusading and the Kingdom of Jerusalem than William of Tyre suggests. His decision not to accept the regency of Jerusalem came at the end of years of wrestling with the question of how best to follow in the footsteps of his crusading father.

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[11] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XXI.14 (15), p. 981.
[12] "Nam in dissolutionem dati, aleis et ceteris noxiis voluptatibus maiorem dabant operam quam disciplina militaris aut obsidionis lex exposceret, continuis itineribus Antiochiam properabant, ubi balneis, comessationibus et ebrietatibus et ceteris lubricis voluptatibus dediti, desidiis obsidionem deserebant." William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XXI.24 (25), pp. 994-995.
[13] "in nullo relinquens post se in benedictione memoriam." William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XXI.24 (25), p. 996.
[14] Dunbabin, "William of Tyre and Philip of Alsace," pp. 111-117; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 225-245.
[15] Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," *The English Historical Review* 97, no. 385 (October 1982), pp. 726-727.

That Philip declined to stay in the East is a testament to the power of the comital tradition of going east to secure power in Flanders itself.

This chapter analyzes Philip's career as both count and crusader, roles that were closely linked in the late twelfth century. It begins by exploring the political and social context in which Philip chose to go on crusade in the mid-1170s. It then analyzes the preparations he made before departing for Jerusalem in 1177, many of which were undertaken in imitation of his father, Thierry. After recounting Philip's crusade and his decision not to accept a position of authority in the East, the chapter analyzes the production of textual commemorations of comital crusading, both within Philip of Alsace's court and in the many Flemish monasteries that continued to have close ties with the count and his administration. It concludes by examining Philip's decision to take the cross a second time in the late 1180s and his subsequent participation in the Third Crusade.

COURT, CONSCIENCE, AND CRUSADE, 1168-1178

Philip of Alsace was fourteen years old when his father put him in charge of the county in 1157 and went east to Jerusalem. Thierry may not have intended to return at all—when he did come back to Flanders in 1159, his second wife, Sibylla, remained in a convent at Bethany in the east, and he and Philip ruled together.[16] This arrangement seems to have worked well. Thierry retained control over foreign affairs and matters pertaining to his family, while Philip focused his attentions on the government of Flanders itself.[17] When Thierry returned to the Holy Land in 1164, Philip once again oversaw all of the comital duties, and he seems to have continued to govern largely on his own even after his father's final return from Jerusalem in 1166.

[16] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 71; de Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre," p. 99.
[17] De Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre" pp. 99-100.

Consequently, when Thierry died in January 1168, Philip was already an experienced administrator with more than a decade of rule under his belt.

David Nicholas characterizes Philip as "probably the most remarkable ruler of medieval Flanders."[18] His tenure as count coincided with the high point of Flemish political power and cultural production in the twelfth century. Philip controlled more territory than any count before him, particularly after acquiring the county of Vermandois from his wife Elizabeth. By the mid-1170s his domains stretched almost to Paris itself. Philip was close to Louis VII, and served as an unofficial guardian to Louis's son, Philip Augustus. He oversaw a flourishing chancery, especially under the control of Robert of Aire, his first chancellor. Indeed, the Flemish chancery developed into a sophisticated institution roughly fifty years before France and England could boast anything comparable.[19]

Philip refined and expanded the sophisticated administrative structures that his predecessors had put in place. To the system of castellanies that he had inherited, Philip added a network of bailiffs to administer civil and criminal justice. The castellans, who had previously been responsible for dispensing justice, were largely confined to military command over given regions of Flanders and garrisoning the count's castles, while the bailiffs oversaw the work of courts of aldermen in the cities, collected rents and taxes owed to the count, and policed the roads and byways of their territories.[20] Philip appointed these bailiffs, who typically served in territories other than those in which they were born, and were regularly rotated at his discretion.[21] These innovations enhanced central comital control over judicial and financial matters, and helped to secure the count's power over the hereditary castellans.

[18] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 71.
[19] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 79.
[20] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 87-88.
[21] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 88.

Philip also expanded the number of regions that had courts of aldermen. Before the mid-twelfth century, only a few of the many Flemish castellanies had such courts, and those courts that did exist were hamstrung by their inability to assign severe punishments for major crimes.[22] Philip encouraged the creation of courts of aldermen attached to towns and may also have introduced a practice called *chef-de-sens*, in which lower courts had to consult a higher court in order to settle disputes—lower courts within castellanies would usually appeal to the court of the castellan, while castellan courts could consult the so-called "aldermen of Flanders."[23] The bailiffs ultimately played a role in this system, as well. Such legal innovations secured comital authority in the county and also provided the stability necessary for the Flemish economy to flourish.

Philip's reign also marked the beginning of a burst of literary production in and around the comital court. The count himself was able to read and write both French and Latin,[24] and his court became a center for the composition of French literature in particular. His first wife, Elizabeth of Vermandois, was an important patroness of courtly poetry, and Philip himself was the patron of no less an author than Chrétien de Troyes, who dedicated his *Perceval, le Conte du Graal* to the count. Philip's court was also a center for literary exchange, for the count collected books and then distributed them to his poets and courtiers for perusal and inspiration.[25] In fact, Chrétien claims in the prologue to *Perceval* that he based the story on a book that Philip had given to him.[26]

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[22] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 84.
[23] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 86.
[24] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 94.
[25] Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. 1, *Des origines au commencement fu XIV^e siècle* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin, 1929), pp. 348-349.
[26] Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Conte du Graal (Perceval)*, ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1973), pp. 5-7. For recent work on *Perceval*, see Thomas Hinton, *The "Conte du Graal" Cycle: Chrétien de Troyes' "Perceval," the Continuations, and French Arthurian Romance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012).

Under Elizabeth's influence, the Flemish court also developed a reputation as a *cour d'amour*.[27] Though far less famous than the contemporary courts of her aunt, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and cousin, Marie of Champagne, Elizabeth's court attracted poets and other performers, as well as members of the nobility keen on learning the ways of courtly love. It also attracted scandal, in the form of allegations that the countess was unfaithful to her husband. The contemporary English chronicler Ralph of Diceto relates that Philip caught Elizabeth *in flagrante delicto* with a young knight named Walter of Fontaine and exacted a swift and terrible punishment upon him:

> Count Philip of Flanders ordered that Walter of Fontaine, caught, it is said, in adultery with the countess Elizabeth, be killed by blows of clubs on August 12 [1175], and he made haste to have his corpse suspended, with its head turned upside down in a toilet seat, by means of feet fastened to a hastily-prepared scaffold. So that nothing should be wanting with respect to cruelty, and so that he might fully vent his anger toward the dead man, suspended thus ignominiously, with his skull broken, it was commanded by edict that he be displayed to the public gawking of the crowd.[28]

This story is also told in Roger of Hoveden's *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, though in Roger's account Walter is beaten only until he is only mostly dead [*semimortuus*] and then hung up in a particularly nasty toilet: "thus he ended his life most miserably, killed by sewer stench."[29] No Flemish historians, on the other hand, mention Elizabeth's alleged adultery.[30] This lacuna in the sources may indicate that the story is apocryphal, or it may indicate that historians in and around

[27] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 94.
[28] "Philippus comes Flandrensis Walterum de Fontibus, cum Ysabela comitissa, sicut dicitur, in adulterio deprehensum, ictibus clavarum jussit interfici ii^{o} idus Augusti, et ejus cadaver caput habens inversum in sella secessui deputata, pedibus religatis ad furcas propere præparatas, properavit suspendi; ut etiam nichil crudelitati deesset, et ut plene sæviret in mortuum, sic ignominiose suspensum fractis parietibus sub edicto datum est exponi publicis aspectibus concurrentium." Ralph of Diceto, *The Historical Works*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1876), I.402. This excerpt is from the *Ymagines historiarum*.
[29] "sic cloacali foetore extinctus miserrime vitam finivit." Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta regis Henrici II*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1867), p. I.101. "Cloacali foetore" could be a circumstantial ablative rather than an ablative of means, but the latter is more entertaining (though not, presumably, for Walter).
[30] Karen S. Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 124-125.

the county were too embarrassed by the affair to include it in their narratives.[31] Either way, it would seem that the Flemish court's reputation was well-known across the Channel.

Regardless of whether Elizabeth's infidelity was more than just rumor, her marriage to Philip was generally profitable for Flanders. Along with Vermandois, Elizabeth's dowry included Amiens and Valois, which were its dependencies.[32] When Elizabeth turned control of these territories over to Philip in 1175, she made him the most powerful magnate in northeastern France, a man whose authority rivaled that of the king of France.[33] Louis VII had brokered this marriage in order to secure an alliance with Philip against the powerful Angevin Empire, but it was always a calculated risk to make a neighbor like Philip of Alsace so powerful.[34] The main problem with the marriage from the Flemish perspective lay in the fact that it was childless. Karen Nicholas suggests that this failure may have lay at the root of the problems in the personal relationship between Philip and Elizabeth, which seems to have soured in the 1160s and 1170s.[35]

Despite this personal unhappiness, Philip was at the height of his power in 1175. He seems also, however, to have been the object of much public criticism. In addition to objections to his brutal treatment of Walter of Fontaine, Gilbert of Mons reports that Philip was blamed for the death of his younger brother, Count Matthew of Boulogne, who had died in 1173 fighting under Philip's command at the siege of Driencourt against Henry II of England on behalf of Henry the Young King. According to Gilbert, Matthew's death "was imputed to the sins of his

[31] Karen Nicholas argues that Gilbert of Mons's failure to report the adultery suggests that the story is a fabrication. See Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," p. 125. She notes that Gilbert writes favorably toward both Philip and Elizabeth, however, without accounting for the possibility that his favorable disposition may explain his reticence to include such a story, potentially embarrassing to both of them, in his chronicle of Hainaut. David Nicholas, on the other hand, argues that adultery on Elizabeth's part provides an easy explanation for why Elizabeth turned control over the county of Vermandois, which was her inheritance and not his, in 1164. See Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 71-72.
[32] John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 8.
[33] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, p. 8.
[34] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, pp. 7-8.
[35] Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," pp. 124-125.

brother, the count of Flanders, because in the excitation of those wars the very powerful count of Flanders and Vermandois could have used his influence a great deal for the purpose of achieving peace."[36] Ralph of Diceto, the source for Philip's brutal treatment of Walter of Fontaine, indicates that Philip was concerned about his responsibility for "horrible injuries" [*atroces iniuriae*] perpetrated against the English and Normans during the Revolt of 1173-1174.[37]

Philip dealt with the consequences of his actions in the same way that his ancestor Robert the Frisian had, namely by undertaking a penitential journey to Jerusalem. Ralph of Diceto reports that Philip decided to go on crusade in April 1175, and that a number of his compatriots agreed to go with him:

> With the command of Count Philip impelling them, the count himself, his brother Peter, and an innumerable multitude with them decided, with salubrious judgment, to mark their shoulders with the sign of the cross in order to expiate the horrible injuries which the Flemish had inflicted, without cause, on the English and Normans.[38]

Philip had other reasons to go crusading beyond his own sins. As Miriam Rita Tessera notes, he had been summoned east. Arnulf, the subprior of the Holy Sepulchre acting as an envoy from Baldwin IV of Jerusalem, was present in Flanders in 1175, and he witnessed a number of Philip's charters between 1175 and the count's eventual departure in 1177.[39] Arnulf may have been sent to ask Philip to travel east to aid the Kingdom of Jerusalem, for Baldwin IV's leprosy prevented him from fathering an heir and a crisis of succession was a real possibility.[40] Raymond III of Antioch, who was serving as regent for Baldwin IV at this time, sent envoys west to try to secure

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[36] "Cujus mors peccatis fratris sui comitis Flandrie inputabatur, ex eo quod in commotione guerrarum illarum ipse comes Flandrie et Viromandie potentissimus ad pacem componendam plurimum potuisset valere." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 73, p. 113.
[37] Ralph of Diceto, *The Historical Works*, I.398.
[38] "Ad expiandas atroces injurias quas Anglis et Normannis sine causa Flandrenses frequenter intulerant, Philippi comitis urgente mandato, comes ipse, Petrus frater ejus et innumera multitude cum eis, signo crucis humeros insignire salubri consilio statuerunt." Ralph of Diceto, *The Historical Works*, I.398-399.
[39] Miriam Rita Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders and Hildegard of Bingen: Crusading against the Sarracens or Crusading against Deadly Sin?," in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 79-80, 88n17.
[40] Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 226-227.

a marriage for Baldwin's sister, Sibylla, in order to avert such a crisis.[41] William of Tyre reports that King Amaury had previously dispatched emissaries to Philip in the spring of 1169 to seek help against the Turks, and he later indicates that Philip was "long-awaited" [*diu expectatus*] by the time he reached Acre in August 1177.[42] It seems clear that the kings of Jerusalem had been pressuring Philip to come to their aid for some time, and the confluence of Philip's power and guilt made 1175 an appealing time to answer the call.

Roger of Hoveden relates that Philip planned to depart for Jerusalem immediately after taking the cross in 1175, but that an insurrection in the county in that year delayed him.[43] Philip made extensive preparations for an 1176 departure. In addition to the complicated logistical arrangements that needed to be made before travelling to the East, the count made numerous donations to religious houses in Flanders between 1175 and 1176. Some aspects of his program of donations were novel, but many seem to have been modeled on the examples of his ancestors, in particular his father, Thierry. Because many of his charters are undated, it is difficult to know precisely how many donations were related to his crusade. Nevertheless, a close examination of the charters from those years reveals several important patterns.

Philip made a number of his donations between 1175 and 1176 to Cistercian houses, some of which had also benefitted from gifts made by Thierry before his departure on crusade. For example, in 1175 Philip affirmed his protection of the monastery of Ten Duinen, saying that he wanted it to be known "that I have taken up the defense of the church of Saint Mary of the Dunes along with all its appendices so that it can be free to attend, in peace, to divine praises and

[41] Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 226-229; Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs*, pp. 84-108.
[42] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XX.12, XXI.13(14), pp. II.925-926, 979.
[43] Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta regis Henrici II*, p. I.101.

prayers, and so that no one presumes to disturb them."[44] He also granted some new privileges to the monks, including the right to erect a new house at Moere-bij-Veurne and the right to charge tolls on a road near the monastery. A charter from March of the following year benefitting the abbey of Loos specifically references his departure on crusade:

> I want it to be noted by all the faithful, as much by contemporaries as by those who will come afterward, that I Philip, by the grace of God count of Flanders and Vermandois, hastening to the Sepulchre of the Lord for the sake of pursuing the abiding mercy of that same Lord and Savior, believing that each person will receive from God on the day of Judgment according to his works, desiring to work some good for my soul while there is still time, have given, freely and voluntarily in alms, the water of my fishpond and whatever I held from the bridge of Habourdin all the way to the mill-house of Le Quesnoy, opposite the village of Loos, to the brothers of the Cistercian order serving God in the abbey church of Blessed Mary of Loos for an annual gift of fifty *solidi*, on the condition that the church shall celebrate the anniversary day of my death in the chapter, with my soul absolved, in perpetuity, and that on that day the abbot of the same church, with the fifty *solidi* returned, shall provide a general pittance to his entire community for the sake of my alms.[45]

Like many crusaders, including his forebears, Philip connected his desire to secure perpetual spiritual aid from the monks with his departure for Jerusalem, which was itself aimed at acquiring the "abiding mercy" of Christ himself. He also communicated his ongoing goodwill to the community of Loos by specifying that the countergift of fifty *solidi* that he was to receive

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[44] "me scilicet ęcclesiam Sanctę Marię de Dunis cum omnibus appendiciis suis tuendam suscepisse, ut quiete diuinis laudibus et orationibus possit uacare et nemo eos presumat perturbare." "DiBe 7450," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 14, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=7450. I have been unable to acquire a copy of the *Regering van Filips van de Elzas* published in 2001 by Thérèse de Hemptinne, Adriaan Verhulst, and Lieve De Mey, so all references to Philip's charters will be to their individual pages on Diplomata Belgica. This charter is no. 388 in the 2001 edition of the *Regering van Filips*.

[45] "Notum esse uolo cunctis fidelibus tam modernis quam posteris quod ego Philippus, Dei gratia Flandriarum et Uiromandię comes, pergens ad Sepulchrum Domini pro consequenda eiusdem Domini et Saluatoris perpetua misericordia, credens quod unusquisque recipiet a Deo in die Iudicii secundum opera sua, aliquid boni pro anima mea dum tempus est cupiens operari, dedi libere et uoluntarie in elemosinam aquam uiuarii mei et quicquid habebam a ponte de Haburdin usque ad molendinum de Chesneto contra uillam de Los, fratribus ordinis Clareuallis in abbatia ęcclesię Beatę Marię de Los Deo famulantibus, pro censu L solidorum annuo, ea conditione ut obitus mei anniuersarium diem absoluta anima mea in capitulo ęcclesia in perpetuum celebret et ea die abbas eiusdem ęcclesię pro elemosina mea remissis L solidis toti conuentui suo pitantiam generalem prouideat." "DiBe 8548," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8548. This charter is no. 391 in the *Regering*.

annually should be returned to them after his death and used to provide an extra measure of food and wine, the "general pittance" [*pitantia generalis*], for the monks.[46]

In addition to the gifts listed above, Philip made a number of other donations to Cistercian houses in 1176. These included gifts to Cistercian monasteries outside of the county of Flanders. For example, Philip granted freedom from taxes to Cambron Abbey in Hainaut in August.[47] He also granted a similar privilege to Longpont, a Cistercian house in Soissons.[48] Within Flanders, Philip confirmed the possessions of the abbey of Clairmarais and extended the exemption from tonlieu granted to Clairvaux by his father Thierry to Loos.[49] Loos also received a number of smaller donations during the course of the year, suggesting that Philip had a particularly close relationship with the monks there—this may help to explain why the chief surviving crusade charter of 1176 was issued there.[50]

Philip made several other noteworthy gifts to non-Cistercian houses as well. The most noteworthy such beneficiary was the community of Premonstratensian canons at Saint-Nicholas in Veurne, on whose behalf the count issued no fewer than seven charters in the aforementioned period. Several of these involve exemptions from taxes like tonlieu.[51] Saint-Nicholas was one of the institutions that had also benefitted from gifts made by Thierry of Alsace in 1146 before the

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[46] On the use of countergifts in donations made to Cistercian abbeys, see Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 66-94.
[47] "DiBe 2828," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=2828. This charter is no. 395 in the *Regering*.
[48] "DiBe 3746," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=3746. This charter is no. 408 in the *Regering*.
[49] "DiBe 7240," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=7240. This charter is no. 427 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 8990," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8990. This charter is no. 409 in the *Regering*.
[50] For a summary of these donations, see H. Coppieters Stochove, ed., "Regestes de Philippe d'Alsace, comte de Flandre," in *Annales de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand* 7 (Ghent, 1907), pp. 53-54, nos. 137-139. Though Coppieters Stochove misdates some of the charters in this overview of Philip's register, the recent edition of the *Regering van Filips* dates all three of these charters to 1176.
[51] See Coppieters Stochove, ed., "Regestes de Philippe d'Alsace," pp. 48-77, nos. 129, 148-153.

Second Crusade. In fact, Bernard of Clairvaux himself had witnessed the charter that Thierry issued on behalf of the canons there.[52] In another gift benefitting a group to whom his father had been generous, in June 1176 Philip gave a woman named Godilde, a servant whom one of his knights had just emancipated, to the Templars as alms [*in elemosinam*].[53]

The June donation to the Templars seems to have been part of Philip's final preparation for departure. Sometime in the summer of 1176 he concluded a treaty of mutual aid with Count Baldwin V of Hainaut that was designed to safeguard the county in his absence.[54] He fully expected to be out of the county for an extended period of time. Matters in the West, however, delayed his departure. According to Roger of Hoveden, Henry II convinced Philip to once more delay his departure for a year by promising to accompany him to Jerusalem and also to provide soldiers for the expedition if he would wait until 1177.[55] Roger also supplies the motive behind Henry's seemingly generous offer, noting that the king was worried about Philip's motives:

> For Amalric, the king of Jerusalem and uncle of the king of England, died a short time before, and Baldwin, his son, was made king in his place, but he was a paralytic, and had since lost an arm. And it was suggested to the king of England that the aforementioned count of Flanders proposed to go to Jerusalem for this purpose, in order that he might be raised up as king. For this reason, the king of England caused his journey to be deferred until a preset time, because he himself then proposed to go to Jerusalem personally, or to send knights and support personnel there for the defense of the king of Jerusalem, his blood relative.[56]

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[52] *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no. 92, p. 152.
[53] "DiBe 10090," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 14, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=10090. This charter is no. 392 in the *Regering*.
[54] "DiBe 2739," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=2739. This charter is no. 429 in the *Regering*. Gilbert of Mons mentions this treaty, as well, though he says that the two counts concluded "many truces" [*multae induciae*]; see Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 80, p. 119.
[55] Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," pp. 725-726. Tessera indicates that Philip originally promised to leave in the summer of 1175, but I have been unable to find the evidence on which she bases this claim; cf. Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 79.
[56] "Nam Amaurius rex Jerosolimitanus, patruus ejus Angliae, Paulo ante obiit; et Baldewinus, filius ejus, loco ipsius rex efficiebatur, sed paralyticus erat, et exinde brachium amiserat. Et intimatum erat regi Angliae, quod praedictus comes Flandriae hac de causa Jerosolimam ire proposuit, ut ibidem in regem sublimaretur. Et ideo fecit rex Angliae iter ipsius differri usque ad praefixum terminum, quia ipse tunc Jerosolimam in propria persona ire proposuit, vel milites et servientes illuc mittere ad defensionem regis Jerosolimitani consanguinei sui." Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta regis Henrici II*, p. I.116. Stubbs attributes this text to Benedict of Peterborough, but current scholarship identifies

In the event Henry did not accompany Philip to Jerusalem. Indeed, his failure to go on crusade is well-known.[57] Henry did, however, provide Philip with the considerable sum of 1,000 silver marks, which he had supposedly promised for the salvation of Matthew of Boulogne, Philip's dead brother. When the count of Flanders finally departed for Jerusalem in 1177 he took this money, which Henry had earmarked for the Templars and Hospitallers, with him.[58]

The terms under which Henry II surrendered this money suggest the sincerity of Philip's penitential attitude as he prepared for his crusade. Hans Eberhard Mayer indicates that the money was part of Henry's attempt to delay Philip's departure, claiming that Henry "promised that if the count would defer his crusade for a year, he would underwrite his expenses."[59] Mayer goes on to note that "before setting out in 1177 Philip actually touched Henry for money which, he claimed, the king had promised for the soul of the count's brother Matthew, count of Boulogne."[60] This implies a certain rapaciousness on Philip's part, as if the count took advantage of Henry to gain the money. However, Roger of Hoveden never mentions an offer to "underwrite [Philip's] expenses." As seen above, in his account Henry promised either to go to Jerusalem himself or to provide knights and auxiliaries. When Roger does mention the money in his account of Philip's departure in 1177, it is earmarked for the salvation of Matthew of Boulogne, as Mayer rightly notes: "He [Philip] ordered the king of England through the same men not to put off sending him the money which the king had promised he would give for the soul of his brother, Count

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Roger as its author; see Doris M. Stenton, "Roger of Howden and Benedict," *The English Historical Review* 68, no. 269 (October 1953), pp. 574-582, and David Corner, "The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, Parson of Howden," *Historical Research* 56, vol. 134 (November 1983), pp. 126-144.

[57] Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," pp. 721-739.

[58] Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta regis Henrici II*, p. I.133; Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," p. 726.

[59] Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," p. 725.

[60] Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," p. 726.

Matthew of Boulogne, for purpose of retaining knights in defense of the land of Jerusalem."[61] This money was never meant to go to Philip personally. It was always intended for Matthew.

When Henry convinced Philip not to leave on crusade in 1176, he promised not to help pay for the count's journey, but rather to devote his annual cash payment for that year to the salvation of Matthew of Boulogne's soul. This was not an insubstantial concession, for these annual payments were generally associated with Henry's efforts to atone for the murder of Thomas Becket.[62] As Mayer suggests, Henry II may have had his own reasons for dedicating his annual payment for 1177 to Matthew of Boulogne rather than Becket.[63] However, it seems far more likely that it was Philip who wished the money to be given *pro anima Matthaei*. Matthew was Philip's brother, after all, and it was Philip rather than Henry who was being blamed for both his brother's death and the "horrible injuries" brought about by the war of 1173-74. One wonders whether it was the prospect of such a generous gift being given on Matthew's behalf that caused Philip to delay his crusade for a year, rather than the prospect of the aid and company of the king of England.

When it was time for Philip to leave in 1177, he assembled all of his barons and, since he still had no children, named his sister Margaret and her husband, Baldwin V of Hainaut, his heirs a second time.[64] Surprisingly, given the largesse he had displayed in 1175-76, Philip also made a number of new pious donations. The first, noted by Miriam Rita Tessera, was a serial gift of annual cash donations given to no fewer than thirty-four monasteries, cathedrals, and collegiate churches in and around Flanders, intended to subsidize the purchase of the bread and wine

[61] "mandavit regi Angliae per eosdem, ut pecuniam ei mittere non differret quam rex promiserat se daturum pro anima Matthaei comitis Boloniae fratris sui, ad milites retinendos in defensionem Jerosolimitanae terrae." Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta regis Henrici II*, p. I.133.
[62] Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," p. 726.
[63] Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," p. 726.
[64] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 82, pp. 121-122.

necessary for the celebration of the Mass.[65] Included among these thirty-four institutions were Ten Duinen, Loos, Saint-Nicholas of Veurne, Ter Doest, and Vaucelles, all of which were either earlier beneficiaries of pre-crusade gifts or Cistercian houses. Major Benedictine houses like Marchiennes, Saint-Amand, and Saint-Bertin were also part of this impressive collection of beneficiaries, as was the monastery of Saint-Andrew at Bruges, which Robert II and his wife Clémence had founded in the immediate aftermath of the First Cruade. Philip, it seems, wanted to make sure that he was in the good graces of all of the important religious houses of Flanders before his departure.

He also made a second round of pointed donations to still other religious houses with close ties to crusading. In April 1177 Philip confirmed all of the possessions of the church of Saint-George at Hesdin "for the relief of my soul and also for the expiation of my predecessors."[66] Philip had only given one gift to the monks at Hesdin before 1177, suggesting that his decision to confirm the monastery's possessions and include them in his serial donation of money for the Eucharist in that year was connected with his impending departure. Perhaps Philip was seeking the protection of Saint George, the warrior with whom his illustrious predecessor Robert II was so closely associated. Sometime before June he and his wife Elizabeth gave the village of Eterpigny to the Hospitallers.[67] At around the same time he made another generous donation to the church of Saint-Nicholas at Veurne, exempting the canons there from all obligations of tonlieu in the jurisdiction [*bannilocus*] of Veurne.[68] He also issued a detailed

[65] Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 80; for a summary list of the donations, see Coppieters Stochove, ed., "Regestes de Philippe d'Alsace," pp.62-70, nos. 163-196.
[66] "pro remedio anime mee ad expiationem etiam predecessorum meorum." "DiBe 8554," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8554. This charter is no. 430 in the *Regering*.
[67] "DiBe 3953," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=3953. This charter is no. 448 in the *Regering*.
[68] "DiBe 2678," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=2678. This charter is no. 431 in the *Regering*.

charter enumerating and confirming the rights, possessions, and privileges of the abbey of Loos sometime before June 12.[69] Apparently Philip felt, perhaps because of his delays, that it was important to make new donations to the houses he had already favored in 1176.

Philip took one other interesting and sunprecedented step, at least as far as the counts of Flanders are concerned, in preparing for the crusade. Sometime between spring 1176 and his departure the following year, Philip wrote a letter to Hildegard of Bingen, asking for the famed prophetess's advice on how he should conduct his crusade.[70] This letter survives as part of a collection of Hildegard's letters that was made by her secretary, Guibert of Gembloux, before the abbess's death in 1179.[71] Guibert, presumably under Hildegard's supervision, collected and organized Hildegard's correspondence into what Tessera describes as a *Prälatenspiegel*, a work intended to instruct clergy in right behavior.[72] There are only three letters in the collection addressed to secular people: one to Conrad III, one to Frederick Barbarossa, and the letter to Philip. The count is, then, in exalted company, for in addition to being powerful rulers, all three of these men were crusaders. Tessera notes that the letters seem to be included in the collection despite being addressed to lay people because "secular princes enjoyed some prerogatives of clergy as officers of justice, whose ultimate source is God alone."[73]

Philip's letter reveals a great deal about his mentality before departing on crusade, and offers hints as to his plans and intentions. No one disputes the ultimate authenticity of the letter,

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[69] "DiBe 8521," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8521. This charter is no. 453 in the *Regering*.
[70] On the correspondence between Philip and Hildegard, see Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," pp. 77-93; for the dating, see ibid., pp. 79-80. This letter survives in a single manuscript copy, and Tessera provides a transcription of both Philip's letter and Hildegard's reply in her article; cf. pp. 85-86. For other information about the letter, including an overview of secondary literature pertaining to it, see "DiBe 9882," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 16, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=9882.
[71] Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," pp. 77-78.
[72] Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 78.
[73] Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 78.

though it is possible that Hildegard or Guibert changed the text while they were preparing their *Prälatenspiegel*.[74] With that caveat, it is worth considering the contents of the letter in some detail. After greeting Hildegard and noting that he is writing to her because of his admiration for her piety and because "your holy conversation and most honest life have often sounded sweeter to my ears than all notoriety,"[75] he turns to the purpose of his letter:

> Even now the time is already at hard in which I ought to set out on the journey to Jerusalem [*iter Ierosolimitanum*], for which work I have made great preparations, and concerning which I hope you will deign to confide your counsel to me through your letter. For I believe that the notoriety [*fama*] of my name and my deeds has often come to you, and I stand in need of a great deal of God's mercy; whence I beseech you suppliantly, with a very great stream of prayers, to consent to intercede before God for me, a most wretched and unworthy sinner. Moreover, I humbly ask that, inasmuch as divine mercy yields to you, you ask of God what he is preparing for me and that you report your counsel to me in your letter through the messenger at hand, what I should do and how, so that the name of Christianity may be exalted in my time, and the dread ferocity of the Sarracens suppressed, and if it will be useful for me to linger in that land or to return, according to that which you have perhaps heard concerning my state and what you have learned or will learn from divine revelation.[76]

As Tessera notes, Philip's mention of "the notoriety of my name and my deeds" is likely a reference to the gossip and whispered criticism of his misbehaviors, such as his execution of Walter of Fontaines, his failure to stem the wars between Flanders and England, and his supposed responsibility for his brother's death, all of which were apparently well-known.[77] Philip assumes, in other words, that Hildegard already knew why he had chosen to go on

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[74] Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 78.

[75] "sancta conversatio vestra et vita honestissima sepissime meis insonuit auribus omni fama suavior." Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 85.

[76] "Instat etiam iam tempus quo aggredi debeam iter Ierosolimitanum, ad quod opus mihi est magno apparatu, super quo consilium vestrum mihi intimare dignemini per litteras vestras. Credo enim quod ad vos sepius pervenit fama nominis mei et actuum meorum, et multa Dei miseratione indigeo; unde et vos maxima precum instantia suppliciter exoro, ut pro me miserrimo et indignissimo peccatore apud Deum intercedere velitis. Rogo etiam humiliter ut, in quantum vobis concesserit divina Misericordia, inquiratis a Deo quid mihi expediat et litteris vestris per latorem presentium mihi renuntietis consilium vestrum, quid et quomodo faciam, ut nomen Christianitas temporibus meis exaltetur, et dira Sarracenorum feritas deprimatur, et si utile mihi erit in terra illa morari vel reverti, iuxta id videlicet quod de statu meo forsitan audistis et divina reverlatione cognovistis aut cognitura estis." Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 85.

[77] Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 80. On the importance of *fama* and on the many connotations of the word, see Thelma Fuenster and Daniel Lord Smail, eds., *Fama: The Politics of Talk & Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

crusade. He writes to her not to explain himself, but because he hopes that she will confirm God's acceptance of his journey as penance for his misdeeds.

Furthermore, Philip asks Hildegard one specific question. He wants to know "if it will be useful for me to linger in that land or to return." The meaning of the phrase is ambiguous—the verb *morari*, rendered here as "linger," can also mean "remain" or even "wait." It may be that, like his father Thierry, Philip was interested in the possibility of taking control of land in the East and remaining there permanently.[78] His mother Sybilla had remained in the East in 1158 at the conclusion of Thierry's third journey to Jerusalem, so there was clear family precedent for staying. If Thierry had really desired to become a lord in the kingdom of Jerusalem, as William of Tyre claims, then he may have passed this wish on to Philip. There were rumors in England in the twelfth century that Philip was interested in becoming king of Jerusalem. It is suggestive, then, that Philip addressed this question to Hildegard—his decision to do so suggests that he was unsure about the wisdom of such a course of action. If he was genuinely concerned about the efficacy of the pilgrimage, as suggested above, then he may have wished to make sure that accepting a fief in the East would not jeopardize his standing with God. Bernard Hamilton points out that Philip was also Baldwin IV's first cousin, and so had a hereditary right to the regency.[79]

In fact, given the number of emissaries from Jerusalem who had spent time in Flanders, it is reasonable to think that Philip had been approached about the possibility of staying in the East to shore up the defences of Jerusalem against the growing power of Saladin. Baldwin III seems to have tried to convince Thierry to stay in the Holy Land at least once, and the regularity with which the counts of Flanders went on crusade meant that their commitment to the protection of Jerusalem was beyond question. This might also explain the scope of the spiritual preparations

[78] Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," pp. 81-82. On Thierry and his possible territorial ambitions in the East, see Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 271-281.
[79] Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs*, p. 119.

Philip made before leaving for the East. Already troubled by the death of his brother and perhaps his treatment of Walter of Fontaine, the count had to decide whether to leave his position of power in Flanders for the difficulties and dangers of the East. Under the circumstances, his decision to seek advice from Hildegard, one of the most renowned prophets of the Middle Ages, makes a great deal of sense.

If that was in fact Philip's reason for asking for Hildegard's advice, he was to be disappointed.[80] Hildegard sidesteps the question of whether Philip should remain in the East or return home, opting instead to address the question of his sin. She begins by likening Philip to Adam, opening her reply with the words "O son of God, since He himself formed you in the first man…"[81] She then proceeds to remind the count of the first sin of Adam who, who "had consented to the counsel of the serpent" [*consilio serpentis consenserat*] and been justly expelled from paradise. Hildegard then reminds Philip of the Flood, noting that God had purged the world through the deluge because of his commitment to justice. Christ, however, described here as "the gentlest lamb" [*mitissimus Agnus*], saved man from his sins. Hildegard specifically notes that Christ did so through his blood, "which he poured out, hanging on the cross."[82] This reminder gives her subsequent advice to Philip greater effect:

> Now, therefore, take heed, O son of God, that you may see God with the pure eye of justice, just as the eagle sees the sun, to such an extent that, contrary to the nature of your will, your judgments are just, lest it should be said to you by the highest judge, who gave a precept to man, whom He calls to Himself in mercy through penitence: "Why have you killed your neighbor without my justice?" Constrain those men who are guilty by means of judgment, those who, according to the writings of the saints, were the pillars of the church, with the law and with the fear of death, in all things paying attention to the curse of that man who has perpetrated homicide in his anger. You, then, flee, because of all your omissions and sins and all your unjust judgments, with the sign of the cross to the living God, who is the way and the truth, and who also says: "I do not wish the death of

[80] Tessera notes that, in light of the tenor of Philip's letter and the specific question he asks, "the reader is somewhat surprised at Hildegard's answer." Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 82.
[81] "O fili Dei, quia ipse in primo homine te plasmavit." Tessera, "Count Philip of Flanders," p. 85.
[82] "quem in cruce pendens effudit." Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 86.

> the sinner but that he may be turned and live." And if the time comes when the infidels are working to destroy the fountain of faith, then resist them, as much as you are able, through the help of the grace of God.[83]

By reminding Philip of the connection between the *signaculum crucis* that he wore as a crusader and the cross on which Christ had poured out his blood, Hildegard emphasizes the spiritual and penitential aspects of crusading, and sidesteps the question of whether Philip should carve out a fief for himself. As Tessera points out, Hildegard only turns to the martial language of resisting the Sarracens when referring to their attacks on Philip's faith, not on his body or his territory.[84] It is tempting to imagine that Hildegard intended for Philip to read her refusal to answer his question directly as a sign that God would not approve of him remaining in the East.[85] In any case, Hildegard's response seems to have had a direct impact on his behavior.

Philip issued one other noteworthy charter in 1177, probably after receiving Hildegard's reply to his letter. In an act dated to that year, on "the day before the count, about to go to Jerusalem, received the purse of his pilgrimage,"[86] Philip confirmed all of the possessions that had been given to the canons of Saint-Pierre at Cassel by his predecessor, Robert the Frisian:

> I Philip, by the grace of God count of Flanders and Vermandois, wishing that the works of my predecessors which were done in God should be perpetual, and leaving behind an example for my successors for the purpose of making heirs of the churches of God and

[83] "Nunc autem adtende, o fili Dei, ut puro oculo iusticiae in Deum velut Aquila in solem aspicias, ita ut absque proprietate voluntatis tuae iudicia tua iusta sint, ne a summo iudice, qui preceptum homini edit, quem etiam in Misericordia per penitentiam ad se vocat, tibi dicatur: Quare proximum tuum sine iusticia mea interemisti? Homines quoque qui iudicio rei sunt, illos secundum scripturas sanctorum, qui columpnae aecclesiae erant, cum lege et cum timore mortis constringe, in omnibus tamen adtendens maledictionem hominis illius qui homicidium in ira sua perpetravit. Tu etiam pro omnibus neglegentiis et peccatis ac pro omnibus iniustis iudiciis tuis cum signaculo crucis ad Deum vivum confuge, qui via et veritas est, et qui etiam dicit: *Nolo mortem peccatoris sed ut magis convertatur et vivat*. Et si tempus advenerit quod infideles fontem fidei destruere laborant, tunc eis, quantum per adiutorium gratiae Dei potueris, eis resiste." Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 86. I have read the double "eis" in the final line of this excerpt as a scribal error.

[84] Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders," p. 84.

[85] Sabina Flanagan notes the ambivalence of Hildegard's reply, though she suggests that the tenor of the letter is generally positive; see eadem, *Hildegard of Bingen, 1098-1179: A Visionary Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 158.

[86] "pridie antequam comes Ierosolimam iturus peram peregrinationis sue susciperet." "DiBe 7625," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 17, 2018 http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=7625. This charter is no. 524 in the *Regering*.

> defending them, I concede all the goods, which Robert the Bearded, prince of noblest memory, conferred in free and quiet peace on the church of Saint-Pierre of Cassel, to be possessed perpetually, and I receive them in my custody and protection, to the honor of God and the blessed Peter, for the salvation of my soul and those of my predecessors and successors. Moreover, for the purpose of commending the noble memory of the virtue and pious devotion of the aforementioned prince to posterity, I have decided to name those things which he himself handed over to that same church, and to distinguish them according to their particular names.[87]

This confirmation was issued roughly fifteen miles from Cassel itself. Just before departing for Jerusalem, then, Philip decided to stage a final bit of political theater in which he confirmed the privileges that Robert had granted to the canons of Cassel in its foundation charter, shortly before his own pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[88] More than a century after the Battle of Cassel, the memory of Robert's own penitential journey was still intertwined with crusading. The timing of the act and the charter's explicit mention of the fact that it was issued the day before Philip accepted his pilgrim's purse (perhaps for the second time, if Ralph of Diceto's claim that Philip had already accepted both purse and staff in 1175 is true) make it tempting to believe that the count waited to confirm Robert's gifts so that the association between himself, Robert, and penitential pilgrimage would be as close as possible. That this is the only charter that Philip ever seems to have issued on behalf of Saint-Pierre only strengthens this impression.

After two years of painstaking preparation, Philip's crusade ended in anticlimax.[89] Not only did the count fail to capture the fortress of Harim after all of his wrangling with the nobility of Jerusalem, but his decision to campaign in northern Syria in September 1177 meant that he

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[87] "Ego Philippus, Dei gratia Flandrie et Uiromandie comes, predecessorum meorum opera que in Deo sunt facta perpetua esse uolens et successoribus meis exemplum ad ecclesias Dei hereditandas et tutandas relinquens, ad honorem Dei et beati Petri, pro salute anime mee et predecessorum et successorum meorum, bona que Robertus Barbatus nobilissime memorie princeps ecclesie Sancti Petri Casletensi contulit in pace libera et quieta perpetuo possidenda, concedo et in mea custodia et protectione suscipio. Ad nobilem autem memoriam uirtutis et pie deuotionis prenominati principis posteris commendandam ea que ipse eidem ecclesie tradidit nominare et propriis nominibus distinguere decreui." "DiBe 7625."

[88] The charter that Philip confirmed is *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, no. 6, pp. 16-19—for further discussion of this charter, see Chapter 1.

[89] Bernard Hamilton, who is generally sympathetic to Philip, describes the expedition in similar terms. See idem, *The Leper King and His Heirs*, p. 137.

was conspicuously absent at the Battle of Mont Gisard in November when Baldwin IV and Reynaud of Chatillon routed Saladin and drove him all the way to Cairo.[90] In addition, during the negotiations of the late summer Philip had made an enemy of Odo of Saint-Amand, the Master of the Temple.[91] Odo played a prominent role at Mont Gisard, both during the campaign that led up to the battle and in during the attack itself.[92] All of this must have confirmed William of Tyre in his opinion of the county. Philip was on the wrong side of history.

William's characterization of Philip, however, seems at odds with the evidence outlined above of a flawed but conscientious ruler who prepared to go to Jerusalem for almost two years by granting a slew of privileges to churches and monasteries and seeking the advice of important religious figures. Several scholars have noted this inconsistency, most recently Jean Dunbabin, who argues that William's treatment of Philip is driven by the fact that he was "bitterly upset" by the count's refusal to serve as procurator of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[93] As Dunbabin notes, Philip's desire to acquire Robert of Béthune's land by brokering the marriages of his sons is in no way incompatible with a sincere desire to support Baldwin IV and to obey whomever he might name as general. By advocating the marriage of Robert of Béthune's sons to Sibylla and Isabella while fighting on behalf of Baldwin IV, Philip simply wished to expiate his own sins while also increasing his considerable power at home. Furthermore, Dunbabin shows that Philip's seemingly strange request that someone be appointed to command the expedition to Egypt—and to receive the kingdom of Egypt itself, should it fall to the crusaders—makes perfect sense in light of the possibility that Manuel Comnenus would claim control over Egypt after

[90] Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs,* pp. 133-137.
[91] Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs,* p. 131.
[92] Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs,* pp. 133-135.
[93] Dunbabin, "William of Tyre and Philip of Alsace," pp. 111-117.

Philip and the barons of Jerusalem won it at their own expense and effort.[94] Indeed, Philip's conduct in the East is consistent with the advice he had received from Hildegard. Perhaps most significantly, it also conforms with the pattern set by his predecessors since the late eleventh century, which was to go on crusade in order to secure and enhance their control over Flanders. Far from being a failed crusader, he was one in a long line of counts of Flanders who went east to rehabilitate his reputation and so secure his position in the West.

CRUSADE COMMEMORATION IN THE CLOISTER

As mentioned above, Chrétien de Troyes dedicated *Perceval* to Philip of Alsace. The connections between crusading, Philip, and the story of the Grail have been known for a long time. Indeed, Helen Adolf noted eighty years ago that key scenes in *Perceval* may have been drawn from the story of Philip's 1177-78 crusade, seeing in Chrétien's poem an allegory for the count's failed pilgrimage and arguing that *Perceval* was composed in part as a rebuke.[95] Chrétien's monumental work notwithstanding, however, the comital court was not the main site of crusade commemoration in the 1170s and 1180s. That distinction continued to belong to the county's monasteries. This section surveys the different ways in which monastic scriptoria in Flanders incorporated crusading material into their books during the Philip of Alsace's reign.

The sheer number of crusade-related manuscripts produced in Flanders during this period testifies that the region's monasteries shared an interest in commemorating the crusades. Crusading was so important that crusade narratives entered the canon of history alongside works dating to late antiquity, like Orosius, Josephus, and the *Historia tripertita*, which had been staples of monastic libraries since the Carolingian era.[96] This was true at Saint-Amand, where the

[94] Dunbabin, "William of Tyre and Philip of Alsace," p. 116.
[95] Helen Adolf, "A Historical Background for Chrétien's Perceval," *PMLA* 58, no. 3 (September 1943), pp. 597-620.
[96] On history during the Carolingian period, see Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

monks produced a crusade history for their own library and at least one for the comital court.[97] It was also true at Marchiennes, which, like Saint-Amand, had been a particular favorite of Thierry of Alsace.[98] A list of the library books at Marchiennes written in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century lists indicates that there were five works of *historia* in the collection: the *Historia tripartita*, the *Historia ecclesiastica* (presumably of Bede), the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, a "hỳstoria iherusalem," and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*.[99] Here, as at Saint-Amand, crusading was at the nexus of sacred and mythical history.

The commemoration of crusading activity could take a number of different forms. It could entail the copying of a composite text filled with crusade-related narratives. It could also involve adding notes to preexisting texts to draw attention to crusading. The libraries of the neighboring monasteries of Marchiennes and Anchin furnish a diverse array of texts that demonstrate just how varied the texts that commemorate the crusade are. For example, a twelfth-century copy of the *Genealogia Bertiniana* that belonged to Marchiennes includes a marginal note glossing the genealogy's reference to Robert the Frisian as "Robert, later known as 'the Jerusalemite.'"[100] The reference to Robert's later title has been crossed out in the manuscript, and

[97] These codices are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129 and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9823-34, respectively. For the relationship between these codices, see Chapter 2. For the library at Saint-Amand, see Chapter 4.

[98] De Hemptinne and Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre," p. 109.

[99] The list in the catalog reads as follows: "hỳstoria tripertita · hỳstoriaecclesiastica · hỳstoria clementis · hỳstoria iherusalem · hỳstoria britannorum ·" The list appears in Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 217, fol. 59r. The catalog of the library of Douai indicates that this is a thirteenth-century manuscript, but only the last text, the "Curieux récit de la bataille de Bouvines" at the end of the codex, was written in the thirteenth century, and there are a number of hands present. The hand in which the library catalog is written could easily be a twelfth-century hand, though the one that precedes it looks later. The dating of the manuscript matters relatively little in this case, because the "hỳstoria iherusalem" is extant, and dates to the twelfth century—it is Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 882. For the catalog entry, see *Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits des Bibliothèque publiques des Départements*, vol. 6, *Douai* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878), pp. 108-111.

[100] "Robertvm cognomento postea iherosolimitanvm." Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 318. Bethmann does not list this manuscript among the ones he consulted to create his edition of the *Genealogia Bertiniana*, though he did

a note has been written in the margin to the right of the text in a hand roughly contemporary with that of the codex itself, [FIGURES 3.1 & 3.2]. Though the note is extremely worn, and parts of it are difficult to read, it seems to be aimed at clarifying the application of the "Jerusalemite" title to Robert the Frisian: "This is Robert who was not the primogenitor, but was disinherited and expelled on account of his insolence. He took Gertrude, the widow of the count of the Frisians, to wife, and was afterward called 'the Frisian,' and later 'the Jerusalemite.'"[101] Some twelfth- or thirteenth-century reader, it seems, was skeptical of Robert's crusading credentials, and crossed out the reference to the "Jerusalemite" cognomen in the *Genealogia*, perhaps thinking that the copyist or author had conflated Robert I and Robert II. Alternately, this reader may have believed that the term "Jerusalemite" should only be applied to crusaders, rather than to all Jerusalem pilgrims. In any case, a contemporary corrected the would-be corrector, but not without inserting his own opinion about the "insolence" [*insolentia*] that had characterized the Frisian. In a stark contrast, at Marchiennes's daughter house, nearby Anchin Abbey, the *Genealogia Bertiniana* was copied with no commentary whatsoever.[102]

In addition to transmitting the *Genealogia Bertiniana* to their brothers at Anchin, the monks of Marchiennes integrated information from histories of the counts into broader historiographical projects. For example, they incorporated entries from the genealogy into two sets of annals copied into the back of a ninth-century psalter during Philip of Alsace's reign,

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use Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 319, which was at nearby Anchin Abbey, and which was probably copied from this codex—cf. *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 305.

[101] "Hic R[o]b[ert]us q[ui] [non] p[rim]ogen[itus] s[ed] prop[ter] insol[e]ntiam eius ex[here]datus & ex[p]ulsus est Qui duxit uxorem Gertrudem relictam comitis fresionum postquam vocatus est friso & postea Iherosolimitanus." Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 318, fol. 174r. I have taken the liberty of supplying a "non" in the first line where there appears to be a blank space roughly one letter wide in the manuscript, because it seems to provide the best reading. Cf. FIGURE 3. The use of the word "primogenitor" seems to allude to the fact that Robert the Frisian was a second son, rather than the notion that he was the founder of a nation.

[102] The manuscript is Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 319.

probably sometime around 1182, which is when the first set ends.[103] The first annals, based on Bede's *De sex aetatibus*, are organized according to the six ages of the world. To Bede's text, the monks added excerpts from Augustine, Haimo of Auxerre, Josephus, Eusebius, and others. These additions are particularly prevalent in the first two ages. The annals reach the sixth age on fol. 81r and present a detailed list of the rulers of the various principalities of the world across fols. 81v and 82r. In addition to the counts of Flanders and Hainaut, the annalist provides the lineages of the dukes of Normandy, the kings of France and England, the emperors of Germany and Byzantium, and the leaders of the four crusader states. The compiler has also taken pains to stress the claim that the count of Flanders has on the county of Hainaut, noting that Baldwin the Good of Hainaut was count both of Flanders and Hainaut, and that Baldwin V of Hainaut "took to wife Margaret, sister of this Philip," Philip being named as count of Flanders nearby.[104] A marginal note, keyed in to the name of Philip Augustus of France with a *signe-de-renvoi*, emphasizes the connection between the French monarchy and Flanders:

> This Philip, wisest king of the Franks, accepted as a wife the daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainaut—she was very noble with respect to her lineage, but even more noble with respect to comportment. From her, he begat Louis, successor to him in the kingdom, who, begotten from a noble mother, got his origin from the line of Charlemagne.[105]

The note must postdate the creation of the annals themselves by at least nine years, for Baldwin was not count of Flanders until after Philip's death in 1191. Nevertheless, the spirit of the note is

[103] Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170. Folios 1-71 were copied in the ninth century, while the end of the codex, which includes two different sets of annals, is in a twelfth-century hand. See *Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits*, vol. 6, *Douai*, pp. 76-79.The last quire of the codex, comprising fols. 91-97, is copied uniformly in a much later hand than the rest of the second set of annals, which occupy fols. 83-90. Since several different hands added notes to the second set of annals on fols. 83-90, the uniformity of the second quire of that set of annals suggests that it was copied at one time by a single scribe, perhaps because of the deterioration of the original. Consequently, although much of the information discussed below was copied in the later hand of the final quire, it seems reasonable to think that much of it was present in or around 1182.

[104] "hic duxit uxorem Margaritam sororem huius Philippi." Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170, fol. 82r.

[105] "Iste philipus francorum Rex sapientissimus · accepit uxorem filiam balduini flandrie 7 hainonie comitis · Genere ualde nobilem sed moribus nobiliorem : de qua genuit ludouicum · in regno sibi successorem · Qui de matre nobili genitus · ex karoli magni progenie trahit originem" Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170, fol. 82r.

in harmony with the annals themselves. Though crusading is not explicitly mentioned, the placement of the counts beside the crowned heads of Europe and the Levant nods at their longstanding connection with Jerusalem and the East.

The second set of annals, which begins on fol. 83r, has much more detailed information about the counts of Flanders. These annals are laid out in a single, chronological list, unlike the first set, which is laid out in parallel columns like Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicon*. Dates are reckoned twice, once from Adam [*Anno Ade*] and once from Christ [*Anno Xpisti*], and records of events are written in the margins, both to the left and right of the list of years. The first note pertaining to Flanders appears in the lower right-hand margin on fol. 90v, for the year 792: "Hildric Harlebeck, seeing that Flanders was empty and uncultivated, occupied it, becoming the first count in it. He beget Ingelran, who was count after him. Ingelran beget Audacer, [and] Audacer beget Baldwin Ironarm."[106] This is the first line to a version of the *Genealogia comitum Flandrie*, but not to the *Bertiniana*, to which the monks of both Marchiennes and Anchin had access. Instead, this is the beginning of Lambert of Saint-Omer's genealogy, composed for inclusion in the *Liber Floridus*.[107] The author of the *Flandria generosa* later used it as the basis for his history, as well.[108]

It seems, then, that one of the monks who contributed to the second set of annals in Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170 had before him a copy either of the *Liber Floridus* or the *Flandria generosa*. Both of these works would have been available to the monks of Marchiennes if, as argued above, codices containing these texts were traveling in the court of

[106] "hildricus harlebeccensis uidens flandriam uacuam 7 incultam occupauit eam · primus in ea comes existens · qui genuit Ingelrannum comitem post ipsum Ingelrannus genuit audacrum audacer genuit Balduinum ferreum" Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170, fol. 90v.
[107] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 309.
[108] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 317.

Philip of Alsace.[109] The monastery likely had a copy of the *Liber Floridus* containing the *Genealogia comitum Flandrie* by the fifteenth century, which suggests a lasting interest in Lambert's vision of salvation history.[110] It is possible that the *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*, which may have been created at the court of Philip of Alsace, was written at or near Douai, for it incorporates excerpts from Anchin Abbey's copy of the world chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux.[111] A later copy of this lost manuscript, Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 799, seems to have served as a source for the Marchiennes annalist. In 1100, for example, both manuscripts note that on his return from Jerusalem, Robert II "brought back with himself the arm of Saint George the Martyr" and sent it to the church of Anchin.[112] They each note Robert's subsequent attack on Cambrai in 1102, as well, though as in the case of the note on the relic of Saint George, the Marchiennes annalist has reworked his source material. The Anchin manuscript reports that "with Count Robert of Flanders harassing the city of Cambrai, Emperor Henry marched out against him but, with some of his [Robert's] castles besieged, he was forced

[109] For the *Liber Floridus*, see Chapter 1. For the *Flandria generosa*, transmitted in Brussels, KBR, MS 9823-34, see Chapter 2.

[110] Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 796 (olim 741) is a fifteenth-century copy of the *Liber Floridus* that was probably at Marchiennes. See the *Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits*, vol. 6, *Douai*, pp. 487-493. Though the catalog dates this codex to the fifteenth century, the description of it does not reference any additions to Lambert's material that were created after the mid-fourteenth century, so the manuscript might date to the latter century. I have not consulted this manuscript, and so cannot offer any arguments on the grounds of paleography or close reading.

[111] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," pp. 461. This manuscript is codex B in Bethmann's edition of Sigebert's work. On the transmission of Sigebert's *Chronicon*, see Mireille Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle: De Sigebert de Gembloux à Jean de Saint-Victor (XII^{e}-XIV^{e} siècle)* (Paris: Editions Champion, 1999), pp. 314-331.

[112] "detulit secum brachium sancti Georgii martyris" There are some minor differences in the way that this idea is expressed in the two manuscripts, but the words are identical: Douai, BM, MS 170, fol. 91v gives "7 brachium sancti georgii martyris quod secum detulauit ecclesie aquicinensi misit," while Douai, BM, MS 799, fol. 113v reads "detulit secum brachium sancti Georgii martyris quod ęcclesię aquicinensi transsmisit per uenerandum haimericum abbatum ipsius loci ·" This passage is part of what Bethmann calls the "Auctarium Aquicinense," a set of additions to Sigebert's chronicle that have their origin in the family of copies descending from codex B, a copy made at Anchin sometime c. 1112/13. For the relevant passage, see Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon*, ed. L. C. Bethmann, *MGH SS* 6, p. 395.

to retire by the harshness of the approaching winter."[113] The Marchiennes codex reads "with Count Robert of Flanders harassing the city of Cambrai, Emperor Henry came against him with hostility, and he captured the fortresses of Lécluse and Bouchain and devastated the whole of Ostrevant and its people, and he was forced to retire by the harshness of the approaching winter."[114] Though the Marchiennes account adds additional detail, it is clearly based on the Anchin manuscript. Given that Marchiennes is in the Ostrevant, albeit on the northern border, it is hardly surprising that whoever copied the excerpts from the Anchin codex into Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170 was able to indicate precisely which castles Henry had besieged, or that he wished to comment upon the apparent brutality of the emperor's campaign.

Flemish participation in the crusades was also a feature of both the Marchiennes annals and the Anchin copy of Sigebert's *Chronicon*. The entry in the Marchiennes annals for 1096 describes the beginning of the crusade and the cast of characters who were setting out for Jerusalem:

> The Jerusalemite journey began. In this assembly of God, several stood out: Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia and his brothers, Eustace and Baldwin; Baldwin, count of Mons; Robert, count of Flanders; Stephen, count of Blois; Hugh, the brother of the king of the Franks; Robert, duke of Normandy; Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles; and Bohemund, duke of Apulia.[115]

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[113] "Rotberto flandrensium comite inquietante urbem cameracum · heinricus imperator contra eum proficiscitur .' & aliquibus eius castellis expugnatis · asperitate instantis hiemis redire compellitur ·" Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 799, fol. 113v.

[114] "Roberto flandriensium comite inquietante urbem cameracum imperator Henricus · uenit hostiliter super eum 7 cepit mu[n]itiones · sclusam · 7 bolcain 7 de[p]opulatus est totum ostreuannum · genere · 7 asperitate instantis hiemis redire compellitur ·" Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170, fol. 91v. The town of Sluis in Zeeland is generally indicated by the Latin "Sclusa," but as Schäfer argued in 1905, Lécluse must be the correct reading here based on the context and the explicit naming of both Bouchain and the Ostrevant. See Von Dietrich Schäfer, "'Sclusas' im Straßburger Zollprivileg von 831," in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 1, *Januar bis Juni* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 578-582.

[115] "via iherusolimitana exorsa est · In hoc dei hostico eminebant · dux lotharingie Godefridus · 7 fratres eius eustachius 7 balduinus · Balduinus comes mon[t]ensis · Robertus comes flandrensium · Stephanus comes blesensis · hugo frater regis francorum · Robertus dux normannorum · Reimundus comes sancti egidii · 7 Boamundus dux apulie" Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170, fol. 91v.

The bulk of this passage is taken, word for word, from Sigebert's *Chronicon* just as it appears in the Anchin manuscript.[116] As noted above, both manuscripts also record Robert's return with the arm of Saint George a few years later in 1100—the Marchiennes codex indicates that he "returned from the way of the Lord, having acquired a great deal of praise for himself on campaign."[117] Later on, in 1202, the annals record that "Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainaut, together with his brother, Henry, besieged and stormed Constantinople, and was made emperor in it. And it was confirmed as a hereditary right by the apostolic see."[118] The annals make a further reference to Emperor Baldwin when they relate Ferdinand of Portugal's marriage to his daughter, Johanna, in 1209, though they pointedly fail to mention that he had died in 1205.

Commemoration of crusading also involved copying letters and other short texts together in codices primarily devoted to other types of material. The monks at Anchin, for example, copied a short cycle of crusade-related texts into the beginning of a volume largely composed of the works of Hugh of Saint-Victor.[119] This cycle of four texts occupies the first five pages of the codex, and consists of a letter written by Adrian IV to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1157 and the emperor's response, a letter written by a Flemish priest named Arnulf describing the capture of Lisbon during the Second Crusade, and finally the "Relatio miraculi in regione Saxonum" discussed above.[120] In fact, the *Relatio miraculi* may very well have been copied from

[116] Cf. Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon*, p. 367.
[117] "Robertus comes flandrensium adquisita sibi multa laude militie redit de via domini" Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170, fol. 91v.
[118] "[B]alduinus comes flandrensium 7 haynoensium vna cum henrico fratre [s]uo constantinopolim obsidens 7 expugnans imperator in ea pro[c]reatur · 7 a sede apostolica iure hereditario confirmatur" Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170, fol. 93v
[119] The manuscript is Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 365.
[120] On the relationship between these two codices, see Chapter 2; for the Saint-Amand manuscript and the context in which it was produced, see Chapter 4. To this cycle of texts the monks added two short texts, the first of which describes the heresy of "a certain Gilbert," namely Gilbert de la Porrée, and the second Bernard of Clairvaux's rebuttal of this heresy. The hand in which these short texts is written is extremely close to that of the main scribe, and may in fact be identical—certainly the addition was made shortly after the original cycle was copied. However, there are clear indications that it was not part of the original cycle of crusade texts. Unlike the other four texts, these two are presented without a rubric, and they spill past the bottom margin of fol. 2v, even though they are copied in a

the Brussels Crusade Codex as it was travelling around the county, for there are no other known Flemish exemplars of the text apart from these crusading collections.[121] The letters between Adrian and Frederick are included in the extant copy of Sigebert's *Chronographia* from Anchin.[122] While it is possible that the whole cycle was copied from an unknown exemplar, it seems more likely that the monks of Anchin pieced it together from different codices they had at their disposal.

Though only one of these four texts is explicitly connected with the crusades, they all have historical ties to the crusading movement. The exchange of letters between Adrian IV and Frederick Barbarossa, for example, focus on the question of papal primacy over imperial prerogative that had been at the center of the conflict between popes and emperors since the time of Gregory VII and Henry IV. Adrian begins his missive to Frederick by noting that "the divine law, just as it promises longevity of life to those honoring their parents, threatens nothing less than a sentence of death for those who slander their father and mother."[123] He then takes the emperor to task, not only for various injustices committed against the clergy and against papal rights, but also for having poor epistolary etiquette:

> I wonder not a little, my beloved son in the Lord, at your judgment, that you seem to show less reverence than you ought to Blessed Peter and the holy Roman church entrusted to him. For in letters sent to us, you place your name before ours, and in so doing you assume the stamp of insolence (not to say arrogance). What shall I say concerning the fidelity you promised and owed to the Blessed Peter and to us, and how

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slightly smaller hand. The other three "chunks" of the original cycle (the two letters are related, and constitute a single "chunk") also begin at the top of a folio, while this "chunk" is squeezed in after the "Quomodo Ulixisbona capta est." So, the original scribe copied the two letters, the account of the capture of Lisbon, and the *Relatio miraculi*, and then either he or another, contemporary scribe added the account of Gilbert's heresy, specifying that it took place "in the same year" [*eodem anno*] as the capture of Lisbon. For an analysis of the relationship between Bernard and Gilbert, with an analysis of the passages present in this manuscript, see Jean Leclerq, *Recueil d'études sur Saint Bernard et ses écrits*, vol. 2 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1966), pp. 341-347.

[121] For a relatively old list of extant manuscripts, see Schröder, "Die Tänzer von Kölbigk," pp. 96-99. Schröder does not list the Anchin manuscript, but does note the text's presence in both the Paris and Brussels manuscripts.

[122] See Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon*, p. 408.

[123] "Lex divina, sicut parentes honorantibus vite longevitatem repromittit, ita maledicentibus patri et matri sententiam nichilominus mortis intendit."

> you observe it, you who require homage from those who are all of God and his Highest son, namely bishops, who demand fealty from them, who entangle their consecrated hands in your own, and who, having been made manifestly more hostile to us, close to the cardinals who have sent out from our side not only the churches, but even the cities of your kingdom?[124]

Frederick's response is a tour-de-force of self-assured sass. He rebuts Adrian's complaints point by point whole mimicking the style and vocabulary of the papal letter, responding to the pope's invocation of divine law [*lex divina*] by asserting that "the law of justice restores to each one that which is his own," and asking why he should not demand homage and fealty from those who, while they do ultimately owe allegiance to God, also "hold our regalia" [*regalia nostra tenant*].[125] Such arguments about the relationship between papal and imperial power had been bound up in the story of the crusades since the movement's beginning in the fourth quarter of the eleventh century, but they gained new vehemence in the mid-twelfth century as papal claims to power gained traction under the auspices of the "papal monarchy."[126] As this papal monarchy extended its control over the crusading movement, the ties between crusade and questions of imperial authority strengthened. The depth of papal irritation with Frederick II's recovery of Jerusalem from the Ayyubids in 1229 illustrates this phenomenon.

The Lisbon letter that follows the correspondence between Adrian and Frederick Barbarossa gives a concise account of the conquest of that city during the course of the Second

[124] "Quapropter, dilecte mi in Domino fili, super prudential tua non mediocriter admiramur, quod beato Petro et sancte Romane ecclesie illi commisse non quantam deberes reverentiam exhibere videris. In litteris enim ad nos missis nomen tuum nostro prepones; in quo insolentie, ne dicam arrogantie, notam incurris. Quid dicam de fidelitate beato Petro et nobis a te promissa et iurata, quomodo eam observes, qui ab his, qui Dii sunt et filii Excelsi omnes, episcopis scilicet, hominagium requires, fidelitatem exigis, manus eorum consecratas manibus tuis innectis, et manifeste factus nobis contrarius, cardinalibus a latere nostro directis non solum ecclesias, sed etiam civitates regni tui claudis?" Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon*, p. 408.
[125] "Lex iusticie unicuique quod suum est restituit." Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon*, p. 408.
[126] See Brett Edward Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), especially pp. 72-99.

Crusade.[127] It is addressed to Milo, "venerable bishop of Thérouanne," and written by a certain Arnulf, described by the catalog of the Bibliothèque municipale of Douai as a Flemish priest.[128] Arnulf begins his description of the campaign by noting the power of a blessing the bishop had offered before the army's departure, for they had enjoyed fair weather during the first leg of their maritime journey. After reaching Dartmouth in England, the Flemish forces, which were under the command of Count Arnulf IV of Aarschot, formed one large fleet with their English allies and sailed for Spain.[129] They ran into bad weather before eventually landing in Galicia, from whence they ultimately sailed to Portugal. They arrived at Lisbon in late June 1147, and promptly invested the city—Arnulf tells us that the Flemish attacked the eastern part of the city, while the English laid siege from the west.[130]

After a relatively straightforward description of the course of the siege, Arnulf relates how the city ultimately fell, emphasizing the role that the Flemish and their Lotharingian compatriots played. He lays particular stress on the contrast between the quality of the Flemish troops and those of the king of Portugal in his account of the dramatic struggle that took place once the attackers had succeeded in placing their siege tower alongside the city wall:

> The knights of the king, who were fighting at the top of the tower, were terrified by the mangonels of the Sarracens and fought less manfully, to the point that the Sarracens, sallying forth, would have burned the tower, if indeed they had not been blocked by our men, who had come against them by chance. When this rumor of danger came to our ears, the superior troops of our part [of the army] moved to defend the tower, lest our hope should be lost with it. Then the Sarracens, seeing the Lotharingians and Flemings climbing to the top of the tower with such fervor, were terrified by such dread that they

[127] The letter is published in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* SS, vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1856), pp. 406-407. It is presented their under the title "Epistola Arnulfi ad Milonem episcopum Morinensem," but will be cited hereafter as "Quomodo Ulixisbona capta est," which is the title in the Douai manuscript. References to the "Quomodo Ulixisbona capta est" will be, however, to the edition in the PMH.
[128] *Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits*, vol. 6, *Douai*, p. 198.
[129] "Quomodo Ulixisbona capta est," p. 406. Arnulf indicates that the Flemish sailed to the English port of "Tredemunde," which Benjamin Thorpe identified as Dartmouth in the nineteenth century. See J.M. Lappenberg, *A History of England under the Norman Kings*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Thorpe (Oxford, 1857), p. 450.
[130] "Quomodo Ulixisbona capta est," p. 406.

> threw down their arms and begged that our right hands be given to them as a sign of peace.[131]

Arnulf describes the Christian victory as "divine, not human" [*divina non humana*], and notes that a number of those who died on the expedition were buried near Lisbon. He indicates that "certain men, mute from birth" [*quidam muti a nativitate*], having been led to the tombs of these martyrs by divine mercy, prostrated themselves and were healed of their disability. This is a surprising, even shocking claim, for though crusaders who died were widely considered to be martyrs, there are virtually no accounts that mention miracles being performed at their tombs. In addition to commemorating Flemish deeds by copying this short text, then, the monks of Anchin created a permanent and powerful reminder of the fact that Flemish crusaders were buried in Portugal, and that their crusading activity had brought them a sanctity enduring enough to make them agents of divine grace.

The final text in this cycle is the "Relatio miraculi in regione Saxonum facti." It was part of both the Saint-Amand and Brussels Crusade Codices discussed in Chapter 2. As the analysis there shows, the Flemish scribes who copied the "Relatio miraculi" into their crusading books seem to have intended it to serve as a parable about the dangers of shirking one's divinely-imposed duty, or perhaps as a metaphor for crusading itself. It seems likely that the monks at Anchin copied this text from one of the two deluxe crusading manuscripts mentioned above, either when the Saint-Amand manuscript was at Marchiennes during the production of the Brussels codex, or from the Brussels codex itself sometime later. It is also possible that it was copied from a copy at Reims, or from an unknown or lost exemplar. Within the Anchin cycle in

[131] "Interim milites regis, qui in arce turris pugnabant, magnellis Sarracenorum territi, minus viriliter pugnabant, usque adeo quod Sarraceni exeuntes turrim concremassent, siquidem de nostris, qui casu ad eos venerant, non obstitissent. Haec periculi fama cum ad nostras venisset aures, meliores exercitus nostrae partis ad defendendam turrim, ne nostra spes in ea adnullaretur, transmissimus. Videntes autem Sarraceni Lotharingos et Flamingos tanto fervore in arcem turris ascendentes, tanta formidine territi sunt, ut arma submitterent, et dextras sibi in signum pacis dari peterent." "Quomodo Ulixisbona capta est," p. 407.

Douai MS 365, the *Relatio miraculi* seems to serve the same purpose as in the Saint-Amand and Brussels codices. It is a warning against ignoring the call of crusade, the call to martyrdom answered by the Flemish crusaders at Lisbon, for the sake of the privileges of the secular world that seem to have been so dear to Frederick Barbarossa. This short cycle of texts makes a powerful statement about right response to papal calls to crusade in the limited space of only five pages.

Finally, commemoration of crusading could still take the form of a codex dedicated to crusading texts in the late twelfth century. The monks of Marchiennes already had such a codex, now Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 882, by the time of Philip of Alsace's tenure as count, and so had no reason to create a new one.[132] However, the nearby abbey of Mont-Saint-Quentin, only eighty kilometers from Marchiennes in Artois, owned a crusade history that was written around 1181, just two years after Philip's return from the Holy Land and immediately following the transfer of Artois to Philip Augustus.[133] The abbey of Mont-Saint-Quentin was close to Péronne, and was located in one of the few parts of Artois over which Philip of Alsace would retain control after the disastrous first half of the 1180s.[134] It was also an abbey with close ties to crusading. Peter the Hermit may have been a monk at Mont-Saint-Quentin, and the abbey ultimately owned a large collection of relics from the Holy Land, including a piece of the True Cross, part of the crown of thorns, some of Christ's blood, rocks from both Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, and a fragment of the manger from the Nativity.[135]

[132] See Chapter 2.
[133] For the dating of the manuscript, see Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth*, p. 3.
[134] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 35-36.
[135] Paul Decagny, *L'Arrondissement de Péronne* (Péronne: Imprimerie et Librairie de J. Quentin, 1844), pp. 101-102; *Ecclesia Noviomensis*, *GC* 9, col. 1101B-D. The fragment of the True Cross was supposedly given to the monks by Hugh of Beaumés, who had received it from Baldwin I.

It is possible that the creation of the Mont-Saint-Quentin codex, now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS reg. lat. 712, should be associated with Philip's efforts to turn his crusading credentials to his political advantage in Artois during the 1180s. Philip's gifts to the monastery are undated, so there is no way to know how involved he was in the monastery's affairs in the 1180s, but the count did confirm one legal agreement made by the monks of Mont-Saint-Quentin at some point during his tenure in office—he also issued a judgment in a dispute between the monks and one of his *fideles* in 1189.[136] No charters involving both Mont-Saint-Quentin and any other count of Flanders, either earlier or later, survive, so while the evidence is too spotty to support a firm conclusion—a search of *Diplomata Belgica* reveals only thirty-nine extant charters from 1028-1248 that name Mont-Saint-Quentin—Philip seems to have taken a more active interest in the house than any other count of Flanders at precisely the time that the monks made or acquired their crusade history.

Most of the recent work on Reg. lat. 712 has focused on texts within it that describe the Lateran Palace and the imperial palace in Constantinople.[137] The best work on the manuscript qua manuscript remains an article published by Louis Halphen in 1905, which provides a detailed list of the manuscript's contents and some pointed analysis pertaining to a long poem, the "Lamentatio de morte Karoli comitis Flandrie," found within it.[138] This poem, also present in a twelfth-century manuscript of Saint-Martin of Tournai and the Marchiennes Crusade Codex

[136] "DiBe 10234," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 23, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=10234. This is charter no. 810 in the *Regering*; "DiBe 10214," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 23, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=10214. This charter is no. 771.

[137] See, for example, a list of recent works at the manuscript page of the Vatican Library: "Manuscript – Reg.lat.712," Digital Vatican Library, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, accessed February 23, 2018, https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Reg.lat.712. For a recent study of the *Descriptio sanctuarii sancta Lateranensis ecclesie*, which is the sixth text in the Mont-Saint-Quentin codex, see Eivor Andersen Oftestad, "The House of God: The Translation of the Temple and the Interpretation of the Lateran Cathedral in the Twelfth Century" (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 2010).

[138] Louis Halphen, "Le manuscrit latin 712 du fonds de la reine Christine au Vatican et la *Lamentatio de morte Karoli comitis Flandrie*," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 25 (1905), pp. 107-126.

(Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 882), is, as the title suggests, a long verse lament on the death of Charles the Good.[139] Both Halphen and Rider note that there is a relationship between the versions of the "Lamentatio de morte Karoli" in the Marchiennes and Mont-Saint-Quentin manuscripts.[140] Because both of them are primarily concerned with questions of transmission, however, neither delves into the genesis of the codex itself.

Before turning to the history of this manuscript, it is worth noting that it is not the only Flemish manuscript of the latter half of the twelfth century to pair crusading materials with texts that narrate or commemorate the martyrdom of Charles the Good. In addition to the "Lamentatio" mentioned above, Walter of Thérouanne's *Vita Karoli* was copied into codices that also had crusading material. Most notably, a twelfth-century manuscript of Saint-Martin of Tournai pairs Walter's life of Charles the Good with a number of texts about Charles the Great, including the *Historia Karoli Magni* and the *Historia* of Pseudo-Turpin.[141] The former text, which was commissioned by Frederick Barbarossa in 1165 when he was advocating for the canonization of Charlemagne, includes an entire book dedicated to the Carolingian king's apocryphal journey to Jerusalem.[142] The *Historia Turpini*, or Pseudo-Turpin, also links Charlemagne to crusading by portraying Charles as a protocrusader whose men died as martyrs,

[139] Halphen included a transcription of the poem in his article; see idem, "Le manuscrit latin 712," pp. 119-125. André Boutemy later identified a third twelfth-century manuscript containing the text, thought by Halphen to be lost. This manuscript is London, British Library, MS Additional 35112, the so-called *Mariale* of Saint-Martin of Tournai; see André Boutemy, "Une copie retrouvée de la lamentatio de morte Karoli comitis Flandriae," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 18, fasc. 1 (1939) pp. 91-96. Jeff Rider published a new edition of this poem, which exists in a shorter and longer version, in his edition of Walter of Thérouanne's *Vita Karoli*; see Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, pp. 159-176.
[140] Halphen, "Le manuscrit latin 712," pp. 114-115; Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, pp. 159-161.
[141] The manuscript is Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS II. 2541. A medieval library catalog of Saint-Martin of Tournai describes this book as "Karolus Magnus, et interfectio Karoli comitis, in uno volumine." For a transcription of this catalog, preserved in Boulougne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 116, see Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1874), p. 492.
[142] For the text of the *Historia Karoli Magni*, see Gerhard Rauschen, *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, 1890), pp. 3-93. On the creation of the text, see Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory*, p. 54. The dating of this text also establishes a terminus post quem of 1165 for the creation of this codex.

just like those who died on crusade.[143] This manuscript also includes other Charlemagne texts, most notably Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, but the fact that it begins with two texts that portray Charlemagne as a crusader suggests that the creators wanted to stress this part of his reputation, and to connect the memory of Charles the Good, himself a crusader, with that of the greatest of Frankish kings.

Walter's *Vita Karoli* was also incorporated into the collection of saints' lives called the *Legendarium Flandrense*, which circulated among the Cistercian monasteries of Flanders in the twelfth century.[144] Copies of this *Legendarium* from Clairmarais and Ter Doest survive, and there is strong evidence that Ten Duinen also owned a copy. The *Legendarium* may, in fact, have originated at Ten Duinen. While the *Legendarium Flandrense* is not a crusade-oriented volume, it did preserve and disseminate the memory of Charles the Good within the same network of monasteries that had been most supportive of crusading throughout the twelfth century, and to which Thierry and Philip made pre-crusade gifts most consistently. The Mont-Saint-Quentin codex is, then, one of a number of books in which Charles the Good was connected to crusade.

Like both the Marchiennes and Brussels crusade codices, the Mont-Saint-Quentin codex was probably made with reference to multiple exemplars. That the Marchiennes codex was one of these seems very likely even at a glance, as they share not only the same version of the "Lamentatio de morte Karoli" but also the same version of Fretellus's *Descriptio locorum*.[145] Boeren, the modern editor of Fretellus's *Descriptio*, notes the close relationship between these two codices, concluding his discussion of them by asserting that the Mont-Saint-Quentin

[143] William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095-c. 1187* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 150-165. For the text itself, see Cyril Meredith-Jones (ed), *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* (E. Droz, 1936). The version of the *Historia Turpini* in Brussels, KBR, MS II. 2541 is A.1 in the Meredith-Jones edition, and so is closely related to that of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. fonds lat. 17656. The preface with which the text begins in MS II.2541 is printed on p. 351 of the edition as one of the supplementa.
[144] For a short overview of the literature on the *Legendarium*, see Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, pp. 11-13.
[145] Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth*, pp. 2-5.

manuscript was copied directly from the Marchiennes codex.[146] A genealogy of the counts of Boulogne (the "Genealogia regum Francorum") is also in the Marchiennes manuscript, as is the "Descriptio sanctuarii quod in palatio imperatoris constantinopolim habetur."[147] Finally, the Marchiennes and Mont-Saint-Quentin codices share the two poems on the failure of the Second Crusade that seem to have come originally from the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex, "Lamentum lacrymabile" and "Gloria Francorum concepit dudum honorem." All of these points seem to confirm Boeren's claim.

There is another possible manuscript exemplar, however. A composite Vatican manuscript, Reg. lat. 596, contains a single folio from a now-lost manuscript that contains the end of a list of papal names, the "Genealogia Francorum regum," and the beginning of the "Descriptio sanctuarii quod in palatio imperatoris constantinopolim habetur."[148] This folio seems to have been copied between 1159 and 1165, for the papal list ends with Alexander III (r. 1159-1181) and the text of the "Genealogia" seems originally to have run through the reign of Louis VII (r. 1137-1180)—the fact that Louis VII begat Philip Augustus was added to the end of the "Genealogia" by a different hand, suggesting that the text was copied before Philip's birth in 1165. The fact that only a single folio of this manuscript remains makes it impossible to say with certainty whether it, rather than the Marchiennes codex, was the source for the Mont-Saint-Quentin manuscript. They do, however, share the same spelling in their list of popes, the same version of the "Genealogia" (albeit copied at slightly different times), and the same opening to the "Descriptio sanctuarii." At the very least, it is worth noting that the book from which the single folio in Reg. lat. 596 was taken may have been the exemplar for the Mont-Saint-Quentin codex. Even the very limited material that survives in Reg. lat. 596 is enough to suggest with

[146] Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth*, p. 3.
[147] *Genealogiae comitum Bulonensium*, p. 299.
[148] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 596, fol. 28.

confidence that the latter was closely related to the Marchiennes codex—it may have belonged to the abbey of Anchin, which was Marchiennes's daughter house and copied a number of the latter's manuscripts. There is no extant twelfth-century crusade codex from Anchin, and it seems highly unlikely, given that the monks of Marchiennes were involved in the creation of at least three different crusade codices—the Brussels Crusade Codex, their own crusade codex, and probably the Mont-Saint-Quentin manuscript—that their compatriots at Anchin would not also have had such a book.[149]

Not all of the texts in the Mont-Saint-Quentin manuscript, however, came from the Marchiennes codex or its largely lost relative. Most obviously, Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, which does not survive in any twelfth-century copies from Anchin or Marchiennes, must have originated from another source. Without a detailed stemma of the eighty-four surviving manuscript copies of Robert's history, it is not possible to say for certain which manuscript served as the exemplar for the Mont-Saint-Quentin text.[150] However, there are two intriguing possibilities for exemplars. First, there is a close relationship between the Mont-Saint-Quentin codex and a twelfth-century codex from the abbey of Saint-Prix in the diocese of Noyon, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18415. Both of these codices include Robert the Monk and Fulcher of Chartres, and in both of them Fulcher's text begins at Book I, Chapter 26 with his description of the city of Jerusalem. In fact, Hagenmeyer mistakenly argued that BnF 18415 came from Mont-Saint-Quentin in his edition of Fulcher of Chartres, for

[149] There is a fifteenth-century crusade manuscript from Anchin, but it is a different type of book, containing only the text of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* (rearranged so that the apologeticus sermo comes at the end) and a short itinerary of the holy places in and around Jerusalem called the *Descriptio locorum sanctorum*. On the latter text, see Jesse Keshkiaho, "On the transmission of Peter Tudebode's *De Hierosolymitano itinere* and related chronicles, with a critical edition of *Descriptio sanctorum locorum Hierusalem*," *Revue d'historie des textes* 10 (March 2015), pp. 69-102. This text is usually found in manuscripts of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Iherosolimitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode, rather than with Robert the Monk.

[150] For a list of surviving manuscripts of Robert's *Historia*, see Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. lxv-lxxiv.

he knew that an earlier edition of Fulcher had been based on a manuscript from Mont-Saint-Quentin that began at Book I, Chapter 26.[151] So, it is possible that the Mont-Saint-Quentin copy was made from BnF 18415, or vice versa—one way or the other, the codices are linked.

It is also possible that one or both of these two codices was copied from the Brussels Crusade Codex, which contains both Robert the Monk's text and the same recension of Fulcher's *Historia*. As shown above, the Brussels codex was at Saint-Bertin in Artois sometime in the third quarter of the twelfth century, Philip of Alsace had a reputation for collecting and sharing books.[152] If the Brussels codex was an exemplar for the Mont-Saint-Quentin codex, then it marked at least the second time that a crusade history belonging to the count of Flanders was used in the production of a monastic book, for the comital copy of the *Liber Floridus* was likely the source of multiple texts in the Marchiennes codex.

Extensive analysis of the texts and manuscripts discussed above is necessary to ascertain their relationship with more certainty. Even without *stemmae* and a thorough understanding of their relationships, however, several points are clear. First, crusade commemoration remained vibrant in Flanders after the death of Thierry of Alsace. It could take a variety of forms, from notes in historical works and entries in annals to the production of dedicated crusade histories along the lines of the books that had been produced in the aftermath of the Second Crusade. Second, the count of Flanders continued to play an important role in supporting and even stimulating these commemorative processes. In addition to patronizing the work of vernacular poets like Chrétien de Troyes, Philip used his pre-crusade donations both to strengthen his ties to monasteries where crusading memory was already present and, as at Mont-Saint-Quentin, to create new strands of memory. He may even have used his comital library as a tool for

[151] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 100-101, 106-108.
[152] Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, pp. I.348-349.

encouraging commemoration. Even and especially after the supposed failure of the 1177-78 crusade, Philip of Flanders wished to remind everyone of his crusading exploits and pedigree.

A Second Chance and the Third Crusade

Whatever William of Tyre's judgment of him may have been, Philip of Alsace remained an important figure after his return to Flanders in 1178. In fact, the years immediately following Philip's first crusade saw the count achieve the apogee of his own power. For Louis VII, on the other hand, these were difficult years. In 1179 Louis's teenaged heir, the future Philip Augustus, got lost during a hunting expedition and, after a night of wandering around in the forest, became dangerously ill.[153] When Louis made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury to pray for his son's recovery, Count Philip accompanied him.[154] Louis confirmed Philip's sovereignty over Artois, Valois, and Vermandois in the same year, lending royal authority to Elizabeth's concession of 1175.[155] Finally, when Louis VII was dying in 1179, he asked Philip to look after his son.[156] As John Baldwin put it, "the count of Flanders was not quite the king's official guardian, as Count Baudouin V [of Flanders] had been a century earlier over the young Philip I, but he undoubtedly overshadowed the court."[157] As Baldwin and others have noted, Philip played an extremely prominent role in the young king's coronation at Reims in 1179, carrying the royal sword in the opening procession and serving as Philip's steward at the banquet that followed the ceremony in the cathedral.[158]

Shortly after this high point, Philip of Alsace began to lose ground to his young charge and namesake. In brief, the count arranged for Philip Augustus to marry Isabelle of Hainaut, his

[153] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, pp. 3-6.
[154] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 32.
[155] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 32; Léon Louis Borrelli de Serres, *La réunion des provinces septentrionales a la couronne par Philippe Auguste: Amiénois, Artois, Vermandois, Valois* (Paris, 1899), p. xxvi.
[156] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 32.
[157] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, p. 15.
[158] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, p. 6.

niece, and he gave the county of Artois to the king as Isabelle's dowry. This county included the most important cities of southwestern Flanders, including Aire, Arras, Béthune, Hesdin, and Saint-Omer. Count Philip was to retain control of Artois during his lifetime, but it would pass to any child that Isabelle might have upon his death. In exchange, King Philip agreed to confirm Count Philip in his possession of Vermandois in 1180. The count was taking a calculated risk, exchanging the likely loss of Artois for permanent control over Vermandois. When his wife Elizabeth died in 1182, however, the plan began to fall apart. Philip Augustus disavowed his original confirmation of Philip's possession of Vermandois and backed the claims of Elizabeth's younger sister, Eleanor, to the county. This initiated three years of war that ended in defeat for Count Philip—he was forced to give up any hereditary claim over Vermandois to Eleanor, who also controlled Valois. When Philip Augustus and Isabelle had their first child, Louis, in 1187, Philip also lost any chance of recovering Artois.[159]

Count Philip took a second wife, Mathilda of Portugal, in 1184, hoping to produce a male heir and so to secure the succession of Flanders, which would otherwise pass to Margaret of Hainaut. He had only a few years to try (unsuccessfully) to father a son before events in the East intervened. On July 4, 1187, Salah ad-Din destroyed the army of Kingdom of Jerusalem at the Battle of Hattin, capturing the king of Jerusalem, Guy of Lusignan, in the process. News of this disaster made its way swiftly to France, and by the beginning of the next year the most powerful men in Western Europe were making preparations to go east.

Unfortunately, there are no contemporary reports of Count Philip's reaction to the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. One imagines, however, that Philip was unsettled by the loss of the holy city, and perhaps downright distraught. He had been offered an opportunity to safeguard the center of the Christian world and had declined it, albeit not without a great deal of soul-searching. Count

[159] This paragraph is based Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 32-36.

Philip likely felt some personal responsibility for the loss of the city, particularly if, as Adolf suggests, his contemporaries were laying some of the blame for the loss of the city on him.[160] Whatever his state of mind, Philip of Alsace took the cross for a second time at Gisors in January 1188. The political situation was far less favorable for him than it had been in 1175-77, if for no other reason than that he did so in the shadow of Philip Augustus and Henry II.[161] No longer the potential savior of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Philip was reduced to bit player status.

Despite the changed circumstances, Count Philip seems to have once more made extensive spiritual preparations for his journey. Many of the same ecclesiastical beneficiaries of 1176-77 received his largesse again twelve years later. For example, he gave ten acres of land to Ter Doest, one of the largest Cistercian abbeys in Flanders, sometime before December 1188, and may have added another gift in early 1189.[162] In 1190 Philip added an exemption from tonlieu for the monks of Ter Doest.[163] In 1188 he gave an annual rent of two lasts of herring from the coastal town of Mardyck to Clairvaux, a gift that was to be delivered, perhaps pointedly, on the feast of Saint Andrew, the saint whose intervention had proved so critical to the crusading success of his ancestor, Robert II.[164] The next year, in 1189, he added an annual rent of thirty

[160] Adolf, "A Historical Background for Chrétien's Perceval," pp. 610-613.
[161] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 138, p. 206.
[162] "DiBe 7457," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 20, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=7457. This charter is no. 750 in the *Regering*; "DiBe 2755," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 20, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=2755. This charter, which is undated but to which de Hemptinne, Verhulst, and de Mey assign a terminus ante quem of April 1189, is no. 757 in the *Regering*.
[163] "DiBe 2757," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 20, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=2757. This charter is no. 817 in the *Regering*.
[164] "DiBe 8595," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 20, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8595. This charter is no. 743 in the *Regering*. This appears to have been a substantial gift—according to the standard weights and measures promulgated during the reign of Edward I of England in 1303, a last was twelve sacks or barrels, which seem to have contained either ten or twelve thousand herring: "Et xii. sacci faciunt le last. Last vero allecis continet decem miliaria." In these statutes, each thousand is ten hundred, and each hundred consists of "vi. xx.," or 120. Cf. Owen Ruffhead, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, vol. I, *From Magna Charta to the End of the Reign of King Henry the Sixth* (London, 1763), p. 149.

livres of silver for the sake of his soul and those of his parents.[165] He gave donations to Vaucelles, Vauclair, and Loos, as well.[166] He also issued a charter exempting all of the monks of the Cistercian Order from payment of tonlieu in Flanders in September 1190, just before his departure for Acre.[167] As he had in 1176-77, Philip seems to have courted the favor of the Cistercians, who apparently remained the order most closely associated in Flanders with the cause of Jerusalem.

Philip did, however, make a number of donations to new institutions. Some of these gifts seem to have been aimed at trying to recover a measure of control over Artois. He made multiple donations to the college of canons at Saint-Omer in 1188 and made or confirmed no fewer than eight donations to the monks of Saint-Bertin and their abbot, John III, between 1188 and 1190.[168]

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[165] "DiBe 10212," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 20, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=10212. This charter is no. 10212 in the *Regering*.

[166] "DiBe 3549," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 20, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=3549 (no. 773 in the *Regering*); "DiBe 10238," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 20, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=10238 (no. 821 in the *Regering*); "DiBe 10240," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 20, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=10240 (no. 819 in the *Regering*).

[167] "DiBe 8604," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 20, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8604. This charter is no. 806 in the *Regering*. By this point Philip had issued exemptions for tonlieu for most of the Cistercian houses in Flanders—this seems, in fact, to have been a preferred gift for such institutions. This charter may represent an attempt to continue to give what was seemingly a welcome gift despite the fact that all of the Cistercians in the county had already received it.

[168] "DiBe 10207," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=10207. This charter is no. 749 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 7727," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=7727. This charter is no. 751 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 8596," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8596. This charter is no. 775 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 2975," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=2975. This charter is no. 778 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 3504," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=3504. This charter is no. 813 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 8598," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8598. This charter is no. 781 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 8599," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8599. This charter is no. 784 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 35828," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=35828. This charter is no. 795 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 3506," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=3506. This charter is no. 794 in the *Regering*.

Two of the charters issued to the benefit of Saint-Bertin mention Philip's departure for the Holy Land explicitly. In one, dated to the end of August 1190, the count says that "I have assumed the Cross for my sins and am about to depart in readiness for the Holy Land in which Our Lord Jesus Christ achieved our Salvation."[169] The other, dated simply to 1190 but almost certainly issued just before his departure, confirms all of the donations made to Saint-Bertin by directly invoking his predecessors:

> Since both those who safeguard ecclesiastical possessions or properties daily according to the law of God and those who distribute them for the use of the faithful from the devotion of faith share one reward and prize, I, in readiness to depart on the road to Jerusalem and bowing to the entreaties of the aforenamed abbot [John III of Saint-Bertin], wish it to be known to all my successors that, in imitation of the illustrious count Thierry, my father, I have conceded and reconfirmed all the things which were offered to the church of Saint-Bertin through the liberality of my predecessors or the munificence of princes and plebes alike up to the present.[170]

In addition to mentioning Thierry in the beginning of this charter, Philip takes the language of the donation, specifically the passage about the reward of those who safeguard and distribute ecclesiastical possessions, directly from the confirmation charter that Thierry had issued on behalf of Saint-Bertin before the Second Crusade.[171] Philip was imitating not only Thierry's crusading exploits, but also his preparations for them and his defense of the ecclesiastical property of the important monasteries of his county.

Philip also made several donations to institutions in Artois before departure. He issued charters on behalf of both the town of Aire-sur-la-Lys and the chapter of canons there, including

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"DiBe 6847," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=6847. This charter is no. 797 in the *Regering*.

[169] "Crucem pro peccatis meis assumpsissem et in procinctu essem proficiscendi ad Terram Sanctam in qua Dominus Noster Iesus Christus nostram operatus est Salutem." "DiBe 2975."

[170] "Cum unius sint mercedis et premii et hii qui ecclesiasticas possessiones uel substantias cotidie iure tuentur Dei, et hii qui eas largiuntur usibus fidelium ex deuotione fidei, ego, in procinctu itineris Iherosolimam proficiscendi prenominati abbatis precibus annuens, notum fieri uolo cunctis successoribus meis, me, ad instar incliti comitis Theoderici patris mei, concessisse et reconfirmasse uniuersa que predecessorum meorum liberalitate uel principum simul et uulgarium munificentia ecclesie Sancti Bertini usque in presens sunt collate." "DiBe 6847."

[171] Cf. *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas*, no. 109, pp. 175. For a discussion of this charter, see Chapter 2.

a charter of 1188 that specifies that he is "about to go on pilgrimage [*peregrinaturus*] to the Holy Land."[172] He exempted the monks of Saint-Sauveur in Ham-en-Artois from tonlieu sometime before 1189.[173] Finally, he donated property to the towns of Arras and Dunkirk in 1189-90 to aid them in strengthening their defensive fortifications.[174] These gifts, taken together with those made to Saint-Bertin and Saint-Omer, suggest that Philip used his impending departure to try to strengthen his position in Artois, despite the fact that the birth of Louis to Philip Augustus and Isabelle of Hainaut in 1187 had cemented French royal possession of the county.[175] That Philip referenced his pilgrimage in the charter on behalf of the town of Aire-sur-la-Lys in 1188, two years before his actual departure, highlights this point.

Though Count Philip's decision to leave Flanders in order to increase his authority there seems counterintuitive, it was rooted in almost a century of comital practice. Since the time of Robert the Frisian, counts of Flanders had been successfully leaving their patrimonies and travelling to Jerusalem in response to crisis. As seen above, both Robert and his ancestor, Thierry of Alsace, succeeded in consolidating their control over Flanders at least in part through the use of this strategy. Furthermore, while crusading was dangerous and presented the possibility of death or capture in the East, no count of Flanders had ever failed to return from Jerusalem when Philip made his decision to go a second time in 1188.

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[172] "DiBe 5552," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=5552. This charter is no. 740 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 7687," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=7687. This charter is no. 830 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 8606," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8606. This charter is no. 829 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 8607," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8607. This charter is no. 831 in the *Regering*.
[173] "DiBe 10213," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=10213. This charter is no. 769 in the *Regering*.
[174] "DiBe 8608," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=8608. This charter is no. 832 in the *Regering*. "DiBe 4074," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 21, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=4074. This charter is no. 808 in the *Regering*.
[175] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 36.

After two years of preparation, Philip of Alsace left Flanders at the beginning of September 1090. The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* indicates that he reached Acre in the company of Philip Augustus on the octave of Easter in 1191.[176] However, Count Philip's crusade ended almost before it began. Shortly after arriving at Acre he caught the sickness that swept through the crusader camp, and on June 1, he died.[177] Richard of the Temple reports that this event saddened the crusading army, particularly as Richard I was also sick, presumably with the same disease that killed Philip and many others.[178] The count's sudden death also changed the complexion of the crusade itself, for it was an important factor in Philip Augustus's decision to leave the Levant for France at the end of July 1191. Count Philip's demise gave King Philip an opportunity to tighten his grip on the county of Flanders, but he needed to be on the scene to control the political maneuvering that would accompany the coming succession.[179]

Count Philip's sudden death prevented him from making amends for his conduct during the 1177-78 expedition, if that was indeed part of his motivation for taking the cross. It also left the political landscape wide open for Philip Augustus, who would live another thirty years. Though Count Philip had provided a plan for the succession in Flanders by naming his sister Margaret his heir, both she and her husband, Count Baldwin VIII, died very shortly after he did. Consequently, it was not until the accession of Baldwin IX in 1195 that a count of Flanders would be able to seriously oppose the French king. After nearly a century, the comital crusading tradition had backfired at a most inopportune moment.

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[176] Richard of the Temple, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1864), III.4, p. I.213. References to the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* will include book and chapter numbers, as well as page numbers from the Stubbs edition. A translation of this version of the *Itinerarium* with a helpful introduction is available: *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the "Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi,"* ed. and trans. Helen J. Nicholson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1997).
[177] Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta regis Henrici II*, p. II.168.
[178] Richard of the Temple, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, III.6, p. I.217.
[179] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, pp. 79-80; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 36-37.

CONCLUSION

Philip of Alsace's career is often overshadowed by the ascendance of his erstwhile protégé, Philip Augustus, for the latter's reign was to inaugurate a new chapter in the history of the French monarchy. The king's meteoric rise had profound implications for the nobility of Flanders which, as Spiegel points out in *Romancing the Past*, found itself in the midst of an identity crisis as its rights and privileges were curtailed in favor of those of the monarchy. Count Philip's unexpected death at Acre left Flanders especially vulnerable to King Philip's machinations. Together with the failure of the count's bid to trade control of Artois for long-term possession of Vermandois, these factors have obscured the importance of political activity within Flanders in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century.

As the preceding analysis has shown, however, Philip was extremely active during the last fifteen years of his rule, and crusading played a key role in the way that he maneuvered to enhance his power and prestige. A careful study of his charters reveals a ruler who was keen to connect himself with both the deeds of his predecessors and the institutions they had supported. His extensive gifts to the Cistercians before the crusade of 1177-78, for example, represent a point of continuity with his father, Thierry, who had also given generously to the Cistercians before travelling east. The spate of gifts given to Saint-Omer, Saint-Bertin, and other institutions in Artois before the Third Crusade, on the other hand, highlights Philip's ability to redirect successful political strategies to meet new threats, such as royal claims to Artois. Philip was sensitive to the rhetorical power of such gifts, and sought to turn them to the greatest possible advantage. Finally, the depth of the count's apparent indecision over whether or not to accept the regency of Jerusalem in 1177 suggests that far from being a mere political opportunist, Philip also felt a personal obligation to defend Jerusalem. This obligation was born of the crusading

tradition of his predecessors, and especially his father. For Philip, crusade lay at the center of what it meant to be the count of Flanders, even as the political landscape was changing both inside and outside the county.

CHAPTER 4: *UNIVERSI QUI HANC ISTORIAM LEGERINT*
History and Reading at Saint-Amand

INTRODUCTION

On December 24, 1144, the Turkish atabeg Zengi captured the city of Edessa after a siege of less than a month. By Christmas of the following year, Pope Eugenius III had issued a bull, *Quantum praedecessores*, calling for a new crusade, and Louis VII of France was trying to convince his nobles to accompany him to the Holy Land.[1] The ensuing Second Crusade ended in disaster. Shortly after the failure of the crusade, several monks at the abbey of Saint-Amand in southeastern Flanders copied a book that would narrate the history of the crusading movement. Near the end of this book, they copied a poem about the most recent expedition:

> Lament, Jerusalem, sorrow of the earth in the middle of the earth.
> Exchange pleasant things for the hairshirt and ashes;
> Pour forth tears, Zion, and you ends of the earth;
> Grieve, glorious land, with your cheeks sprinkled with dust.
> Once you were acquainted with overcoming kingdoms, tribes, and nations;
> Alas! Now a hideous nation rejoices that your necks are trampled upon.
> How many places, fortresses, and foreign leaders you overcame—
> Behold, defeated one: you see that your own people are stricken by the enemy.
> The voice of the cross resounded and filled the earth and the sea;
> The voice of the cross drew innumerable men to arms.
> Their leaders fell in death; the company of commoners perished,
> As great in number as the sand of the sea,
> But now, animated by triumphs, though formerly dispirited and insignificant,
> That nation bends the holy places to its own commands.[2]

This poem, "Lamentum lacrymabile," fills two manuscript pages. Together with another poem, "Gloria Francorum dudum concepit honorem," it represents the only mention of the Second

[1] Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 37-79.

[2] "Hierusalem luge medio dolor orbis in orbe · Mollia commuta cilicio · cinere ; Funde sy̓on lacrimas & uos confinis terre ; Puuluere sparsa genas inclita terra dole ; Regna · tribus · gentes olim subuertere nosti · Heu modo gaudet atrox gens tua colla teri ; Quanta subegisti loca · castra · duces alienos · Ecce subacta premi cernis ab hoste tuos ; Vox crucis insonuit · terrasque fretumque repleuit ; Vox crucis innumeros traxit ad arma uiros ; Occubuere duces · periit collectio plebis Multa super numerum sicut harena maris ; Pigra · pusilla prius ·´ sed nunc animata triumphis ; Imperiis curuat gens loca sancta suis ;" Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 68va. This poem is printed in PL 155, cols. 1095A-1098B.

Crusade in the book, which contains two lengthy accounts of the First Crusade, one in prose and the other in verse.

Ironically, the failure of the Second Crusade created a renewed interest in commemorating the First Crusade. Dozens of new codices were copied all across Europe. Many of these codices are complicated books that incorporate a number of different works. The one from Saint-Amand has forty-five discrete texts within it.[3] These crusade codices of the mid-twelfth century typically contain at least one narrative account of the First Crusade. In the Saint-Amand codex, this is the first text. This history begins with an "apologeticus sermo," in which the author of the text, who was himself a monk, explained why he had written his narrative:

> I entreat all those who will read this history, or will hear it read (and understand what they have heard), to grant indulgence when they come upon anything in it that is inelegantly composed, for I was compelled to write for the sake of obedience—for indeed, a certain abbot, "B" by name, endowed with knowledge of letters and probity of morals, showed me a history narrating the same material, but which displeased him greatly, in part because it did not have the story's beginning, which was fixed at the Council of Clermont, and in part because its account of such beautiful material lay unadorned, and its unpolished arrangement of words and phrases stumbled. He therefore commanded me, who attended the Council of Clermont, to set forth the beginning of the headless material and to compose it with a sharper pen for future readers.[4]

When Robert—for that was the author's name—wrote his history in the early 1100s, he was in the midst of what Jay Rubenstein has described as a "career crisis."[5] Scholarly consensus holds that Robert was writing in part to court the favor of the Capetian kings of France.[6] Yet rather

[3] Boutemy, "Le recueil poétique du manuscrit latin 5129," pp. 47-51.
[4] "VNIVERSOS qui hanc istoriam legerint . siue legere audierint . et auditam intellexerint . deprecor . ut cum in ea aliquid inurbane compositum invenerint concedant veniam .ˆ quia hanc scribere conpulsus sum per obedientiam . Quidam et enim abbas nomine . B . litterarum scientia . et morum probitate preditus . ostendit michi unam istoriam secundum hanc materiam . sed ei admodum displicebat .ˆ partim quia inicium suum quod in clari montis concilio constitutum fuit non habebat . partim . quia series tam pulcrę materiei inculta iacebat . et literalium compositio dictionum inculta uacillabat . Precepit igitur michi ut qui clari montis conciliio interfui . acephalę materiei caput preponerem . et lecturis eam accuratiori stilo componerem." Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 1v. For the corresponding passage in the recent edition, see Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 3.
[5] For the circumstances in which Robert's *Historia Iherosolimitana* was composed, see Jay Rubenstein, "The *Deeds* of Bohemond: Reform, Propaganda, and the History of the First Crusade," *Viator* 47, no. 2 (2016), pp. 118-120.
[6] Rubenstein, "The *Deeds* of Bohemond," p. 119.

than begin his *Historia Iherosolimitana* with a dedication to one of these kings, or to a prominent duke, bishop, or abbot, Robert chose to address the men and women who he hoped would one day read his history.

Historians of the crusades have not always paid the same attention to readers. One prominent scholar of the past twenty years even went so far as to claim that "[t]he content of the histories of the crusades and the manner in which they were subsequently used confirms the view that they were written for a very small audience."[7] Attention has mainly focused on elite readers, like Louis VII of France.[8] The large number of extant manuscripts preserving accounts of the crusades shows, however, that such narratives had a wide readership. Robert's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, for example, survives in dozens of twelfth-century codices. They were copied in monasteries and collegial churches across Europe, from Sittich in modern Slovenia to Clairvaux in France.[9]

This chapter focuses on the tradition of historical reading at the Flemish monastery of Saint-Amand, an important house with close ties to the counts of Flanders.[10] The scriptorium at Saint-Amand produced its copy of Robert's crusade history, discussed in Chapter 2 as the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129), between 1147 and 1153. An exceptional amount is known about the abbey's library in this period because

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[7] James M. Powell, "Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140—ca. 1300," in *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), p. 140.
[8] See Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use," pp. 131-168.
[9] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. lxv-lxxiv.
[10] Flemish counts had a hand in the election of the abbots of Saint-Amand from the ninth century onward. Both Robert the Frisian and Robert II took an active interest in the monastery, and the latter even served as its lay advocate. See Henri Platelle, *La justice seigneuriale de l'abbaye de Saint Amand: Son organisation judiciaire, sa procédure et sa compétence du XI^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle* (Louvain: Bureaux de la R.H.E., 1965), pp. 57-63. The monks of Saint-Amand specifically summoned both Roberts to serve as their advocates in a dispute with the neighboring monastery of Hasnon in 1091; see *De lite abbatiarum Elnonensis et Hasnoniensis*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, *MGH SS* 14 (Stuttgart, 1883), pp. 158-160. Robert II's son, Baldwin VII, repeatedly intervened in local conflicts on the abbey's behalf, as well; see *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, pp. 178-184. The charters transcribed in Vercauteren's edition see Baldwin stepping in to force Saint-Amand's lay advocates, Godfrey and Alard, to respect its rights.

someone there made a detailed list of its books during the reign of Abbot Hugh (1150-1168). This list, called the *Index maior*, was copied at the end of one of Jerome's biblical commentaries, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1850. Together, these two manuscripts offer a surprisingly detailed picture of how the monks at Saint-Amand read and thought about the crusade. The chapter begins with a discussion of typical monastic reading practices and monastic approaches to history. It continues with an investigation of the history books present at Saint-Amand in the twelfth century and their organization in the *Index maior*. It then analyzes the texts and layout of the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex and considers how monks would have read this book and the texts within it, including both Robert's *Historia* and poetry like "Lamentum lacrymabile."

MONASTIC READING AND HISTORY

In the forty-eighth chapter of his *Rule*, Saint Benedict lays out some guidelines for monastic reading. Monks are to have time to read every day, but Benedict places particular emphasis on reading during Lent:

> But in the days of Lent, let them be free for their reading from early in the morning all the way up to the third hour, and then let them be about whatever work is assigned to them all the way through the tenth hour. In these days of Lent, let each one accept his own codex from the library, which they should read straight through from the beginning—these codices must be given out at the beginning of Lent. Above all else, let one or two seniors be prudently appointed, the sort who may walk around the monastery in those hours in which the brothers are free for reading, and let them see to it that, as sometimes happens, some slothful brother is not found who spends his free time in leisure or in tall tales, and is not intent on reading, for he is not only injurious to himself, but he also harms others.[11]

[11] "In Quadragesimae vero diebus a mane usque tertia plena vacant lectionibus suis et usque decima hora plena operentus quod eis iniungitur. In quibus diebus Quadragesimae accipiant omnes singulos codices de bibliotheca, quos per ordinem ex integro legant; qui codices in caput Quadragesime dandi sunt. Ante omnia sane deputentur unus aut duo seniores qui circumeant monasterium horis quibus vacant fratres lectioni et videant ne forte inveniatur frater achediosus qui vacat otio aut fabulis et non est intentus lectioni et non solum sibi inutilis est sed etiam alios distollit." Benedict, *Rule*, ed. Bruce L. Venarde (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), XLVIII.14-18, p. 162. References to the *Rule* will include chapter and sentence numbers in addition to page numbers. Translations from the *Rule* are mine unless otherwise noted.

Benedict also orders that reading time be set aside throughout year, typically both in the mornings and after dinner.[12] In addition, a *lector* is to read aloud for the brothers during meals—Benedict is insistent that "[r]eading should not be absent from the table of the brothers."[13]

Although monks did a lot of reading, there is relatively little direct information about where and when they read particular codices. The survival of a Lenten book list in an eleventh-century customary from the monastery at Farfa, edited by Peter Dintner as the *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis Abbatis*, provides one notable exception to this rule. Though Farfa is in Italy, far from Saint-Amand, it seems likely that the sorts of books assigned for Lenten reading would have been similar, especially since many of the books assigned to monks at Farfa were in the library of Saint-Amand in the twelfth century. The list names all of the brothers of the monastery and indicates which books they read during a particular Lenten season. Most of the brothers at Farfa were assigned biblical commentaries for their Lenten reading. The works of Carolingian exegetes like Hrabanus Maurus, Remigius of Auxerre, and Haimo of Auxerre are especially prominent, along with those of Jerome and Augustine—multiple monks were assigned the works of each of these authors.[14] Many of the brothers got psalters or commentaries on the Psalms. One of them, named Almannus, read Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*. Those monks who were not assigned commentaries or books of the Bible generally got devotional literature, like Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, collections of homilies, or hagiographical texts.

[12] Benedict, *Rule*, 48.1-13, pp. 160-162. Sometimes codices were created specifically for this mealtime reading. The so-called "Sawalo Bible" of Saint-Amand was one such book—the *Index maior* describes it as "the Old and New Testaments in five volumes, which are read at table [Vetus et nouum testamentum in quinque uolumina . que leguntur ad mensam];" Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1850, fol. 202r. For more information about these codices, see Boutemy, "Quelques aspects de l'œuvre de Sawalon," pp. 299-316.
[13] "Mensis fratrum lectio deesse non debet." Benedict, *Rule*, XXXVIII.1, p. 134.
[14] Of the sixty-four books assigned to the monks of Farfa, five were by Hrabanus, two by Remigius, four by Haimo, three by Jerome, and nine by Augustine. For the book list, see Peter Dinter, ed., *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis Abbatis* (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1980), pp. 261-264.

Only one monk in the entire monastery received a work by a classical author to read during Lent. This monk, whose name was Peter, read Livy's *History*.[15] This suggests that, at Farfa anyway, Livy occupied a privileged place in the monastic imagination. Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicon*, a twelfth-century textbook for students who needed an introduction to the study of history, provides a clue as to what made him important. In the *Chronicon*, Hugh includes Livy in a list of the *hystoriographi*. He is in elite company here, listed with the likes of Orosius, Josephus, and Egesippus. Alongside these Christian historians, however, are men like Herodotus, Philostratus, Polybius the Megalopolite, and Claudius "who translated the Acilian annals from Greek into Latin."[16] In fact, the majority of the authors in Hugh's list were pagans, many of whom wrote their histories long before the birth of Christ.

In order to understand why these non-Christians were included among the *hystoriographi* it is necessary to turn to the question of what sort of history Hugh had in mind. This is a complicated question, for history [*historia*] had a number of different meanings in the Middle Ages. It sometimes referred, for example, to classical texts that dealt with historical events and which could be read on the grounds that they were "ethical" treatises that chastise bad behavior.[17] Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Vergil's *Aeneid*, for example, were widely considered works of historiography in the medieval world.[18] Reading such texts could serve a didactice purpose. The twelfth-century natural philosopher Alexander Nequam encouraged his students to read these works in order to learn lessons of morality: "Let him [the student] next read the satirists

[15] *Liber tramitis*, p. 264
[16] "Claudius qui annales Acilianos de Greco in Latinum transtulit." G. Waitz, *Beschreibung einiger Handschriften, welche in den Jahren 1839-42 näher untersucht worden*, in *Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesammtausgabe der Quellenschriften Deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters*, ed. Georg H. Pertz (Hannover: Hahn, 1858), pp. 307-308.
[17] Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 7-16.
[18] Maura Lafferty, *Walter of Châtillon's "Alexandreis:" Epic and the Problem of Historical Understanding* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 35-38.

[*satirici*] and the historians [*ystoriographi*], so that he may also be able to learn at a young age that vices must be avoided, and desire to imitate the noble deeds of heroes."[19] As Suzanne Reynolds notes in *Medieval Reading*, the "satirists and historiographers" included the Roman authors Statius, Vergil, Lucan, Juvenal, and Horace.[20] The evidence of a list of library books at Saint-Amand, the *Index minor*, shows that Sallust was also one of these *ystoriographi* who was read as part of a monk's education in the liberal arts.[21]

Hugh's understanding of history, however, was rooted in Augustinian thought. At the beginning of *De doctrina christiana*, Augustine tells his readers that he intends to outline a set of principles [*praecepta*] that can be used for the interpretation of scripture.[22] He dedicates three of the work's four books to explaining these principles before turning his attention to the best ways to teach the scriptures to others. In Chapter 13 of Book II, he lists the books that belong to sacred scripture. After naming the books of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings, and Chronicles together, Augustine explains that they form an interconnected narrative: "This is history, which contains within itself connected times and the order of events."[23] Augustine goes on to say that Job, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Maccabees, Ezra, and Nehemiah form a continuation of this history. The books of Acts and the Apocalypse, listed together at the end of the New Testament, also qualify as history. For Augustine, connectivity is the key to what makes history—it is an *ordo* comprising a series of related events that unfold in a single, broad arc.

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[19] "Deinde satiricos et ystoriographos legat, ut vitia etiam in minori etate addiscat esse fugienda et nobilia gesta eroum desideret imitari." Nequam's Latin text is published in Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. I.269-271. The English translation here is mine.
[20] Reynolds, *Medieval Reading*, p. 11.
[21] The *Index minor* is copied in Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 39. It is edited in Julius Desilve, *De schola Elnonensi sancti Amandi a saeculo IX ad XII usque* (Leuven: Charles Peeters, 1890), pp. 151-154.
[22] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. and trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p 2.
[23] "Haec est historia, quae sibimet adnexa tempora continet atque ordinem rerum." Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, pp. 68-70.

The *ordo* about which Augustine writes is the story of salvation history, which begins with the fall in the book of Genesis and continues through the ultimate restoration of all things at the apocalypse. In *De doctrina christiana,* Augustine focuses his attention on the parts of this narrative revealed in scripture. However, he also sanctions the study of history outside of the canon of scripture: "Therefore, whatever that thing which is called history discloses concerning the order of completed time helps us a great deal in understanding the sacred books, even if it was learned outside of church in childhood education."[24] Augustine likens the use of pagan histories to understand the Bible to plundering the Egyptians.[25] He even sanctions and supports the study of extrabiblical history as a way of understanding the divine plan woven throughout all human history. Shortly after writing *De civitate Dei,* he commissioned the Spanish priest Orosius to write a history of the pagans, people who are "outsiders from the city of God [*alieni a civitate Dei*]," as a tool to convince those outsiders that God had been working on behalf of his people throughout human history.[26]

There is extensive evidence that, as early as the ninth century, readers at Saint-Amand conceived of history in this way.[27] Saint-Amand thrived in the ninth century, thanks in part to Carolingian patronage, and its scriptorium produced a number of extant history books, both for local use and to be given to other monasteries and important secular figures.[28] These books tie together papal, Roman, and Carolingian history in a single historical narrative, a veritable

[24] "Quidquid igitur de ordine temporum transactorum indicat ea quae appellatur historia, plurimum nos adiuvat ad libros sanctos intellegendos, etiam si praeter ecclesiam puerile eruditione discatur." Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* pp. 104-106.
[25] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, p. 126.
[26] Orosius, *Histoires (contre les païens)*, ed. Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003), p. I.8. This work will be cited as Orosius, *Historia*. All references to Arnaud-Lindet's critical edition of this work will include book and chapter numbers, as well as page numbers.
[27] Rosamond McKitterick provides a detailed analysis of historical reading at Saint-Amand; see eadem, *History and Memory*, pp. 210-217 and passim.
[28] Kitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 210-212; André Boutemy, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand," pp. 6-16.

Augustinian *ordo rerum*. These books display a sophisticated approach to history that evinces a vibrant culture of historical reading. In Rosamond McKitterick's powerful formulation, "compilation and copying are themselves evidence of reading and thinking. The setting out of a particular text so that it could be read is indicative of a process of reading that has already taken place."[29]

In the twelfth century, Hugh of Saint-Victor pushed this concept of sacred history further than Augustine. In Book IV of his *Didascalicon*, an introduction to reading practices intended for students who wished to learn how to be good students of scripture and the liberal arts, Hugh indicates that the works of some of the "holy fathers and doctors of the church" [*sancti patres et docti ecclesiae*] are actually part of the canon of the New Testament.[30] He specifically names Orosius and Eusebius of Caesaria in his list of doctors whose works belong in this category. Earlier in Book IV, Hugh notes that the works of a number of Gospel writers were omitted from the canon of scripture because they "expended more effort arranging the narrative than they did weaving together the truth of the history."[31] For Hugh, it is "truth of the history" that renders a book canonical and authoritative. By endorsing the works of Orosius and Eusebius, among others, Hugh affirms the fundamental truth of their works. Rather than merely being licit to read, these books were essential, even required.

In contrast, because Livy and many other *hystoriographi* were pagans, monks needed to approach their work cautiously. Proper historical reading required training of the sort that Hugh set out to provide in the *Chronicon*. In the introduction to the *Chronicon*, which was sometimes copied separately in the Middle Ages under the title *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum*,

[29] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 216-217.
[30] Hugh of St-Victor, *Didascalicon: De studio legend*, ed. Charles Henry Buttimer (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1939), pp. 78-79.
[31] "magis conati sunt ordinare narrationem quam historiae texere veritatem." Hugh of St-Victor, *Didascalicon*, IV.vi, p. 76.

Hugh stresses the importance of wisdom: "When you learn wisdom, you store up for yourself good treasures, immortal treasures, incorruptible treasures, which never grow old, nor lose the appearance of their brightness."[32] This resonates with Matthew 6:19-21, where Jesus commands the disciples to store up treasures in heaven—the verb *thesaurizare* is common to both passages. By studying, then, students were following the express wish of Christ, though the treasury that they were filling was the heart, rather than a celestial mansion.

Hugh continues his introduction by explaining how students can acquire these treasures. He provides several mnemonic devices for them to use when trying to store information away in the memory. Though he describes these devices as puerile, he defends their use by claiming that it is useless to hear or understand without being able to remember.[33] Consequently, he says, "we have woven all these things as a prelude, matching boyish things to boys, lest perchance (spurning these trifling rudiments of doctrine) we should begin to drift away, little by little."[34] With this practical matter out of the way, Hugh turns to the actual study of history:

> History is the narrative of things that have been done, expressed through the first [i.e., literal] sense of the word…We hold history now in our hands, as the foundation of all teaching, laid out first in the memory. But because, as we have said, the memory rejoices in brevity, and the deeds of the ages are nearly infinite, it behooves us to assemble, from all things, a short summary, like a foundation of the foundation (that is, a first foundation), which the mind can easily understand and the memory can easily retain.[35]

[32] "Quando sapientiam discis, thesaurizas tibi thesauros bonos, thesauros immortales, thesauros incorruptibiles, qui numquam veterascunt, nec speciem claritatis suae amittunt." William H. Green, "Hugo of St Victor: *De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum*," *Speculum* 18, no. 4 (October 1943), p. 488, ll. 5-7.
[33] For memory techniques in the Middle Ages and the culture of memory more generally, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[34] "Ista vero omnia praeludio quodam texuimus, pueris puerilia comparantes, ne forte minima haec rudimenta doctrinae spernentes paulatim diffluere incipiamus." Green, "Hugo of St Victor," pp. 490-491, ll. 37-2.
[35] "Hystoria est rerum gestarum narratio per primam litterae significationem expressa…nos hystoriam nunc in manibus habemus, quasi fundamentum omnis doctrinae primum in memoria collocandum. Sed quia, ut diximus, memoria brevitate gaudet, gesta autem temporum infinita pene sunt, oportet nos ex omnibus brevem quandam summam colligere quasi fundamentum fundamenti, hoc est, primum fundamentum, quam facile possit animus comprehendere et memoria retinere." Green, "Hugo of St Victor," p. 491.

In short, understanding scripture requires an understanding of history, and understanding history requires building a compact narrative of it that can be stored in the memory.

Hugh's goal in writing the *Chronicon* was to provide this compact narrative. The *Chronicon* proper is a series of eleven tables.[36] These tables lay out a series of *ordines rerum*, to quote Augustine, through which the student could learn the order of creation, the rulers of Israel and Judah, the kingdoms of the world, the major geographical features of the world, the popes and emperors since the time of Christ, and—interestingly—the most important historians.[37] These charts also give the dates of some important events. For example, the manuscript of the *Chronicon* that was in Saint-Amand in the twelfth century notes both the "diminishment" [*reductum*] of the Roman Empire and also the *translatio imperii* from the Carolingians to the Capetians.[38] This data was intended for memorization, which is why Hugh began his introduction by teaching his readers some mnemonic devices.[39]

The monks of Saint-Amand, like chroniclers throughout medieval Europe, conceived of history as an ongoing process, or "order of events" [*ordinem rerum*] in the Augustinian formulation. Scribes continued to add people to the lists that make up the bulk of the work long after its original copying. For example, on folio 32v, the list of the kings of France that was originally part of the manuscript runs through Louis VII, who became king of France in 1137 and remained in office until his death in 1180.[40] At the time that the *Index maior* was copied, Louis would have been the last king in the list, which is why his is the last name that has a red

[36] On the relationship between Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* and Hugh's work, see Grover A. Zinn, Jr., "The Influence of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* upon the Writings of Hugh of St. Victor," in *Reading and Wisdom: The De Doctrina Christiana of Augustine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edward D. English (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), pp. 48-60. See also Green, "Hugo of St Victor," pp. 484-493. The library of Saint-Amand had a copy of the *Chronicon*, which was *Index maior* CCCV; see Desilve, *De schola Elnonensi*, p. 177. This manuscript is now Valenciennes, BM, MS 542.
[37] Green, "Hugo of St Victor," pp. 491-493.
[38] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 542, fol. 32v.
[39] See the critical edition of the *De tribus maximis* in Green, "Hugo of St Victor," pp. 488-491.
[40] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 542, fol. 32v.

initial letter. The next name, "Philip, his son" [*Philippus filius eius*] was added later with a dark black initial letter. The script is, however, quite similar to the one in which the manuscript was originally copied. "Louis, his son" [*Ludouicus filius eius*] follows in a slightly less compressed hand—it was presumably added sometime in the thirteenth century during the reign of Philip's son, Louis VIII. The remaining names in the list are written in later hands still, and extend the line through Francis I, the king of France in the early sixteenth century. A similar hand, perhaps the same one, added a list of the counts of Flanders from the ninth-century margrave Baldwin "Bras-de-Fer" through the sixteenth-century count Charles III.[41] This latter Charles is better known to posterity as Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain.

These examples speak to the continuing interest in updating the "narrative of things that have been done" at Saint-Amand. The monks who made the codex itself did so with this sort of updating in mind. The final ruler whose name is inscribed in the large list of popes and emperors that begins on folio 39r and runs to the end of the manuscript in the codex's original hand is Pope Innocent II, whose reign began in 1130.[42] The original scribe has indicated that Innocent reigned for fourteen years. A few lines later, in the final year listed on the recto, Celestine II's name is written in a different, though near-contemporary, hand over top of an erasure in a different ink. There is no indication of how long Celestine remained pope in the manuscript. Since his papacy lasted only five months into the early part of 1144, it seems likely that this gloss was copied during this relatively narrow window. The fact that the Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II's name is also given without a terminus for his reign supports this reading.[43] The list of

[41] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 542, fol. 54v.
[42] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 542, fol. 51r.
[43] Conrad II died in 1152. The original scribe has written "Conradus imperauit annis . [Conrad reigned ___ years]" without indicating the duration of his reign—presumably he intended for someone else to fill in the data later. It is possible that a similar formula was the object of the erasure over which Celestine II's name was ultimately written, though the other pontiffs in the table are not listed in conjunction with a verb of any kind, merely the number of

years written in the original table, however, extends all the way to 1181. The scribe who created the codex meant for later readers to fill these years with data as new popes and emperors were crowned.[44]

As the paragraph above suggests, the *Chronicon* does not restrict itself to biblical material. It includes historical information that extends the narrative of biblical history into the medieval present. Like Eusebius's *Chronicon*, Hugh's work elides ancient history with the medieval present, emphasizing the idea that they were "connected times."[45] So, while the student who was busily memorizing his way through the extensive tables of Hugh's *Chronicon* was ostensibly learning about the correct interpretation of scripture, he was also learning the critical lesson that history was unfolding all around him in the deeds of popes, emperors, and kings. This also explains why Hugh lists pagan historians among the *hystoriographi* in his text, for their histories narrate the *res gestae* that fell outside of the scope of biblical history, but are nevertheless important because they form part of the fabric of salvation history. Hugh explicitly mentions that some of them wrote "about the wonders of the world" [*de incredibilibus mundi*], "about the Egyptian kings" [*de regibus Egiptiis*], "about the history relating to the Indians and Phoenicians" [*de historia Indicis et Phenicis*], and "about the successors of Alexander" [*de*

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years (and sometimes months and days) for which they were in power. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 542, fol. 51r.

[44] It is possible that the table was originally drawn through the year 1282. The twelfth-century headings that indicate the contents of the columns stop after the year 1181 and are replaced with headings in a later hand, but the Roman numerals that designate the years and the ruling of the table seem consistent through folio 52r. The catalog of manuscripts at Valenciennes calls the entirety of this part of the table (fols. 39r-54v) "court annals," but Green considers it part of the *Chronicon*. See the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 25, *Poitiers—Valenciennes* (Paris: Librarie Plon, 1894), p. 431, and Green, "Hugo of St Victor," p. 493. As the catalog notes, the sixteenth-century continuator whose work is addressed above also updated the table of popes and emperors.

[45] On Eusebius and his *Chronicon*, see Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006), pp. 133-177. The library at Saint-Amand had a very old copy of Eusebius's *Chronicon*, which survives in the Bibliothèque municipale as MS 495.

successoribus Alexandri].[46] Hugh's inclusion of Arnobius of Sicca, who is described as a teacher [*rethor*] and whose importance lies in the fact that he wrote "about the diversity of languages in an explanation of Psalm 104," suggests that the value of these works lies also in the fact that they provide necessary background information about the many ancient and unfamiliar peoples and kingdoms mentioned in the Bible.[47]

The contents of the other lists in the *Chronicon* suggest that Hugh had a particular interest in the notion of the *translatio imperii*. The eleventh table in the *Chronicon* lays out the succession of popes and emperors from the time of Christ through the twelfth century. Within this table, political power passes from the Romans to the Byzantines, then to the Carolingians, to Berengar's dynasty, and finally to the Ottonians and Salians.[48] Many of the authors in Hugh's list could have extended the list of rulers in the opposite direction, back into the distant reaches of biblical time to the pharaohs of ancient Egypt. It is highly unlikely that Hugh had actually read most of the historians on his list. As William Green notes in his article on *De tribus maximis*, ten of the thirty-four historians in the list can be found in the pages of Josephus, and many of the others come from other historians whom Hugh had certainly read like Livy, Orosius, and Gregory of Tours.[49] Hugh likely decided to include them in his primer of history because their works confirm the historical facticity of salvation history. They narrate a historical *ordo* that had culminated in the life of Christ and would ultimately end with his return.

By the mid-twelfth century, monks at Saint-Amand could draw on three centuries of tradition as they read historical texts. This tradition prepared them to read history with an eye

[46] Waitz, *Beschreibung einiger Handschriften*, pp. 307-308.
[47] "Arnobius rethor de diversitate linguarum in expositione ps. 104." Waitz, *Beschreibung einiger Handschriften*, p. 308. Presumably this is a reference to Arnobius of Sicca, whose only surviving work is the *Adversus Gentes*. On Arnobius, see Michael Bland Simmons, *Arnobius of Sicca: Religious Conflict and Competition in the Age of Diocletian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
[48] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 542, fols. 39r-52v.
[49] Green, "Hugo of St Victor," p. 493.

toward understanding the Bible and also the broader story of sacred history. Although the both the evidence from the Farfa customary and the ratio of books at Saint-Amand suggest that monks read far more biblical commentaries than historical works, history nevertheless occupied a critical place in the monastic library. It is to the relationship between history books and other volumes in the library that this chapter turns next.

SALLUST, OROSIUS, AND THE *INDEX MAIOR*

The *Index maior* is copied on folios 199v to 202v of Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1850. A title written in red capitals at the top of folio 199v calls it the "Record of the books of the library of Saint Amand" [*Annotatio Librorvm Bibliotheche Sancti Amandi*]. A rubric on folio 201v divides the booklist into two sections. This rubric indicates that the person who wrote the list also had charge of the library itself:

> There follows a record of the books that have been added to the books recorded above in the library of Saint-Amand, with us managing [it], we who wished that the present record be made so that we might have a God who is well-disposed to the pious prayers of the reading brothers.[50]

It is possible that Abbot Hugh, who oversaw the expansion of the library, wrote the list.[51] The part of the *Index maior* preceding this rubric ennumerates two hundred and twenty-one works, copied into a total of two hundred seventy-eight actual codices.[52] The library owned multiple copies of some of these works. An additional ninety-four works, copied in one hundred eleven

[50] "Seqvitvr annotatio librorum qvi libris svperius annotatis additi svnt ad bibliothecam Sancti Amandi . Procvrantibus nobis qvi presentem annotationem ad hoc fieri volvimvs vt fratrvm legentivm piis orationibvs devm propitivm habeamvs ." Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1850, fol. 201v.

[51] For the dating of this book list, see Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, pp. I.318-319, and Boutemy, "Le recueil poétique du manuscrit latin 5129," pp. 51-55. For a transcription of the list, see Desilve, *De schola Elnonensi*, pp. 154-178. The manuscript, which contains several of Jerome's commentaries and other patristic works, can be viewed on-line through Gallica, the BnF's digital on-line collection, at "Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Latin 1850," BnF Gallica, accessed September 3, 2016, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85301860/f1.item.zoom. Desilve assigned sequential Roman numerals to each of the works listed in the *Index maior*, and references to works in the *Index maior* here will include those numerals.

[52] Boutemy, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand," p. 11.

codices, follow the rubric.[53] All told, there are three hundred and fifteen works in the *Index maior*, encompassing some three hundred eighty-nine codices.

The *Index maior* is written in three columns, with forty-three lines to the column. Its entries are written in black, with alternating capitals in red and green marking the beginning of each entry. This style is consistent throughout both halves of the index. However, some books were clearly added to the list after its initial composition—their descriptions are written in a different hand with blue initial capitals rather than the alternating red and green capitals of the original list. In some places the ink of these additions is clearly different in color from that of the original list. These additions are scattered throughout the *Index maior*. Most of them are written in gaps in the original index, which were presumably left precisely in order to accommodate the creation of new codices.[54] These late additions bespeak the presence of a large and growing library that served a reading community.

The layout of the *Index maior* suggests a great deal about the composition and growth of the library at Saint-Amand, and in turn about the place that historical works occupied within it. As indicated above, the *Index maior* separates the library of Saint-Amand into two sections. André Boutemy dubbed the first section, containing the codices that were created before 1150, the *ancien fonds*.[55] Only two works listed in the *ancien fonds* are written with the blue initials that characterize later additions to the index, and they have been squeezed into the left-hand margin [FIGURE 4.1].[56] Since neither of these two manuscripts survives, it is impossible to tell whether they were old codices that the copyist missed while making his record of the books, or additions to the library that were noted in the margin with the *ancien fonds* for some unknown

[53] Boutemy, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand," p. 11.
[54] See, for example, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1850, fol. 202ra, ll. 14-29.
[55] Boutemy, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand," p. 11.
[56] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1850, fol. 199v.

reason. The balance of probability, however, lies with the former explanation. Both codices were psalters containing hymns, which could easily have been in use elsewhere in the monastery when the list was made, or simply overlooked among the other psalters present. By contrast, there are twenty works in the second half of the list that have blue initial capitals, most of which occupy the gaps in the list mentioned above. All of this suggests that the record of the *ancien fonds* was intended to be, and largely remained, a closed record of the monastery's old holdings. The *nouveau fonds*, as the collection of books added during Hugh's abbacy shall be called, was a growing entity, and the copyist of the *Index maior* fully intended for later scribes to continue to add newly-copied works to the catalog.

While gaps between entries in the *nouveau fonds* seek to accommodate the future growth of the library, those within the *ancien fonds* mark subdivisions of the library's collection.[57] The blank line between Plato's *Timaeus* and the work of Martianus Capella on folio 201rb, for example, marks the beginning of a collection of codices that would have been used to teach *grammatica* to beginning Latinists in the school at Saint-Amand. This group includes the works of Marius Victorinus, Priscian, and a number of classical authors whose works were used in the study of grammar, including Vergil, Lucan, Sallust, Horace, Terence, and Persius.[58] A list of the

[57] Breaks in the list occur throughout the *ancien fonds*. For example, there is a break in the list in the first column of folio 200r between a codex that contained excerpts from exegetical works of Ambrose and Gregory the Great on the *Cantica canticorum* [*Index maior* LXI] and the first of Augustine's works in the catalog, the *De trinitate* [*Index maior* LXII]. Though this break amounts to a single line in the column, it is noticeable. A similar break occurs in the second column of the same folio between the final work written by Jerome listed in the *ancien fonds*, a book of excerpts of his exegesis of the Psalms and prophets [*Index maior* LXXXVIII], and Isidore's *Soliloquia* [*Index maior* LXXXIX]. There are several longer breaks on the next page in the midst of a list of *passiones* and *vitae*. Finally, a single-line break occurs between Plato's *Timaeus* [*Index maior* CLXXVIII] and two copies of the work of Martianus Capella [*Index maior* CLXXIX] on the final full page of the *ancien fonds*, and roughly seventeen lines have been left blank at the end of the right-hand column on that page. There are no further breaks in the list on folio 201v before the rubric that marks the beginning of the *nouveau fonds*. See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1850, fols. 199v-201v.

[58] On the use of classical authors, especially Horace, for instruction in grammar, see Reynolds, *Medieval Reading*. On the importance of Martianus Capella, see Mariken Teeuwen and Sinéad O'Sullivan, eds., *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella: Ninth-Century Commentary Traditions on "De nuptiis" in Context* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011).

schoolbooks from Saint-Amand, the so-called *Index minor*, which was copied between 1123 and 1136, groups all of these texts together, reinforcing the impression made by the organization of the *Index maior*.[59] The *Index maior* also groups books concerning medicine and rhetoric.

Most of the books in the *ancien fonds* were works of exegesis. The section of the *Index maior* in which they were enumerated subdivides such works by grouping particular authors or epochs together. For example, there is a clear break between the works of Ambrose and Augustine on folio 200r. A similar break separates the works of Gregory the Great from those of Isidore. After Isidore, the collection of biblical commentaries continues undivided through the work of Anselm of Laon. The hagiographies, which follow exegesis in the booklist, are divided between *vitae* of important saints like Amand, the abbey's namesake, and *passiones*.[60] There is even a section dedicated to geographical texts and the use of the abacus. The *ancien fonds* was, in short, a carefully organized and extensive collection.[61] All of this is consistent with the monastery's reputation as a major intellectual center of the age.

The books of the *nouveau fonds* speak to the continuing vitality of both the scriptorium and the school of Saint-Amand in the mid-twelfth century. Rather than expanding all of the parts of the library described above, however, the copyists of the scriptorium seem to have focused their attention on providing the community with works that reflected the changing intellectual values and practices of the twelfth century.[62] Instead of reading their books "straight through

[59] The *Index minor* is copied in Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 39. For the text of the *Index minor*, see Desilve, *De schola Elnonensi*, pp. 151-154.
[60] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1850, fol. 200v.
[61] The library was in possession of a number of rare works, such as a ninth-century copy of Plato's *Timaeus*, preserved to this day as Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipal, MS 293. On the importance of this manuscript, see Rosamond McKitterick, "Knowledge of Plato's *Timaeus* in the Ninth Century: The Implications of Valenciennes, Bibliotheque Municipale MS 293," in *From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought*, ed. Haijo Jan Westra (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 85-95.
[62] Ivan Illich claims that this period constituted "a fleeting but very important moment in the history of the alphabet when, after centuries of Christian reading, the page was suddenly transformed from a score for pious mumblers into an optically organized text for logical thinkers." Though this is a reductive and somewhat inaccurate claim, it

from the beginning in their entirety," as Saint Benedict had enjoined them to do in his *Rule*, monks were increasingly tempted to read with an eye toward scholastic pursuits like *disputatio*. The proliferation of books of *sentantiae* and codices containing the *Glossa ordinaria* reflects this change.[63]

One critical difference between the *ancien* and *nouveau fonds* deals with the number and placement of texts designated *historia*. Not all works that a modern reader would consider "history" were called *historia* at Saint-Amand. The works of Sallust, for example, are not classified as *historia* in the *Index maior*—the codex containing them is listed instead under his name. This suggests that they were read for a different purpose than the texts with that designation. Within the *ancien fonds,* the works of *historia* are the *Antiquitates judaicae* and *De bello iudaico* of Josephus, the *Recognitiones* of Pseudo-Clement, Pseudo-Egesippus's redaction of Josephus, Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos,* the *Historia tripertita*, Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica*, Jordanes's *De origine actibusque Getarum*, Eutropius's *Breviarium historiae Romanae*, and a *Historia Alexandri Magni*, which was presumably the *Historia de preliis* of Leo the Presbiter.[64] There is only one work that is described as *historia* in the entire *nouveau fonds*. That work is the codex containing Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, described in the *Index maior* as the "history of how Jerusalem was captured by the Christians."[65]

The nine works of *historia* in the *ancien fonds* are listed immediately after Saint-Amand's copies of the Bible on folio 199v. The works of Sallust, by contrast, are listed under the author's name, with the schoolbooks. This contrast raises the question of what precisely made a

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reflects the fact that expectations for texts changed dramatically during the period. See Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's "Didascalicon"* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 2.

[63] On the ordinary gloss, see Lesley Smith, *The "Glossa Ordinaria:" The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). There were glossed bibles in the *ancien fonds*, but there were also a number of unglossed copies of biblical books. By contrast, none of the biblical books that were copied after 1150 are unglossed.

[64] Desilve, *De schola Elnonensi*, pp. 157-158.

[65] In the *Index maior,* this codex is described as the "Historia quomodo expugnata est Ierusalem a Christianis." See Desilve, *De schola Elnonensi*, p. 177.

text *historia* at Saint-Amand in the twelfth century. As demonstrated above, there was already a long tradition of historical reading at the monastery by the time the *Index maior* was created in the mid-twelfth century. The evidence of the *Index maior* suggests that Sallust occupied a different place in this tradition from the works of other authors like Orosius, Josephus, and Egesipppus.

The fact that Sallust is not referred to as *historia* in the *Index maior* is surprising. In a seminal article, Beryl Smalley memorably claims that "Orosius and Sallust supply the twin keys to medieval historiography: *claves scientiae*."[66] Yet at Saint-Amand in the twelfth century, Sallust's work is not described as *historia*. Though this does not mean that monks at twelfth-century Saint-Amand considered his works somehow ahistorical, it does suggest that they were different in some way. Paleographical evidence from the Sallust and Orosius manuscripts that were at Saint-Amand in the twelfth century, both of which survive at the Bibliothèque municipale in Valenciennes, suggests that the key difference between them lay in their use within the monastery. What made Sallust and Orosius different, in other words, was how they were read.

Classical texts were included in the curriculum of monastic schools in order to help new readers develop their skills. Consequently, the codices that transmitted them became pedagogical tools. As Suzenne Reynolds shows, the glosses that characterize these teaching manuscripts serve as agents that mediate between the text and its readers, helping the latter to decode the former in order to learn the tenets of *grammatica*.[67] Glosses could explain unfamiliar terms and grammatical concepts to novice readers. They could also ensure that classical texts were safe for

[66] Beryl Smalley, "Sallust in the Middle Ages," in *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 500-1500: Proceedings of an International Conference held at King's College, Cambridge, April 1969*, ed. R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 165.
[67] Reynolds, *Medieval Reading*, pp. 28-41.

Christian monks to read by explaining away any confusing and potentially objectionable passages in acceptable terms. By sanitizing classical texts with glosses, teachers also blurred the line between grammar and rhetoric, especially in places where the use of figurative language required an explanation of the sense of the text in addition to its letter.[68]

Reynolds analyzes a number of manuscripts of Horace containing the types of glosses described above, and scholars have observed the same phenomena at work in glossed manuscripts of Virgil and Persius.[69] Evidence at Saint-Amand suggests that Sallust should be added to this list of classical authors whose works were used for pedagogical purposes. The manuscript listed as "Salustius" in the *Index maior* is Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 549, a twelfth-century copy of the *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Iugurthinum* in a single codex.[70] It is a short manuscript, consisting of only forty-nine leaves. Though not a display piece, the codex is well-crafted. Alternating capitals in red and blue break the text into sections, and decorated initials in blue, red, and green inhabited by white vines mark the beginnings of both works. The authorship and subject of Sallust's works are indicated with lines of red and blue capitals, which read "SALVSTII CRISPI/CATILINARIVS LIBER" and "SALVSTII CRISPI/IVGVRTINVS LIBER."[71] None of these features, however, makes as large an impression on the reader who is opening the manuscript for the first time as its glosses.

Valenciennes, BM, MS 549 is covered with glosses. These glosses occupy much of the space in both the left and right margins from folio 1v all the way to folio 38r, where they largely disappear. On heavily-glossed pages like the first one, glosses also occupy the area of the page

[68] See Reynolds, *Medieval Reading*, pp. 121-154.
[69] See Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), and James E. G. Zetzel, *Marginal Scholarship and Textual Deviance: The "Commentum Cornuti" and the Early Scholia on Perseus* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2005).
[70] The codex measures 213mm x 278 mm—the text is written in a single column measuring 124mm x 199mm in a clear Protogothic hand, with thirty-six lines per page.
[71] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 549, fols. 1v and 17r.

above the main text. There is also extensive glossing in the interline. The difference in the color of the ink used in the glosses suggests that either two (or more) glossators were involved, or that one glossator made several different passes over the codex.[72] These glosses are written in a Protogothic hand quite similar to that in which the main text is written, suggesting that they were added to the manuscript sometime in the twelfth century.[73]

Though this is not the place for a detailed page-by-page analysis of these glosses, an analysis of a few of them will provide a sense of how readers were meant to approach the manuscript. Folio 16r provides a convenient subject for analysis [FIGURE 4.2]. This page includes the end of Chapter 58 of the *Bellum Catilinae* and the beginning of Chapter 59. The former describes Catiline's final speech to his soldiers before their fateful battle against the forces of Gaius Antonius, while the latter describes the deployment of the two armies.[74] This is a dramatic passage that, like most of the rest of the manuscript, has been treated by two glossators—two different shades of ink have been used, and the nub on the quill used to produce the darker glosses was much finer than the pen used to produce the brownish ones. Even so, there are fewer glosses per line here than on most of the other pages in the manuscript.

Both the marginal and interlinear glosses on the page are intended to help the reader to understand the literal meaning of Sallust's text.[75] A gloss on the first line of the page, for example, explains the meaning of the word *officit*. This enables the reader to make sense of the phrase "the fear of the spirit thwarts the ears" [*timor animi auribus officit*], in which Catiline explains to his army why, contrary to virtually everything else written about warfare in the

[72] Note the contrast between the light and dark glosses written near the gutter on folio 1r in FIGURE 4.3.
[73] Boutemy notes that the library at Saint-Amand flourished in the twelfth century, and it seems reasonable (given the hand in which the glosses are written) to conclude that they were added to the manuscript sometime shortly after its creation. See Boutemy, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand," pp. 15-16.
[74] For these passages in a modern critical edition, see Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, ed. J. T. Ramsey (Atlanta: American Philological Association 1984), pp. 52-53.
[75] On the history of these glosses, see Turner, "Reading Sallust in Twelfth-Century Flanders," pp. 198-222.

premodern world, battlefield speeches are not effective for rousing soldiers to deeds of great courage.[76] Though the gloss for this phrase is located immediately above it, the glossator nevertheless indicates his intention to explain the word "officit" by placing a *signe-de-renvoi* over it, in this case a triangle of points [∵]. The gloss itself reads "'It thwarts,' that is, 'it hinders them from being able to hear the exhortation'" [*Officit id est impedit . ne hortationem percipere possint*]. The glossator has provided a literal reading of the metaphor in the Sallustian text to make it comprehensible to fledgling readers, lest the figurative language should obscure the grammatical and syntactical structures of the phrase, while simultaneously clarifiying the fact that *auribus* is dative. The glossator has also provided the reader with helpful punctuation in the gloss itself, setting off the subjunctive clause introduced by the verb "inpedit" to prevent the reader from missing its subordinate status.

The marginal glosses on this page work similarly. These glosses are bracketed off in the right-hand margin, and are introduced with single words or phrases from the text to indicate their subject. For example, the second marginal gloss on folio 16r [FIGURE 4.3] begins with the words *Sed ego* to show that it will explain the beginning of the first full sentence on the page, "Sed ego uos pauca quo monerem aduocaui" [But I have called you together so that I might tell you a few things]. The gloss first rewords Sallust's original sentence in order to make the purpose clause, introduced by "quo" in the original, more comprensible to the uninitiated reader by using the more standard "ut" in the place of the relative. It goes on to highlight the difference between the meanings of the verbs "hortari" and "monere," upon which Catiline's speech depends:

> Set ego · Non uocaui uos ut hortarer · quia nequicquam facerem · set ut uos monerem · nam hortari est aliud quam monere · hortari enim est quasi animare · monere uos quasi ratione esse faciendum ostendere ·

[76] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 549, fol. 16r, l. 1.

> ‘But I’ · I have not called you in order that I might encourage you · because I would do so in vain · but in order that I might admonish you · (for ‘to encourage’ is something different from ‘to admonish’ · in fact, ‘to encourage’ is similar to ‘to enliven’ · ‘to admonish you’ is similar to ‘to show that something must for a reason be done’) ·[77]

This marginal gloss, like the interlinear gloss analyzed above, simultaneously unpacks the literal meaning of Sallust’s narrative, both by restructuring the grammar and by explaining the meanings of figurative expressions, and instructs the reader in the meanings of Latin words that may be obscure. This sort of aid helped the reader to learn Latin while also trying to steer him toward a literal understanding of the text. Such literal readings, as opposed to the allegorical or tropological readings that form the basis of medieval biblical exegesis, helped to guard the authoritative (but pagan, and so inherently dangerous) works of classical authors like Sallust from misinterpretation.[78]

In addition to the evidence of the glosses themselves, Valenciennes, BM, MS 549 has some other features that point to its use in the classroom. Perhaps the most striking is a small T-O map of the world on the bottom of folio 1r [FIGURE 4.4]. This map is the first thing that a reader would have seen upon opening the manuscript. It shows the typical division of the continents. Asia and Europe are clearly labeled, as are the Tanais River (the Don) and Nile, which traditionally separated the continents from each other. Spain (Hispania), Rome (Roma), and Egypt (Egiptus) are all labeled as well, with the former two somewhat anachronistically drawn as churches. There is also a large, unlabeled basilica drawn in Asia, to the north of Egypt. Africa is by far the most crowded of the continents, though most of the labels drawn within it are extremely difficult to read now. The only place that is clearly visible is Leptis, which lies halfway down the Nile. To the north, at the crossing of the “T,” lies *Sirene* [Cyrene], and to the

[77] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 549, fol. 16r, l. 1. The punctus in the transcription of the gloss are part of the original gloss, while the parentheses and quotation marks in the English translation are mine.
[78] For the importance of literal reading and *auctoritas*, see Reynolds, *Medieval Reading*, pp. 135-154.

extreme south is the altar of the Philaeni [*are Philenor<u>um</u>*].[79] These locations are all described in Chapter 19 of Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*, the second of the two texts copied in the manuscript.[80] One imagines that a teacher in the school of Saint-Amand drew this map in order to make the geographical setting of Sallust's narrative clear for his students. Though the drawing is not very detailed, its largest structure—the church beneath the word "Asia"—seems to be intended to evoke Byzantine architecture, with its rounded arches and the two-tone color scheme suggested by the black accents in the arches. There is a hint of the style of architecture seen, for example, in the Pammakaristos Church in Istanbul, which probably dates to the eleventh century [FIGURE 4.5].[81]

All of these features suggest that the manuscript of Sallust at Saint-Amand in the mid-twelfth century was used in the monastic school to teach grammar and rhetoric to students of Latin. Andrew Turner concurs, discussing this manuscript specifically in an article that analyzes a number of Flemish manuscripts of Sallust while arguing that twelfth-century Flanders saw a rapid increase in the production of Sallust manuscripts precisely because they were useful in the schools.[82] Of course, monks who read Sallust still learned lessons about history. Many of the glosses in the Saint-Amand Sallust are intended to help them to understand the historical content of the texts.[83] Primarily, however, Sallust's work was read in the classroom.

The works listed in the *Index maior* as *historia* were read quite differently. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 545, a ninth-century copy of Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos*, is a representative example. There are some marginal and interlinear glosses in the codex, but

[79] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 549, fol. 1r.
[80] cf. Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, ed. Michael Comber and Catalina Balmaceda (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), pp. 62-63.
[81] For a discussion of Byzantine architecture of the period, see Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (Milan: Electa Editrice, 1978), pp. 89-140.
[82] Turner, "Reading Sallust in Twelfth-Century Flanders," pp. 221-222.
[83] Turner, "Reading Sallust in Twelfth-Century Flanders," pp. 202-207.

most of them are corrections to the text rather than explanations of it. Where there are explanatory glosses, they constitute single words that typically indicate synonyms. The lone gloss on folio 2r, in which the glossator uses a punctus as a *signe-de-renvoi* to indicate that the word "brutes" [*brutis*] means "animals" [*animalia*], is a typical example. Several different individuals seem to have glossed different parts of the text—the color of the glossing ink changes, as do some letter forms, most notably that of **a**. At least one of these glossators seems to have been reading with relative care, as he notes the presence of a sizable lacuna on folio 120v, where the narrative skips, mid-sentence, from Chapter 27 of Book VII all the way to Chapter 41.[84] As the editor of the most recent critical edition notes, this must have been the result of a defect in the exemplar—the scribe copying the text must not have noticed that he had written a nonsensical phrase.[85] The glossator, who was presumably reading the text, did. He warns future readers to "look carefully—nearly half the book is missing" [*require multum deest pene medietas libri*]."[86] He seems to have taken his role as literary watchdog seriously. The beginning of the same warning, along with the same *signe-de-renvoi* used in the intercolumnar gloss, is also present in the left-hand margin of the page. In other words, he started to write his warning, stopped, and decided to relocate it closer to the lacuna so that it would be easier to see. This note is the longest gloss in the codex.

Unlike Sallust, Orosius was intended for seasoned readers who needed very little guidance in their reading. These readers left very few clues to their own reading practice in the Orosius manuscript. However, the content of the history suggests that it was probably read in the fashion prescribed by Hugh of Saint-Victor—Orosius is, after all, one of the "holy fathers and

[84] Arnaud-Lindet notes the presence of this gloss in the introduction to her critical edition of Orosius's text: see Orosius, *Historia*, p. I.lxxv.
[85] Orosius, *Historia*, p. I.lxxv.
[86] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 545, fol. 120v.

doctors of the church" whose work Hugh includes in his expanded New Testament. There are a few indications in the manuscript itself, however, that some monks also read this history a bit subversively.

Orosius's *Adversus paganos* (also known as *Contra paganos*) comprises seven books, which purport to narrate all of the calamities that have befallen mankind since the origin of the world in order to show that matters in the Roman present were not as bad as they seemed when viewed in comparison with the events of the past.[87] Like Augustine's *De civitate dei*, the *Historia adversus paganos* was intended to alleviate the fears of Christians who worried that God was incapable of taking care of them in the aftermath of the sack of Rome in 410. Orosius also wrote it to combat the accusations of non-Christians who asserted that the abandonment of the Roman deities had caused the calamities befalling the Roman state.

Orosius lays out the first of his two major claims in the prologue of his work. He tells his reader that he expected the present to be worse than the past, and discovered the opposite to be true: "Indeed, I found that past days were not only just as difficult as these, but also as frightfully miserable in degree as they are removed from the remedy of true religion."[88] Shortly thereafter, Orosius makes his second claim, with which he diagnoses the cause of human calamities—namely, sin. He notes in the first chapter of Book I that all historians, both pagan and Christian, have written about the consequences of sin. What he intends to do that is different is to make plain this heretofore hidden first cause: "What should prevent us from revealing the head of this thing, the body of which they [that is, other historians] have portrayed?"[89]

[87] Orosius, *Historia*, I.*Prol*.9-16, pp. I.8-9.
[88] "Nanctus sum enim praeteritos dies non solum aeque ut hos graues, uerum etiam tanto atrocious miseros quanto longius a remedio uerae religionis alienos." Orosius, *Historia*, I.*Prol*.13-16, p. I.9.
[89] "[Q]uid impedimenti est nos eius rei caput pandere cuius illi corpus expresserint." Orosius, *Historia*, I.1.7-13, p. I.12.

Orosius returns to these central claims repeatedly, typically at the beginnings and ends of his seven books. In the opening of Book IV, for example, he invokes his first thesis and calls those who characterize the present as worse than the past "complainers" [*queruli*].[90] He goes on to note that the improvement in the world's condition is a function of the rise of the Roman empire, which first brought the other parts of the world under its sway and then ended up at peace itself.[91] God himself ordained this peace and then caused Christ to be born during the *Pax Romana* in order to ease the spread of the Gospel.[92] This binds the empire's history together with that of the *civitas Dei*, and so the narrative itself crescendos toward the Christian empire of the fourth century. Even after relating the calamities that befell the city of Rome during Alaric's sack, Orosius insists that God was mercifully chastising the people for abandoning him, rather than punishing them. He further argues that the invasions themselves worked out well for the Romans, who ended up employing the barbarians as mercenaries.[93] In any case, he writes, the conversion of the barbarian groups to Christianity provided a fitting justification for God's ordination of the sack of Rome.

At the conclusion of the *Historia adversus paganos*, Orosius addresses Augustine directly. He describes his agenda in very specific terms, indicating that he had set out "the desires and punishments of sinful men."[94] This formulation highlights his interest in a particular kind of sin, *cupiditas* [desire]. In conjunction with its sexually-charged cousin, *libido* [lust], the sin of desire was responsible for many of the great disasters that had befallen mankind. Orosius returns to *cupiditas* and *libido* time and again in his history. He relates, for example, that it was the lust [*libido*] that individuals had for sex, wealth, and power that had caused civil discord

[90] Orosius, *Historia*, IV.*Praef.*1-10, pp. II.8-10.
[91] Orosius, *Historia*, V.1.1-2.8, pp. II.82-87.
[92] Orosius, *Historia*, VI.1.1-27, VII.1.11-3.12, pp. II.162-168, III.17-22.
[93] Orosius, *Historia*, VII.391-18, VII.41.7-9, pp. III.113-117, III.122-123.
[94] "cupiditates et punitiones hominum peccatorum." Orosius, *Historia*, VII.43.16-20, pp. III.131-132.

during the time of the Decemvirate.[95] Similarly, it was a "desire for ruling" [*dominandi cupiditas*] that animated the great bellicosity of the Spartans, and a "desire for domination" [*cupiditas dominationis*] that caused the Carthaginian Hanno to grab power.[96] Sulla, he writes, was made dictator "so that the lust for domination and cruelty might be both fortified and disguised by the respect for an honest and distinguished name."[97] The excesses of Tiberius Caesar were the result of "so great a frenzy of lust and cruelty."[98] At one point Orosius even describes his contemporaries, the *queruli* mentioned above, as men who find anything "outside of the delight of lust" to be burdensome.[99]

Orosius had drawn on the works of a number of previous historians to write his *Historia adversus paganos*, intent as he was upon exposing sin as the underlying cause of all the events they had already recounted. One of these historians was Sallust, whom he quotes directly and references more-or-less explicitly in his history.[100] Unlike Orosius, Sallust had famously framed his narratives of Roman history as tales of decline. He too, however, had cast lust as a major cause of calamity. In the introduction to the *Bellum Catilinae*, for example, Sallust opines that "truly, when idleness takes the place of labor, and lust [*lubido*] and pride the places of moderation and equanimity, fortune also is changed, along with customs."[101] He goes on to situate Catiline's rise to prominence within a general decline of Roman morals, indicating that

[95] Orosius, *Historia*, II.13.3, 6, pp. I.111-112.
[96] Orosius, *Historia*, III.2.10-14, IV.6.16, pp. I.142-143, II.22.
[97] "ut dominationis et crudelitatis libido honesti praecipuique nominis reuerentia et armaretur et uelaretur." Orosius, *Historia*, V.21.12, p. II.140.
[98] "tanta libidinis et crudelitatis rabie." Orosius, *Historia*, VII.4.10, p. III.24.
[99] "extra oblectamentum libidinis." Orosius, *Historia*, IV.21.4-7, pp. II.69-70.
[100] See, for example, Orosius, *Historia*, II.17.17, VI.6.5-6, pp. I.123, II.179. In the latter passage, Orosius glosses over the Catilinarian conspiracy on the grounds that other accounts of it are available—while Sallust and Cicero are not named explicitly as authors, their identities would have been known to most of Orosius's readers.
[101] "Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur." Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, II.5, p. 27.

the Romans had given themselves over to lust.[102] He later indicates that a number of the conspirators who joined Catiline did so because they had exhausted their money "by lust and luxury."[103]

For medieval readers, then, the twin keys to knowledge about the past unlocked similar stories. A reader who had learned Latin grammar or syntax from a glossed manuscript of Sallust like Valenciennes, BM, MS 549 and who had graduated to Lenten historical reading could hardly have failed to notice that the moral lessons to be drawn from the classical *auctor* were similar to those to be drawn from the work of the priest Orosius. Reading the classics had prepared him to read Latin, but it had also prepared him to read *historia*. At least one of the monks at Saint-Amand seems to have learned this lesson well—he drew a manicule on the third page of the abbey's copy of the *Historia contra paganos* to mark Orosius's claim that "evils of this type, moreover, which existed then just as they do now to whatever extent they do, are without a doubt either sins made manifest or the hidden punishments of sinners."[104] Monks also bracketed off sections of the text dealing with the concept of *translatio imperii* and the idea, resonant with the quotation from Sallust above, that the material wealth of Sodom and Gomorrah undid them.[105]

Other evidence preserved in Valenciennes, BM, MS 545 suggests, however, that not all of the monks of Saint-Amand read their *historia* in this way. The scribbles and doodles of monastic readers suggest that they also read Orosius because it was pleasurable. The monk who bracketed off the sections of the history mentioned above, for example, also bracketed off a passage in which a group of Persian women stop their husbands and sons from routing during battle by shaming them:

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[102] Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, XI.5-8, XIII.3, p. 31.
[103] "lubido atque luxuria." Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, XXVIII.4, p. 37.
[104] "mala autem huiusmodi quae tunc erant, sicut et nunc sunt in quantum sunt, sine dubio aut manifesta peccata sunt aut occultae punitiones peccatorum." Orosius, *Historia*, I.1.12, p. I.9; Valenciennes, BM, MS 545, fol. 3v.
[105] Valenciennes, BM, MS 545, fols. 9r, 16r.

> With the Medes pressing upon them at once, the battle line of the Persians, having been beaten back by this situation [*necessitas*], gradually gave way, and their mothers and wives ran to meet them, begging them to turn back to the battle. With their garments hiked up, they showed those who were dilly-dallying the nether-regions of their bodies, asking whether they wished to take refuge in the wombs of their mothers or wives.[106]

He also drew brackets around the description of the sexual proclivities of Semiramis, an early queen of Assyria who, according to Orosius, had sex with her own son and then passed a law allowing anyone else in the kingdom to engage in the same behavior without penalty.[107] There are other passages about women behaving badly which are unmarked in the manuscript, and it is possible that the glossator marked them for reasons other than amusement, but the passage about the Persian women in particularly seems to have been of interest precisely because it is salacious, and perhaps because it is funny, as well.

In general, humor plays a relatively prominent role in Orosius's narrative. He includes saucy stories of wanton behavior throughout his narrative. He resorts on several occasions to the rhetorical trope of insisting that he must hurry past a number of important stories, only to drop in scurrilous details from the juiciest of them.[108] He also provides his readers with a great deal of gore, ranging from pus-filled descriptions of the plagues of Egypt to the story of Mettus Fufetius, who was executed for treachery by having his body tied to chariots that were then run in opposite directions.[109] Such episodes make the *Historia adversus paganos* an entertaining book to read, even for the most austere monks.

Reading *historiae*, however, was complicated. Though the web of sacred history was woven from the events and people described in them, and though the moral lessons of historical

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[106] "Qua necessitate instanter Medis pugnantibus pulsa iterum Persarum acies cum paulatim cederet, matres et uxores eorum obuiam occurrunt, orant in proelium reuertantur; cunctantibus sublata ueste obscena corporis ostendunt quaerentes, num in uteris matrum uel uxorum uellent refugere." Valenciennes, BM, MS 545, fol. 14r. The corresponding passage is found in Orosius, *Historia*, I.19.9-10, pp. I.70-71.
[107] Valenciennes, BM, MS 545, fol. 9r. This is in Orosius, *Historia*, I.4.4-8, p. I.44-45.
[108] See, for example, the completely superfluous story of the bronzesmith Perillus and his torture bull: Orosius, *Historia*, I.20.3-4, p. I.71-72.
[109] Orosius, *Historia*, I.10.10-13, II.4.8-15, pp. I.55-56, I.91-92.

texts were valuable even when the texts themselves were not actually written by Christians, history also had the power to amuse, and so to distract monks from their divine business. Perhaps that is why Benedict forbade even biblical works of *historia*, namely the Heptateuch and the Books of Kings, from being read after supper: "It will not be useful to feeble intellects to hear this scripture at that hour—but let them be read at other hours."[110] Perhaps he was concerned that monks would have a hard time falling asleep and preparing themselves for the *opus dei* if they were imagining David on the prowl for Philistine foreskins, or Ehud literally stabbing the shit out of Eglon the Moabite: "And Ehud reached out his left hand and seized the dagger from his right hip and stabbed him in his stomach so vigorously that the handle followed the blade into the wound and was covered by the plumpest fat. He did not pull out the sword, but left it in the body just as he had thrust it in, and straightaway the shits [*stercora*] of the bowels burst forth through the hidden places of nature."[111] William of Saint-Thierry was certainly worried that monks could do themselves harm with their reading at bedtime—in his "Golden Epistle," he urged the brothers of Mont-Dieu to be careful when going to bed:

> Take care, inasmuch as you are able, servant of God, that you never go to sleep altogether, lest your sleep should be not the rest of the weary, but rather the burial of the suffocated corpse, not a refreshing but an extinction of your spirit. Sleep is a suspect thing, and it is for the most part like drunkenness. In fact, laying aside vices (which no one can oppose while sleeping, when reason slumbers along with the body), no amount of time in our life is as wasted, with respect to the obligation of making steady progress, as that which is allotted to sleep. Therefore, when you are about to go to sleep, always bring something with you in your memory or thought, in which you may sleep peacefully, or which may even sometimes help you to dream.[112]

[110] "[I]nfirmis intellectibus non erit utile illa hora hanc scripturam audire; aliis vero horis legantur." Benedict, *Rule*, XLII.4, p. 144.

[111] "extenditque Ahoth manum sinistram et tulit sicam de dextro femore suo infixitque eam in ventre eius tam valide ut capulus ferrum sequeretur in vulnere ac pinguissimo adipe stringeretur nec eduxit gladium sed ita ut percusserat reliquit in corpore statimque per secreta naturae alvi stercora proruperunt." Judges 3:21-22.

[112] "Caue in quantum potes, serue Dei, ne totus aliquando dormias. Ne sit somnus tuus non requies lassi sed sepultura corporis suffocati, non reparatio / sed exstinctio spiritus tui. Suspecta res est somnus et ex magna parte ebrietati similis. Exceptis enim uitiis, quibus in dormiente, cum corpore dormitante ratione, non est qui contradicat, quantum ad debitum continui profectus, nil temporis tam deperit de uita nostra, quam quod somno deputatur. Iturus ergo in somnum, semper aliquid defer tecum in memoria uel cogitatione, in quo placide obdormias, quod

The image of Persian women chastising their cowardly husbands by baring their naughty bits was certainly not what William intended for the monks of Mont-Dieu when he urged them to hold something in their memories as they went to sleep. Yet the historical texts of the Old Testament were read by solitary monks during Lent, along with the works of Orosius, Josephus, Egesippus, and Livy. It is tempting to imagine that they, like the apparent reader of Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 545, were torn between drawing from their reading the data of history and its moral lessons, on the one hand, and the amusement and pleasure of bawdy jokes and comic situations on the other.

The Saint-Amand copies of Sallust and Orosius were intended for different types of reading. This explains their separation in the *Index maior*. While Sallust was important at Saint-Amand, it was primarily read as a tool for grammatical and rhetorical instruction. Orosius, on the other hand, was read as a tool for understanding how God was working salvation for his chosen people throughout the *ordo rerum*. Both types of reading were important, but the former was ultimately directed toward the latter.

THE FIRST CRUSADE AS *HISTORIA*

Robert the Monk was acutely aware of the sort of reading practices explored above when he wrote his *Historia Iherosolimitana*.[113] He began his history of the First Crusade by speaking directly to "all those who will read this history, or will hear it read (and understand what they have heard)."[114] He never gives any further information about the sorts of people who he thinks

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nonnumquam etiam somniare iuuet." William of St-Thierry, *Opera Omnia Pars III*, ed. Paul Verdeyen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 256. I am grateful to Tyler Sergent of Berea College for drawing my attention to this passage.

[113] For books that explore the working process and *mentalités* of an earlier historian, see the historiography on Richer of Reims: Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Justin Lake, *Richer of Saint-Rémi: The Methods and Mentality of a Tenth-Century Historian* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013).

[114] "Universos qui hanc istoriam legerint . siue legere audierint . et auditam intellexerint." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 3.

will read his work. However, the wording of his entreaty suggests that he imagined the work being read in at least two ways. The first way is as part of the *lectio divina* explored above, and the second is aloud in public. The second category could have included reading as *lectiones* during the office or chapter, reading for the edification of guests at monasteries, or perhaps even public readings at court. As noted above in Chapter 2, at least one crusading codex was famously given as a gift to a secular prince, who seems to have read it and taken its advice to heart.[115] Similarly, the fact that Bohemond of Taranto recruited men like Robert to rewrite the *Gesta Francorum* in his efforts to stir up support for his own crusading ventures bears witness to the fact that lay leaders were interested in the historical record surrounding the First Crusade. Robert's apparent anxiety about the potential for his "readers" to include some individuals with limited education may have prompted his decision to address himself specifically to those who would both hear and understand.

Robert must have known, though, that most of his readers would be monks, and that many of them would read his history on their own. The lack of any qualifier attached to "those who will read" implies that he was unconcerned with the comprehension skills of people who would actually hold copies of his work in their hands and read it themselves. Unfortunately, as we have seen above, the skill of these readers also deprives us of the types of insights into their thoughts and values that would accompany a heavily glossed manuscript. Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5129 is not such a manuscript. As a result, an appreciation for how monks might have read it requires a close analysis of both the text and the manuscript, considered within the context of the reading traditions examined above and the specific works and codices that were available at Saint-Amand.

[115] Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use," pp. 131-168.

Reading actualizes texts. Without readers and their unique and subjective emotions, learning, and prior reading experiences, literary texts as phenomena do not exist—it is only the interplay between text and reader that realizes the text itself.[116] Critically, both text and reader emerge from this partnership changed, for in addition to creating the read work, the reader also incorporates it, literally bringing it into the body and mind. Wolfgang Iser describes the process succinctly: "Whatever we have read sinks into our memory and is foreshortened. It may later be evoked again and set against a different background with the result that the reader is enabled to develop hitherto unforseeable connections."[117] These connections were a source of both interest and anxiety for medieval readers and authors. On the one hand, authors depended upon the connectivity of texts and ideas to situate their own works and ideas within broader intellectual traditions and arguments—both the authors and the scribes whose work formed Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5129 explicitly tried to get their readers to make particular connections. On the other, authors were keenly aware of the unpredictability of these connections. They knew, as Roger Chartier warns, that while books seek to create order, readers subvert it.[118]

Robert opens his *Historia Iherosolimitana*, the first and longest work in the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex, with a formal apology, the "Apologeticus sermo," and a prologue. In the former, he justifies his part in the composition of the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, which he famously claims was the result of an order from his monastic superior. In the latter, he justifies the crusade itself as a subject for history, drawing on the narrative of biblical history that he assumed his

[116] The language of "realization" is borrowed from Wolfgang Iser, who describes the read work as "konkretisiert." See Wolfgang Iser, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," *New Literary History* 3, no. 2 (Winter, 1972), pp. 279-281.
[117] Iser, "The Reading Process," p. 283.
[118] Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. viii.

monastic readers would know intimately in order to make a dramatic claim for the importance of the crusade:

> Among all the historians of the Old and the New Testament, the blessed Moses is preeminent, he who described the beginning of the world by the instigation of the Holy Spirit in Hebrew letters—of which he himself was the author, with God revealing them—and and brought the marvelous deeds of the first and second age as well as the deeds of the present into our midst. Joshua [the son of] Nun, Samuel, and David, of whom the first wrote the book of Joshua and the second and third the histories of the kings, imitated his example. From this, therefore, it can clearly be concluded that it is, in fact, acceptable to God that any miraculous work should be commended to the notice of his faithful in letters, since he accomplished on earth what he had set in motion at predetermined times. And since the creation of the world, what more wonderful thing has been done (besides the mystery of the salvific cross) than what was achieved in modern times in the journey of our Jerusalemites?[119]

Robert argues at the beginning of his work that the success of the First Crusade was the most miraculous work that God ordained after Christ's passion itself. This is a shocking statement.[120] He also places himself implicitly alongside Moses, Joshua, Samuel, and David as an author of *historia*. The audacity of this unspoken claim is particularly jarring after the apparent humility of the "Apologeticus sermo."

Robert reinforces this idea throughout the *Historia Iherosolimitana* principally by casting the Franks as a second Israel. He focuses on reinventing the biblical stories of the Exodus and the Israelite invasion of Canaan. The idea that the Israelites were types of the Franks was an old one by the twelfth century. Carolingian intellectuals had cast Charlemagne in the role of a new

[119] "Inter omnes ystoriographos veteris ac novi testament Moyses sanctus obinet principatum, qui divino spiritu prophetie Hebraicis litteris, quarum Deo revelante ipse auctor extitit, mundi descripsit exordium, et prime etatis ac secunde facta mirabiliora necnon et patriarcharum gesta nobis adduxit in medium. Huius exemplum imitati sunt Ihesu Navae, Samuhel et David, quorum primus Iosue librum, secundus et tercius regum historias conscripserunt. Ex hoc igitur liquido potest colligi quia revera Deo sit acceptabile, ut ad notitiam fidelium suorum litteris commendetur, cum in terra peragit, quod prefixis temporibus fieri disposuit, aliquod opus mirabile. Sed post creationem mundi quid mirabilius factum est preter salutifere crucis misterium, quam quod modernis temporibus actum est in hoc itinere nostrorum Iherosolimitarum?" Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 4.

[120] Matt Gabriele makes the same point in a recent article about Robert's text. See Matthew Gabriele, "From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Verb Tenses of Jerusalem in Robert the Monk's *Historia* of the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 42, no. 3 (2016), pp. 304-316.

David, with the Franks taking the role of new Israelites, in the ninth century.[121] However, the historical reality of an army of Christians physically invading the Holy Land allowed Robert to insist upon the connection repeatedly in his narrative. He also changes the focus of the typological nexus between the Franks and the Israelites. The Carolingians had drawn on exegesis of the Old Testament to argue that they were Davidic kings.[122] By focusing on the Franks as a nation rather than on their kings, Robert shifts his biblical focus backward from the kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the nation of Israel as it entered Canaan.[123]

The association between the crusaders and the Israelites has its first undertone in the aforementioned Prologue to the *Historia*. Here Robert concludes his argument for the importance of the crusade by asking rhetorically whether anyone could have successfully carried out an expedition like the crusade unless it was "the blessed race, whose Lord is also its God, the people whom he chose for his inheritance."[124] This passage is Psalm 32:12, a psalm celebrating both God's faithfulness to his people and the fact that his protection trumps human military and political skill. A monastic reader whose vocation required the daily singing of the Psalms might well have remembered at this point, before the beginning of the history itself, that this psalm also says that God's eye is on those who fear him, "so that he might deliver their souls from death and quicken them in hunger."[125] Robert transforms this psalm into a type for the events he is about to describe in his crusade narrative, forcing his reader to reconsider God's protection of the Israelites in scripture as a shadowy foretaste of the aid he would render to the Franks.

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[121] See Mary Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an identity from Pippin to Charlemagne," in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 114-161. On the consequences of this idea for Carolingian relations with the Jews who lived within the empire, see Owen Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the* Imperium Christianum (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 81-93.
[122] Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel?," pp. 136-140.
[123] For the dynamic exegetical interpretation of Charlemagne and the Franks, see Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory*.
[124] "beata gens, cuius est Dominus Deus eius, populus quem elegit in hereditatem sibi?" Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 4.
[125] "ut eruat de morte animam eorum et vivificet eos in fame." Psalm 32:19.

The language that Bohemond uses to address the crusaders during their sojourn in Constantinople also underscores the connection between crusaders and Israelites. According to Robert, the sight of the Frankish army moved Bohemond to give a speech of exhortation. This speech emphasizes the moral uprightness of the crusading army, a condition guaranteed by confession and penitence: "You have renounced all of the corporeal delights. Now you have been renewed a second time, namely by confession and by penitence."[126] The idea that the moral condition of the crusading army was a critical component in their success recurs throughout the text. It also recurs in Old Testament accounts of the deeds of the Israelites—indeed, the entire narrative structure of the book of Judges is based on the moral failures of the people, who turn away from God periodically to serve their own interests and so are in need of divinely appointed judges to save them. Bohemond's speech, then, helps subtly to establish the narrative of the crusade as *historia*. Robert also emphasizes the connection between Israel and the Franks by placing the words spoken by David in before his fight with Goliath into the mouth of his Norman protagonist: "our battle is His."[127]

These episodes take place before the official crusading army is involved in any fighting. The one major battle that takes place in the narrative before the departure of the main army is the annihilation of Peter the Hermit's army at the siege of Xerigordon, which is described in Book I of Robert's *Historia*. Here Robert offers a veiled comment upon the spiritual state of Peter's army. During the siege of the castle, water became scarce, and the crusaders suffered cruelly from thirst. Robert records that some of them even resorted to drinking urine. A reader well-versed in the Old Testament would certainly have been reminded of the Assyrian siege of

[126] "omni corporee voluptati renunciastis. Nunc iterum secondo regenerati estis, per confessionem scilicet et penitentiam." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 19.
[127] "ipsius est bellum nostrum." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 19. The relevant passage is 1 Kings [1 Samuel] 17:47

Jerusalem recorded in 4 Kings [2 Kings] 18, during which the Rabshakeh, one of Sennacherib's leading officials, harangues the Israelites guarding the city with promises that they will one day eat their own excrement and drink their own urine. In the narrative in Kings, God rescues Hezekiah and the Israelites by sending an angel into the Assyrian camp. This angel strikes down one hundred eighty-five thousand Assyrians. The Old Testament narrative reports that Sennacherib immediately broke off the siege and returned to Nineveh, where he was assassinated by two of his sons.[128] Presumably the Israelites did not have to resort to consuming human waste. Robert intends his reader to conclude that Peter the Hermit's army was not blessed with divine aid, and that they failed to reach the Holy Land because they neglected their moral condition.

Classical historians also emphasized the moral lessons to be learned from the past. Sallust, for example, nods toward this idea in the *Bellum Iugurthinum* when he bemoans the fact that his contemporaries compete to outdo their ancestors with respect not to probity or diligence [*industria*], but rather to wealth and extravagance.[129] Similarly, Lucan wonders in the *Pharsalia* what feats the Romans might have achieved if they had not bloodied themselves by fighting a civil war.[130] Commentary on the moral successes and failures of past actors lies at the heart of the works of ancient historiographers, which is part of what made them acceptable fodder for monks.[131] Robert was definitely familiar with the *Pharsalia*, and invokes Lucan's work directly on several occasions. He also riffs on classical tropes and alludes to scenes from classical literature—Marcus Bull and Damien Kempft describe such episodes as "invitations to the well-

[128] 2 Kings 19:35-37.
[129] Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, IV.vii, pp. 40-41.
[130] Lucan, *La guerre civile*, ed. A. Bourgery (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003), Book I, ll. 13-32, p. I.2-3.
[131] Reynolds, *Medieval Reading*, pp. 135-149.

educated contemporary reader to scan his or her memory of classical literature in order to retrieve comparable narrative vignettes."[132]

Robert frames the progress of the main crusader army in biblical terms drawn from the narrative of the Exodus. For example, he quotes a passage from the prophet Isaiah when describing the army's departure in Book II. He says that this passage, in which God promises to protect and restore Israel, is fulfilled "presently" [*presentialiter*] in the crusaders.[133] This is also meant to invoke the words that Christ spoke in his first sermon at Galilee after the temptation in the desert—after reading an excerpt from Isaiah, Jesus begins his sermon by saying "today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing."[134] Robert cobbles together a hymn of praise, sung by the clerics and priests after the Battle of Dorylaeum, from bits and pieces of the song of Moses that the Israelites sang after crossing the Red Sea and the destruction of Pharaoh's army.[135] Adhemar of Le Puy is described as "another Moses" [*alter Moyses*].[136] A medieval reader could not have failed to notice that, like the first Moses, Adhemar was not allowed to enter the Promised Land.

Robert also creates an implicit contrast between the behavior of the ancient Israelites and the crusaders by referring repeatedly to their treatment of Muslim prisoners after battles. While describing a battle that took place in the valley of Rugia, for example, Robert writes that the crusaders "found there many Turks and Sarracens, whom, having been defeated, they killed with the edge of the sword."[137] Similar observations accompany the beginning of the sieges of Antioch, the castle of Talamania, the city of Albara, and ultimately (and infamously) the city of

[132] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. lxii-lxiv.
[133] The passage reads "Ecce nunc presentialiter videmus in re, quod olim promisit Dominus per os Ysaie prohete." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 13.
[134] "Quia hodie impleta est hæc scriptura in auribus vestris." Luke 4:21. The translation is from the NRSV.
[135] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 27-28; cf. Exodus 15:1-18.
[136] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 8.
[137] "multosque ibi Turcos et Sarracenos invenerunt, quos in ore gladii superatos prelio occiderunt." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 33.

Jerusalem.[138] Robert refers to the execution of scores of Muslims within Jerusalem by saying that the crusaders "purified it from the pollution of the Gentiles."[139] In all of these passages, Robert portrays the crusading army as following instructions that God gave to the Israelites in Deuteronomy to utterly destroy the inhabitants of the land of Canaan.[140] Unlike Old Testament scapegoats like Saul or Achan who, faced with these or similar instructions, kept back part of the spoils for themselves, Robert praises the crusaders by insisting that they did not spare anyone whom they should have killed.

In addition to looking backward to the Cannanite campaigns of the Israelites, Robert also looks forward in eschatological time and casts the crusaders as warriors fighting in an apocalyptic landscape. His report that "the celestial trumpet resounded" after the Council of Clermont conjures images of the seven trumpets blown by angels in Revelation, each signaling an apocalyptic event or a transformative moment in history.[141] Perhaps Robert, like Raymond of Aguilers, another chronicler of the First Crusade, imagined the crusaders themselves as a divinely-sanctioned force, loosed by God to hasten on the end of the world. The forces arrayed against the crusader army before Dorylaeum are described in apocalyptic terms: "they had covered the face of the land, like locusts and grasshoppers, of whom there is no count."[142] Here Robert quotes Psalm 104:34, but the language also evokes the plagues of Egypt and the giant locusts loosed upon the earth after the fifth trumpet sounds in Apocalypse 9:1-11. Descriptions of the economic conditions current in the crusader camp during the great famine that ravaged the

[138] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 34, 80-82, 101. On the historiography of the aftermath of the siege of Jerusalem, see Benjamin K. Zedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades," *Crusades* 3 (2004), pp. 15-76.
[139] "immundiciis gentilium…emundavit." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 101.
[140] Deuteronomy 7:1-11.
[141] "celestis tuba percrepuit." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 8. See Apocalypse 8-11 for the seven trumpets.
[142] "superficiem terre cooperuerant, sicut locusta et bruccus, quorum non est numerus." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 27.

army outside of Antioch invoke the third horseman of the Apocalypse, riding his black horse and foretelling future economic calamity with a pair of scales held high.[143] The description of the white-clad, heavenly army that purportedly aided the outnumbered crusaders in battle invokes the language of Revelation 6:9-11, in which the martyrs are given white robes in heaven. Bohemond of Taranto specifically names the heavenly relief force as a force comprised of martyrs in his conversations with Pirrus at Antioch.[144] Monks at Saint-Amand even had visual images in their library to accompany these apocalyptic references—their "Apocalipsis picta," as the *Index maior* describes it, contains vivid representations of the four horsemen and the "great crowd that no one could count."[145] Interestingly, in the Saint-Amand Apocalypse, most of the men in this crowd wear tonsures. This may have encouraged monastic readers to imagine themselves into the crusade narrative in the guise of the divine warriors who save the crusaders outside of Antioch [FIGURES 4.6 & 4.7].

By setting the crusaders alongside the Israelites of the Old Testament and the angels and saints of the Apocalypse, Robert tried to make good his description of the crusade as one of the most important events of sacred history. As a consequence, the monks of Saint-Amand considered it *historia*. It fit within the *ordo rerum* spoken of by Augustine in *De doctrina christiana*, the uninterrupted narrative of God's salvific work in the universe. It could be read alongside biblical history and the ancient historians like Orosius and Josephus who carried the narrative of God's people past the end of the canon and into the late antique world.

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[143] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 40-41. For the third horseman, see Apocalypse 6:6.
[144] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 51-53. On the spectral reinforcements, see Elizabeth Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).
[145] The manuscript is Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 99. The manuscript is fully digitized: "Apocalypse dite de Valenciennes," Patrimoine Numérique, Bibliothèque Valenciennes, accessed March 8, 2018, https://patrimoine-numerique.ville-valenciennes.fr/ark:/29755/B_596066101_MS_0099. The relevant spreads are 12v-13r and 15r.

The scribes who made the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex reinforced this idea in the way they laid it out and in their choice of other texts to include in it. As Charles Samarn and Robert Marichal assert in their *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture Latine* that Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5129 was originally two different contemporary manuscripts, bound together sometime after their composition.[146] They place the break between the two original manuscripts at the end of folio 87, meaning that one manuscript would have contained folios 1-87, comprising the first ten texts in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5129, and the other would have encompassed folios 88-141. Samarn and Marichal cite the presence of a blank recto (folio 88r) and a subsequent change in hand as evidence to support their claim.[147] The blank recto is the first folio of a quire, which lends credence to their conclusion that this is where the codex originally ended.[148]

Most of the ten texts grouped together in folios 1-87 share crusading themes. Robert of Saint-Rémi's *Historia* is the first work in the section. It is followed by a description of the holy places surrounding Jerusalem, several lists of important lay and ecclesiastical officeholders in the Latin kingdoms in the Levant, a description of the organization of the parishes of the Latin church in the holy land, an excerpt from Bede's commentary on Mark describing the Holy Sepulchre, the "Relatio miraculi," "Lamentum Lacrymabile," "Gloria Francorum dudum concepit honorem," another description of the holy sites in Jerusalem and its environs, and the epic *Historia vie Ierosolimitane* written by Gilo of Paris.[149] The arrangement and content of these texts will be considered in greater detail below—for the present, their thematic similarity is enough to suggest that they belong together. The tenth work in the manuscript, the *De operibus sex dierum*, which the scribes of Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5129 attribute to Hildebert of Tours, but

[146] Samarn and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture Latine*, p. II.261.
[147] Samarn and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture Latine*, p. II.261.
[148] In addition to the evidence of the blank recto coinciding with the quire break, it is worth noting that the vellum of folio 88 has a peculiar feel to it—this could suggest that it was originally at the beginning of a codex.
[149] Boutemy, "Le recueil poétique du manuscrit latin 5129," pp. 47-48.

which was likely written by Odo of Tournai, presents something of a puzzle.[150] It is a verse retelling of the creation story that seems to have very little to do with crusading or the holy land. Nevertheless, the codicological evidence above suggests that it was part of the original manuscript.

Although there is no reason to disbelieve the suggestion that the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex was originally two manuscripts, they must have been combined into their present form shortly after their creation. The *Index maior* describes the codex as the "History of how Jerusalem was captured by Christians in the year of the Lord 1098, and a description of the places lying around it, with a description of the grandeur of the Roman Church, and with other little works."[151] Both the history and the first description are definitely in the first half of the codex, and the "other little works" could obviously refer to any of the other eight texts copied with them. The "description of the grandeur of the Roman Church," on the other hand, must refer to the *Descriptio sanctuarii Lateranensis ecclesie*, which begins on folio 89r, in what Samarn and Marichal describe as the second section of the manuscript. It is possible that this was part of the original manuscript, but the next quire break is at folio 96r, which is mid-text. It seems unlikely that a scribe would have copied the description of the Lateran palace, which ends on folio 93v, and then left two whole folios blank, only to fill them with the first four pages of a new text (Hildebert of Lavardin's *Satyra adversus avaritiam*, as it is listed in the *PL*) after a new quire was attached. Instead, the two sections of the current manuscript have likely been joined together since the twelfth century.[152]

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[150] See Willemien Otten and Karla Pollmann, *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity: The Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 331.

[151] "Historia quomodo expugnata est Ierusalem a Christianis, anno Domini M° XC° VIII°, et descriptio locorum circa eandem adiacentium, cum descriptione dignitatis Romanae ecclesiae, et cum aliis opusculiis." Desilve, *De schola Elnonensi*, p. 177.

[152] The fact that the works of hexameter poetry in both halves of the manuscript are ruled identically supports this conclusion, or at the very least the notion that they were produced at around the same time.

In any case, the *aliis opuscula* play a major role in making Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5129 a codex of *historia*, rather than simply a codex that contains a work of *historia*. These short works surround the main crusade narrative with the sorts of information that Hugh had laid out as necessary building blocks of historical knowledge in *De tribus maximis*:

> Therefore, there are three elements upon which the knowledge of great deeds chiefly depends: that is, the actors by whom things were done, the places in which they were done, and the times when they were done. Whoever retains these three things by memory in his mind will find that he has a good foundation, and whatever he builds upon it afterward through reading he will both grasp quickly and retain for a long time, without difficulty. Nevertheless, it behooves him to bear this thing in mind thus, and to keep it familiar and at the ready by means of constant recollection, so that he may be prepared to apply his heart to all he has heard, and to assign, with a fitting distribution, the things which he has learned here to all those things which he will hear afterward according to their place, time, and person.[153]

The crusade chronicle itself gives a sense of some of the places, times, and actors in which the crusade took place, but the monks of Saint-Amand wanted to further contextualize the event in order to improve the *bonum fundamentum* that they were laying for themselves. Though some of the knowledge in these ancillary texts seems trival, it was crucial to these monks. Perhaps the monk or monks who planned the manuscript had in mind Hugh's *Didascalicon*: "Do not despise the little details. The man who despises the little things passes away little by little."[154]

Several of the texts that follow Robert's *Historia Iherosolimitana* provide detailed information about the locations in which the crusade took place. The text that falls immediately on the heels of the crusade narrative is the *Descriptio locorum circa Hierusalem adiacentium*,

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[153] "Tria igitur sunt in quibus praecipue cognitio pendet rerum gestarum, id est, personae a quibus res gestae sunt, loca in quibus gestae sunt, et tempora quando gestae sunt. Haec tria quisquis memoriter animo tenuerit, inveniet se fundamentum habere bonum, cui quicquid per lectionem postea superedificaverit sine difficultate et cito capiet et diu retinebit. Verumptamen hoc ita memoriter retinere oportet et assidua retractatione domesticum et notum habere, ut promptus sit ad omnia audita cor suum aptare, et ea quae hic didiscerit ad omnia quae postmodum audierit secundum locum et tempus et personam congrua distributione assignare." Green, "Hugo of St Victor," p. 491. Green's edition gives "…res gestae sunt, le loca in quibus…." I have taken the "le" to be a mistake in the printing of the journal, and so have omitted it from the passage.

[154] "Noli contemnere minima haec. Paulatim defluit, qui minima contemnit." Hugh of St-Victor, *Didascalicon*, p. 114.

which lays out the geography of the Holy Land and the events in earlier sacred history that took place there.[155] A few folios after the conclusion of the *Descriptio locorum circa Hierusalem adiacentium* is a short excerpt from Bede's commentary on the gospel of Mark, with a description of the physical appearance of the Holy Sepulchre. After a short miracle story and the two crusading poems mentioned previously comes the *De situ urbis Ierusalem et de locis sanctis infra ipsam urbem sive circum iacentibus*, which specifically describes the holy places in and around Jerusalem itself. All of these *opuscula* increase the reader's knowledge about the landscape upon which the crusading army fought in the Holy Land.

The manuscript also provides information about people who played important roles, both in the crusade specifically and in sacred history more generally. There are lengthy lists of office-holders in several places in the manuscript. The first set of lists begins on folio 66r, and has the heading "the names of the Jerusalemite bishops."[156] This list begins with James, "the brother of the Lord," and runs through a bishop named Cyril, who built the original Church of the Holy Sepulchre and a number of other important monuments.[157] The list then shifts to the Greek patriarchs of Jerusalem, concluding with Symeon, "in whose time the Franks came [*cuius tempore franci uenerunt*]."[158] There follow lists of the kings of Israel, beginning with Saul and ending with Zedekiah, the last king of Judah before the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. The scribe then indicates that there were a further ninety-one kings, and skips ahead to the "names of the Latin dukes and kings [*Nomina ducum et regum Latinorum*]."[159] This list is followed by the rulers of the other crusader states, and then a description of the diocesan hierarchy of the Holy Land. The second set of lists, which occupies folios 88v-89v, lists all of the

[155] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fols. 54v-66r.
[156] "Nomina episcoporum Ierosolimitanorum." Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 66r.
[157] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 66r.
[158] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 66v.
[159] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 66v.

popes beginning with Peter. It then explains the hierarchy of ecclesiastical offices and institutions centered on the city of Rome, providing information about cardinals, deacons, and abbots of that city.

These lists served at least two purposes. The first was to provide the names of the *personae* whose identities Hugh of Saint-Victor would have believed essential to the study of history. Easy access to the order in which particular bishops or kings held office allowed a reader to reconcile biblical history and current events quickly, without reference to another codex. A second, and perhaps more important, purpose was to emphasize the link between past agents of sacred history and those who were alive and serving in the present. Having the names of local rulers like Baldwin of Boulogne in a list that began with Saul and David proclaimed to medieval readers their own proximity to the heroes of the biblical past. It also highlighted the idea that God remained faithful to his people. The city of Jerusalem had had to endure the ninety-one kings of Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5129's list, not to mention the interminable chronological gap that followed, but God had still restored a ruler from his chosen people to the throne in the end. Even the physical proximity of the names on the manuscript page would have reinforced this notion. The practice of updating such lists as time advanced would have achieved the same end, and the papal list in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5129 was, like the lists in Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicon*, updated several times after its creation.[160]

The scribes who created Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5129 tried to craft a codex that encouraged the sort of reading that Hugh of Saint-Victor advocates in his *Didascalicon* and *Chronicon*. Not everyone who read the codex, however, read it with the sole aim of building a sound foundation for the study of history. Both Robert's *Historia* and the reading tradition at Saint-Amand

[160] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fol. 89r. Adrian IV is the last pope whose name was part of the original program of the manuscript, but later hands have added a further thirty-four popes, taking the list all the way through the fifteenth century. On the dating of the list, see Boutemy, "Le recueil poétique du manuscrit latin 5129," p. 51.

encouraged readers to enjoy the crusade narrative and the experience of reading in ways that were moderately subversive, if not antithetical to mode of historical reading advocated by Hugh of Saint-Victor.

For one, Robert includes several episodes in his narrative that owe more to the literary tradition of heroic epic than to biblical *historia*. In his description of a battle that took place outside of Antioch before the capture of the city, for example, Robert pens a vignette worthy of the *Poem of the Cid* or the *Song of Roland*, in which he describes what amounts to a single combat between Godfrey of Bouillon and one of the Antiochene Muslims:

> When one of them—more brazen than the rest, more outstanding with respect to the bulk of his body, and more robust with respect to physical strength, like another Goliath—saw the duke berserking mercilessly among his allies, he urged his horse against him with bloodstained spurs, and, with his sword raised on high, he beat the whole shield as it was held over the duke's head. If the duke had not directed his shieldboss against the blow, and turned himself toward the other side, he would have paid the price of death. But God guarded His soldier, and protected him by means of the shield of his defense. The duke, inflamed with ardent anger, prepared to repay him, blow for blow, and hacked in like manner at his neck. He raised his sword and brought it down from the left side of the shoulders with such force that it split the middle of the breast, severing the spine and the vital organs, and so the sword, slippery, came out intact over the right leg; in this way he plunged the head, still attached to the right-hand part of the body, into the river, and the sent the part that remained on the horse back into the city.[161]

Robert seems to relish the grisly details of battle, slipping into the present tense as the fight nears its climax and the duke "prepared to repay him, blow for blow." He leaves his audience with the image of half of the loser's mangled body falling into a river while his spooked horse carries the other half back into a horrified city. Indeed, the sensational elements of the passage might well

[161] "Cumque unus ex eis audacior ceteris, et mole corporis prestantior, et viribus, ut alter Golias, robustior, videret ducem sic supra suos inmisericorditer sevientem, sanguineis calcaribus urget equum adversus illum, et mucrone in altum sublato totum super verticem ducis transverberat scutum. Et nisi dux ictui umbonem expandisset, et se in partem alteram inclinasset, mortis debitum persolvisset. Sed Deus militem suum custodivit, eumque scuto sue defensionis munivit. Dux, ira vehementi succensus, parat rependere vicem, eiusque tali modo appetit cervicem. Ensem elevat, eumque a sinistra parte scapularum tanta virtute intorsit, quod pectus medium disiunxit, spinam et vitalia interrupit, et sic lubricus ensis super crus dextrum integer exivit; sicque caput integrum cum dextra parte corporis immersit gurgiti, partemque que equo presidebat remisit civitati." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. 44-45.

overshadow Robert's pointed reference to the Muslim foe as "another Goliath" [*alter Golias*] in the minds of his readers. This might cause such readers to miss the allusion to the fact that Godfrey will ultimately be king of Jerusalem, an *alter David*.

Monastic readers read violent works all the time, the Bible among them. Violence informed the way that they thought about themselves and their vocation.[162] They could and did interpret violence allegorically, as a reflection of their spiritual struggle. Conrad Rudolph's analysis of the illustrations in the twelfth-century Cîteaux *Moralia in Iob* shows just how close the interplay between reading and violent imagery could be. Rudolph argues that that monk who illustrated the *Moralia* developed his unique visual vocabulary of violence through a close reading of Gregory the Great's text.[163] Meditating on Gregory's exegesis seems to have inspired this gifted artist to compose a series of illustrations that would encourage other readers of the *Moralia* to reflect on the depth of the spiritual struggle in which they were engaged.

However, not all monks thought about violence in this sacralized, and perhaps sanitized, way. Monks also enjoyed reading violent poetry, like Virgil's *Aeneid*.[164] Saint-Amand's *Index minor* indicates that students in the monastic school read Virgil, Horace, and Lucan as part of their studies, and so were well-versed in the poetic violence of the classical world.[165] They also read the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, in which the personified virtues triumph over vices in a number of entertainingly bloody ways. Saint-Amand's copy of the *Psychomachia* was illustrated with miniatures depicting a number of the single combats between virtues and vices, and some of them resonate with the episode in Robert's *Historia* recounted above. For example, the

[162] See Katherine Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2011).
[163] Conrad Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life: Reading, Art, and Polemics in the Cîteaux "Moralia in Job"* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), especially pp. 84-96.
[164] For the place that Virgil occupied in the Middle Ages, see, for example, Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*.
[165] Desilve, *De schola Elnonensi*, p. 154.

illustrations of Humility decapitating Pride on fol. 16r of Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 412, while not directly in accord with Godfrey's slaughter of the unnamed Antiochene soldier, suggests that even those monks who had not themselves seen combat would have had vivid images of violence on which to draw when "fleshing out" Robert's text [FIGURE 4.8].

The hexameters that accompany Robert's text in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5129 bear witness to some of the anxieties that its readers felt. These lines of verse, written in red in the margins next to the text, provide a gloss on the *Historia*. Rather than seeking to explain the text to the reader, however, they seem to be aimed at making it easier to remember. Most of the lines of poetry summarize what is happening in the text, rather than expounding upon it. They are of little use in understanding the text, though Kempf and Bull describe them as "reading-aids" in the introduction to their edition of the *Historia Iherosolimitana*.[166] By summarizing the text, however, they provide the sort of memory tool that Hugh advocates in Book III of the *Didascalicon*: "Therefore, we ought, in all our learning, to collect something short and certain so that it may be put away in the casket of the memory, whence all of the rest may be derived later, when the need arises."[167] Taken together, the hexameters constitute an easy-to-memorize skeleton of the narrative of the *Historia*, which a savvy reader could use to remember what happened in the text. The hexameters also bear some resemblance to the *argumenta* that often accompany epic poetry, and especially Vergil, in medieval manuscripts. Though these *argumenta* are usually written in a single block at the beginning of their accompanying texts (at

[166] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. xlix-lii. Kempf and Bull were undoubtedly right to exclude these hexameters from their editions of Robert's text, though their discussion of what the hexameters are doing in the manuscript is a bit perfunctory.
[167] "Debemus ergo in omni doctrina breve aliquid et certum colligere, quod in arcula memoriae recondatur, unde postmodum, cum res exigit, reliqua deriventur." Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalicon*, pp. 60-61.

the beginnings of books in Vergil, for example), these hexameters may be intended in part to give Robert's *Historia* the trappings of epic.[168]

On at least one significant occasion, however, a marginal hexameter offers a pointed editorial comment on Robert's text. On fol. 31r, adjoining the passage in which the mother of Kerbogha, the atabeg of Mosul, tells her son that he cannot possibly defeat the Christian crusaders in battle because God is contending on their behalf, the glossator-poet has written the following: "Let no one marvel that this woman speaks thus/For she has learned the books of Moses well, and also the prophets."[169] This gloss explicates the text of the *Historia*, rather than summarizing it. This suggests that the author of the poetic gloss worried that this part of the text might confuse readers, and so was worth explaining. Perhaps he was even trying to allay his own discomfort with the Muslim mother's knowledge of the Old Testament and keen insight into the divine plan for history by explaining it away.

Robert himself seems to have done just that—he changes the *Gesta Francorum*'s claims regarding the origins of the prophecy that Kerbogha would lose his critical battle with the Christians and die within a year. In the *Gesta*, Kerbogha's mother says that long ago "it was discovered in our pages [i.e., the Qur'an?] and in the volumes of the gentiles" that this would happen.[170] Robert omits any reference to "our pages," the Bible, or any other prophecy. In his version, Kerbogha's mother reveals that "our fathers learned from the sacred oracles of the gods, and from their casting of lots and divinations, and from the entrails of animals that the Christian

[168] On the inclusion of pseudo-Ovidian summaries of the books of the Aeneid in manuscripts, see Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p. 42. For a discussion of the summary of the verse that often appears at the beginning of Book I of the *Aeneid*, for example, see R.G. Austin, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber primus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 25-27.
[169] "Nemo miretur quia sic mulier loquitur . Namque libros moysi bene nouerat atque prophetas;" Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 31r.
[170] "inuentum est in nostra pagina et in gentilium uoluminibus." *Gesta Francorum*, p. 55.

race would come upon us and conquer us."[171] Robert casts Muslim religious practices in pagan terms, presumably to emphasize the otherness of his rival monotheists and to downplay their common reliance upon texts. Even so, his account preserves the mother's extensive biblical quotations. In the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex, these quotations are abbreviated in typical scholastic form, using only the first initials of each of the words. The mise-en-page seems to imply that Kerbogha's mother had the sort of encyclopedic knowledge of scripture as monks.[172]

The gloss above also indicates that sometimes the boundary between *historia* and the sorts of history read in schoolbooks could collapse. Though the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex was a work of *historia* according to the scribe who penned the *Index maior*, it still contained a number of features that connected it with the texts of authors like Sallust. The fact that Robert often resorts to the classical technique of having major characters give speeches at critical points in the narrative, for example, is reminiscent of the classical approach Sallust exemplifies. When Bohemond of Taranto decides to join the crusade, he gives a speech in which he exhorts his troops to repentance and encourages them that "our battle is his [i.e., God's]."[173] This quotation from I Kings [1 Samuel] 17:47 is addressed not only to Bohemond's troops, but also to the monk who reads it—the monk, too, is engaged in a divinely-ordained battle in which he is dependent upon God's support.[174] Like the rhymed gloss discussed above, Robert's text could support didactic reading as well as historical-exegetical reading.

In summary, the Saint-Amand Crusade Codex was clearly intended to be read within the tradition of *historia* as it was understood at Saint-Amand in the 1150s. The monk who created

[171] "invenerunt patres nostri in sacris deorum responsis, et in sortibus et divinationibus suis et animalium extis, quod Christiana gens super nos esset ventura nosque victura." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 63.
[172] See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 31ra, ll. 13-15, 17-18.
[173] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 19.
[174] Katherine Allen Smith makes this point repeatedly—see Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*, especially pp. 71-111.

the *Index maior* placed it into the same category as the works of Josephus and Orosius by naming it a work of *historia* in his booklist. The scribes who had planned and created its textual program set out to frame the crusade narrative as one that told the story of sacred history. In this endeavor they were aided by Robert of Saint-Remí, who had crafted his crusade history to draw attention to the links between the deeds done during the crusade and the *res gestae* of the Old Testament. Robert seems, in fact, to have provided them with the perfect tool for casting their entire codex as *historia*. His "Apologeticus sermo" and prologue, which appear on folios 1v-2r of the manuscript, are not preceded by any statement of title or author, and the first mention of Robert's text qua text is the incipit for the *Historia* that appears at the bottom of folio 2r, separated from the end of the prologue by almost an entire column of blank space.[175] This sort of space does not appear in the manuscript again until folio 54v, where there is a similar gap between the end of Robert's history and the beginning of the *Descriptio locorum circa Hierusalem adiacentium*. Such spaces continue to be employed throughout the manuscript to separate texts from each other. The separation on folio 2r suggests that the scribes wanted readers to pause before beginning the narrative of the crusade, perhaps to reflect upon the importance of the story they were preparing to read. By encouraging this separation, these scribes appropriated for the whole of their codex the claim of historical importance that Robert had made for his own story. They, like Robert, had made a work of *historia*.

CONCLUSION

The scriptorium at Saint-Amand produced its crusading codex in the immediate aftermath of the Second Crusade, at a time when enthusiasm for crusading reached something of a nadir.

[175] The incipit reads "INCIPIT · HISTORIA · LIBER · PRIMUS." Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5129, fol. 2rb.

Even so, the monks of Saint-Amand chose to craft a crusade narrative that emphasized the connections between biblical history and the events of the First Crusade. By doing so, they elided the distance between past and present. They were not obliged to do so. As Matthew Gabriele shows in *An Empire of Memory*, medieval authors could choose instead to emphasize discontinuity between past and present. Gabriele describes these strategies of elision and disassociation, which he labels memory and history, respectively, as "two modes of discourse constantly locked in a struggle over the meaning of the past."[176] Critically, this struggle was not oriented toward the past, but the present.

The evidence of the *Index maior* and the surviving manuscripts from Saint-Amand suggests that the monks who worked in the library at Saint-Amand approached the crusade using the lens of memory. They, like Hugh of Saint-Victor, knew from the works of authors like Orosius, Josephus, and Eusebius that the divine work of history had continued after the events outlined in the Acts of the Apostles. However, the canon of *historia* was essentially closed until the twelfth century, when their scriptorium copied Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, a text that insists that the First Crusade was a new chapter in the divine plan. By creating, cataloguing, and glossing the manuscript as they did, the monks of Saint-Amand affirmed the importance of crusading at a time when it was by no means universally popular in Europe. In the process, they created an artifact that proclaims to its readers that they hold, as Hugh put it, "history in [their] hands."

[176] Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory*, p. 5.

CHAPTER 5: *NON TANTUM VISA, SED QUANTA AUDIVIMUS ET RECOGNOVIMUS*
Crusading in Late Twelfth-Century Latin Histories

INTRODUCTION

> After a few years, this same Robert [the Frisian] left for Jerusalem, which the Sarracens then possessed. And when he wished to enter the gate of the city, the gate, of its own will, closed itself. He, seeing this, was seized with great fear, understanding that this was not a favorable portent for him. He left that place, therefore, and went to a certain hermit who lived near the city, whom he had heard to be a holy and religious man, so that he might make a confession of his sins. The holy man, having heard his confession, imposed penance on him for Arnulf his nephew, whom he had killed, and told him that if he wished God to be favorable towards him, he would return Flanders, which he had stolen, to his nephew, Baldwin.[1]

The historiographical fallout from Robert the Frisian's usurpation of Flanders began shortly after the event itself and stretched across the twelfth century. The monks and canons who produced the various versions of the *Genealogia comitum Flandriae* wrote and rewrote the story of Cassel to make Robert look like hero and villain depending on their own perspectives. At least one version of the *Genealogia* uses the memory of Robert's pilgrimage to Jerusalem to whitewash the role he played in Arnulf's death, while others alternately deploy and withhold the *Iherosolimitanus* title depending on their attitudes toward him. The passage quoted above, however, does something new. It accepts Robert's pilgrimage as historical fact, but argues that the pilgrimage itself was not enough to atone for his sin at Cassel—indeed, the very gates of Jerusalem close at his approach, denying him access to the holy places within. It is only after

[1] "Post paucos annos idem Robertus Iherusalem abiit, quam tunc possidebant Sarraceni. Cumque portam civitatis vellet intrare, porta se clausit spontanea. At ille hoc videns, nimio timore correptus est, intelligens hoc sibi non esse prosperum prodigium. Abiit ergo inde ad quendam eremitam, prope civitatem manentem, quem audierat virum esse sanctum et religiosum, ut faceret confessionem peccatorum suorum. Audita ergo vir sanctus illius confessione, iniunxit ei poenitentiam de Arnulfo nepote suo, quem occiderat, et dixit ei, ut si vellet Deum habere propitium, Balduino nepoti suo redderet Flandriam, quam abstulerat ei." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 323. I will follow Jean-Marie Moeglin in calling this text, published by Bethmann as the *Flandria Generosa* B, the *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*. See Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," pp. 455-476. Nicholas Paul places this episode in his broader tradition of the "closed gate [*porta clausa*]" that appears in a number of dynastic histories with crusading associations in the twelfth century; see idem, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, pp. 171-199, esp. 184-187.

Robert confesses his sins that a true penance can be imposed on him, and this penance demands political action at home rather than pious activity in the East.

As Nicholas Paul has shown, this episode is based upon the story of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who restored the True Cross to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 629.[2] The story of Heraclius's recovery of the True Cross from the Persian ruler Khusrau was well known in the medieval West because it was part of the liturgy for the Exaltation of the Cross.[3] Furthermore, because Heraclius was portrayed as a Christian emperor who campaigned against non-Christians and so restored Christian control of the East, he was considered a proto-crusader in the wake of the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. So, although the excerpt quoted above condemns Robert's role in Arnulf's death and casts doubt on the efficacy of his pilgrimage, it also connects him with both crusading and imperial power.

The story of Robert and the closed gate comes from a redaction of a text called the *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*. It is one several regional Latin histories composed in the Low Countries in the last quarter of the twelfth century. The *Ancienne chronique de Flandre* was probably written at the court of Philip of Alsace or one of his immediate successors, but the counts themselves were not the only patrons who sponsored the creation of historical texts in Latin during the period. Lambert, the chaplain of Ardres, wrote a Latin history for his lord, Count Arnold of Guines, at the turn of the century.[4] This *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* narrates the deeds of the counts of Guines and the lords of Ardres, who were vassals of the count of Flanders, from the time of Baldwin II of Flanders to the end of the twelfth century. Shortly before 1200, Gilbert of Mons, who was chaplain to Baldwin V of Hainaut (later Baldwin VIII of

[2] Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, pp. 187-195.
[3] Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, p. 192.
[4] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, pp. 550-642.

Flanders), wrote the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, in which he told the history of Hainaut from the mid-eleventh century through 1195.[5]

These Latin texts are not obscure. Indeed, both the *Chronicon Hanoniense* and the *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* have recently been translated into English. Nevertheless, they have not, to my knowledge, been studied together, despite the fact that they were composed within twenty years of each other in close proximity. This is perhaps attributable to the fact that analysis of Flemish historiography at the turn of the twelfth century has focused on the creation of vernacular texts, rather than those written in Latin. Gabrielle Spiegel's works have been especially important in this area.[6] Because, as Spiegel observes, "historical writing…served as a vehicle of ideological elaboration" in the High Middle Ages, these Latin histories provide a window into the place that crusading occupied in the ideologies of nobility and political power that were current in Flanders at the end of the twelfth century.[7] These texts were written just as the social crisis to which Spiegel attributes the impetus for the birth of Old French prose historiography was taking shape.[8] They belong to a transitional period, during which the French monarchy was already beginning to threaten the aristocratic prerogatives of its nobles, but before the twin crises of the Fourth Crusade and Bouvines.

This chapter analyzes these three texts and the role that crusading plays within them. It begins by situating them within the social and political contexts within which they were written in an effort to get at what Spiegel has called "the social logic of the text."[9] It then analyzes the texts themselves, focusing on how they present the career of Robert the Frisian and the First

[5] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, ed. Léon Vanderkindere (Brussels: Libraire Kiessling et C[ie], 1904).
[6] Especially relevant is Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*; see also eadem, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
[7] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 5.
[8] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 11-54 and passim.
[9] Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, pp. xv-xxi.

Crusade. Despite the passage of a century, both of these topics continued to be important in Flanders and Hainaut. The chapter begins with the *Ancienne chronique,* the earliest of the three and also the one with the most complicated transmission history. Because the *Ancienne chronique* was probably written at the comital court in Flanders, it offers an important window into the role that the comital crusading tradition played at court in the late twelfth century. The chapter then turns to the *Chronicon Hanoniense,* written just a few years after the *Ancienne chronique* in neighboring Hainaut. This text, written by the chancellor of one of the counts of Hainaut descended from Arnulf's younger brother, takes a very different approach to crusading and especially to Robert the Frisian. The chapter concludes with the *Historia comitum Ghisnensium,* written by the chaplain of a minor Flemish noble. The *Historia* offers a more personal perspective on both crusading and Robert the Frisian than either of its counterparts. Despite their differences, however, all three of these texts demonstrate that the connection between crusade and the counts of Flanders was an inescapable feature of history and historiography in the Low Countries at the end of the twelfth century.

THE *ANCIENNE CHRONIQUE DE FLANDRE*

The history of the *Ancienne chronique de Flandre* is difficult. A few things are, however, clear. The *Ancienne chronique* takes as its starting point the text of the *Flandria generosa*, the history of the counts of Flanders written at Saint-Bertin in the mid-1130s and completed in the 1160s. It incorporates lengthy passages and information from a number of other texts—a few of these additional sources feature so prominently that Jeff Rider has suggested that the *Ancienne chronique* should be referred to as a "compilation," rather than a reworking of the *Flandria generosa*.[10] Chief among these sources are Walter of Thérouanne's *Vita Karoli* and Herman of

[10] Rider, "Vice, Tyranny, Violence, and the Usurpation of Flanders," p. 62.

Tournai's *Liber de restauratione monasterii Sancti Martini Tornacensis*.[11] The compiler of the *Ancienne chronique* also makes use of the *Historia monasterii Hasnoniensis* of Tomellus, a copy of Sigebert of Gembloux's universal history, and Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus*.[12] Both Jeff Rider and Jean-Marie Moeglin, the two scholars who have worked most closely with the *Ancienne chronique* in recent years, agree that the text was compiled sometime after 1164, and probably during or shortly after the reign of Philip of Alsace.[13] It was put together first in Latin and then, sometime in the thirteenth century or perhaps even in the late twelfth, translated into Old French.

Chief among the difficulties presented by the *Ancienne chronique* are a paucity of manuscript evidence and the lack of a critical edition of the text. The *Ancienne chronique* exists in four manuscript copies that range in date from the mid-thirteenth century to the sixteenth century. These four copies carry three distinct versions of the text in two different languages (Latin and Old French), and the lack of a critical edition makes it impossible to ascertain the order of their creation. Jean-Marie Moeglin, who has done more work on the *Ancienne chronique* than any scholar other than Jeff Rider, argues that all three versions of the text were originally composed in Latin, and that all three had been written by 1191 or shortly thereafter, though the version that survives in Old French may not have been translated until the 1270s or 1280s.[14] Rider generally concurs with this judgment, though he notes that the Old French version of the text may derive from the original version of the *Ancienne chronique*, and so be a better witness

[11] Rider, "Vice, Tyranny, Violence, and the Usurpation of Flanders," p. 62.
[12] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 461.
[13] Rider, "Vice, Tyranny, Violence, and the Usurpation of Flanders," p. 62; Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 461
[14] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," pp. 461-462.

to the content and structure of the original Latin text than either of the surviving Latin versions of the chronicle.[15]

Since all three of the extant versions of the *Ancienne chronique* were written in Flanders in the late twelfth century, this chapter considers all three of them it turn. It begins with the earliest manuscript witness to the text, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, which dates to the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[16] This redaction of the *Ancienne chronique*, referred to here as the Munich version, has not been edited or published. The chapter then turns to the Latin text preserved in Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 6410-6416, hereafter the Brussels version.[17] Bethmann edited this version in the *MGH* as the *Flandria generosa* B.[18] Finally, the chapter considers the Old French translation of the *Ancienne chronique*, the Old French version. The texts of both manuscript witnesses of this text have been printed independently.[19] Since the content of the *Ancienne chronique* is essentially the same in both manuscripts, this chapter relies upon Kervyn de Lettenhove's edition, where the text is printed as *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*.

Though the Munich version of the *Ancienne chronique* is the oldest surviving copy of the text, it postdates the compilation of the text itself by at least half a century.[20] Only the first twenty folios of the manuscript survive, and the text of the *Ancienne chronique* breaks off mid-

[15] Jeff Rider, e-mail message to author, January 18, 2018. Rider is currently working on new critical editions of both the *Flandria generosa* and the *Ancienne chronique*, which will doubtless clarify the relationships between the various redactions of the *Ancienne chronique*.
[16] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 20vb. A black-and-white scan of this manuscript is available on-line from the Munich DigitiZation Center: see "Historia comitum Flandrorum – BSB Clm 23583," Munich DigitiZation Center, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, accessed January 17, 2018, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00036086/images/index.html?seite=00001&l=de.
[17] For a description of the manuscript, see Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 459.
[18] *Flandria Generosa*, ed. L.C. Bethmann, *MGH* SS 9 (Stuttgart, 1851), pp. 313-334.
[19] The two manuscripts are preserved at Paris and Boulogne. The version from the Paris manuscript was published as *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Bruges: Vandecasteele-Werbrouck, 1849), while that of the Boulogne manuscript was published by John De Smet as the *Ancienne chronique de Flandre* in the *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, vol. II (Brussels, 1841), pp. 31-92.
[20] For a concise description of the manuscript, see Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 459.

sentence in the middle of its description of the events that led to the murder of Charles the Good in 1127. Rider suggests that it may have belonged to the abbey of Saint-Peter in Oudenburg, just outside of Bruges.[21] While suggestion must remain tentative, it is a logical one. The abbey of Saint-Peter was close to the center of comital government, and its abbots had regular dealings with the counts of Flanders in the twelfth century.[22] On the other hand, the *Chronicon monasterii Aldenburgensis majus*, which was compiled in the fifteenth century, shares virtually no readings with the Munich text of the *Ancienne chronique*, despite being highly interested in the doings of the counts of Flanders.[23]

The *Ancienne chronique* organizes its narrative around the tenures of the Flemish counts, just like the *Genealogia Bertiniana* and the *Flandria Generosa*. The text is subdivided into sections, each of which begins in the Munich manuscript with a colored capital letter. Each section also bears a rubric indicating its subject matter, typically a count. The rubric for the first section, for example, reads "Concerning the first count, Lidrick Harlebeck, whose son Ingelran was the second count, whose son Odoacer was the third count."[24] This is not, all things considered, a crusade-oriented text. The compiler of the *Ancienne chronique* devotes far more attention to the foundation of churches and monasteries and to the local wars fought by the

[21] Jeff Rider, e-mail message to author, January 18, 2018. As he points out, the catalog of the manuscripts belonging to that abbey printed by Anthony Sanders in the *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta* in 1641 makes reference to a "History and Genealogy of the counts of Flanders from Baldwin Bras-de-Fer to the death of Charles the Good; written by a Contemporary of the same time" [*Historia & Genealogia Comitum Flandrensium à Balduino Ferreo vsque ad necem Caroli Boni; conscripta ab eiusdem temporis Contemporaneo*]. Anthony Sanders, *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta*, vol. 1 (Lille, 1641), p. 224.

[22] For an overview of the activities of the abbots of Saint-Peter through the time at which the Munich manuscript was made, see *Monasticon Belge*, tome III, *Province de Flandre occidentale*, fasc. 1 (Liège: Centre National de Recherches d'Histoire Religieuse, 1960), pp. 58-64.

[23] For the excerpts of the text of the *Chronicon*, see *Chronicon monasterii Aldenburgensis majus*, ed. R. D. F. Van de Putte (Ghent, 1843). The editors of the *Monasticon Belge* note that the compiler of the *Chronicon majus* does not seem to have used the *Annales Aldenburgenses*; see *Monasticon Belge*, III.1, pp. 50-51. The Oudenbourg compiler also failed, however, to use other seemingly relevant historical sources that were at his disposal, so Oudenbourg could still be the Munich manuscript's place of origin.

[24] "De primo comite Lidrico Herlebeccense cuius filius Ingelramnus comes secundus cuius filius Audacer comes tercius." Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 3va.

counts than he does to their crusading activity. Even so, the references to crusading that do occur in the text are pointed.

The first reference to crusading in the Munich version does not actually deal with the crusade at all. It is, instead, embedded in a description of the character of Robert II, Capetian king of France and father of Adele, who was Count Baldwin V's wife. The Munich version of the *Ancienne chronique* calls Robert a "most pious king" [*piissimus rex*], then goes on to enumerate his religious activities: "he was very educated and modest, a student of the philosopher Gerbert, and he composed the exceptionally beautiful sequence 'Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia' and, for Christmas, the responsory 'Iudea et Iherusalem,' and many others."[25] Both of these chants include thematic material related to crusading. The former, "Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia," is usually attributed to Notker of Saint-Gall, and was part of the liturgy for Pentecost.[26] Addressing the Holy Spirit directly, it notes that "You, Lord, have united a world divided by tongues and by rites; you, best of teachers, call idolaters back to the worship of God."[27] Particularly in the wake of the capture of Constantinople in 1204, this sequence would have invoked the longstanding papal goal of the reunification of the Greek and Latin churches, which was also an unspoken of the crusading enterprise. The responsory for Christmas mentioned in the *Ancienne chronique* is explicitly connected to Jerusalem: "Do not fear, Judea

[25] "Qui ualde litteratus 7 modestus ·´ Gerberti philosophi discipulus fuit . Quique sequentiam pulcerrimam · sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia · 7 de natiuitate domini responsum · Iudea 7 iherusalem · 7 alia plura contexuit ·´" Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 5ra.
[26] *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. Clemens Blume, vol. 53 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1911), pp. 119-122. Though there are other sequences with the incipit "Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia," this seems to be the one referenced in the *Ancienne chronique*, for the Brussels manuscript indicates that this is supposed to be a sequence for Pentecost; see *Flandria Generosa*, p. 318.
[27] "Tu divisum/per linguas mundum/et ritus/adunasti, Domine; Idolatras/ad cultum Dei/revocas/magistrorum optime." *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 53, p. 120.

and Jerusalem; tomorrow you will go forth and the Lord will be with you. Be steadfast; you will see the help of the Lord over you."[28]

The mention of these musical compositions in the *Ancienne chronique* is surprising. The reference to Robert the Pious is in keeping with the compiler's interest in connecting the counts of Flanders to the crowned heads of Europe. The *Ancienne chronique* makes much of Baldwin Bras-de-Fer's elopement with Judith, for example.[29] It says nothing, however, about the character of Charles the Bald or Æthelbald, the kings to whom Judith connected the counts, because it was the fact of their royalty that really mattered. The text's treatment of Robert is different. In fact, the paean to Robert's piety and lineage is an awkward addition to the text, interrupting as it does a section that ostensibly deals with Baldwin V. Baldwin is introduced as the son of Baldwin "Pretty Beard" [*pulcra barba*], and described as "a prudent and strong count in his time; he became wise and very self-controlled in all his works."[30] The text then describes, in detail, not Baldwin's wisdom and works, but those of Robert the Pious.

The compiler went out of his way to shoehorn Robert's musical compositions into the Munich version of the *Ancienne chronique*. They must have been important, for they are separated from other chants, also attributed to Robert, which are listed several folios later.[31] Furthermore, the compiler must have imagined that his audience would know enough liturgy to recognize them. If the *Ancienne chronique* had been compiled for a monastic audience, this would not be surprising. However, both Moeglin and Rider agree that the text was compiled for a secular patron. Of course, the patron was not the only intended audience for the work, and the

[28] "Iudea et Iherusalem, nolite timere. Cras egrediemini et Dominus erit vobiscum. Constantes estote videbitis auxilium Domini super vos." For the text, see Hans Tischler, *The Parisian Two-Part Organa*, vol. 1 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1988), p. 93.
[29] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fols. 3vb-4rb.
[30] "Qui prudens 7 fortis comes in suo tempore ·´ sapiens 7 moderatissimus in omnibus operibus suis factus est ·" Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 4vb.
[31] Other chants are mentioned in a second description of Robert's exceptional piety on fols. 7vb-8ra. In the Brussels version, all of this material is in the same place; cf. *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 318.

compiler may simply have included references to these chants with an eye toward monastic or clerical readers.[32] The compiler himself, however, may not have been a monk or canon—Moeglin suggests that it was someone in the entourage of Philip of Alsace,[33] and since Philip was a *vir litteratus* and more than capable of reading Latin, it is just as possible that others at his court were capable of producing texts like the *Ancienne chronique*. Furthermore, both of these chants were in wide use in Flanders during the Middle Ages.[34] Since they were part of the liturgies for Pentecost and Christmas, the counts and their courtiers would surely have heard them. The ideological content of the chants and their supposed connection to Robert the Pious, distinguished ancestor of the counts of Flanders via Robert the Frisian, may have led Flemish monks and canons to discuss them with the counts. In any case, given the interest in crusading that the compiler exhibits elsewhere in the *Ancienne chronique*, it seems reasonable to think that crusading plays some role in explaining their inclusion, and also explaining why they are mentioned near the beginning of the text.

The next appearances of crusading in the Munich version of the *Ancienne chronique* are explicit, but are again placed before the text's account of Flemish participation in the crusade. The first is part of an exposition of the connection between Flanders and Normandy forged by the marriage of William the Conqueror and Mathilda:

> He [i.e., William] begat from his wife Mathilda, that is to say the sister of Baldwin of Mons and Robert the Frisian, three sons: namely, William, who was the first to succeed him in the kingship; Robert, to whom he gave the county of Normandy, and which

[32] On the relationship between audience, patronage, and Latinity, see Shopkow, introduction to *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, pp. 8-9; see also the discussion of Lambert of Ardres to write in Latin, discussed below.
[33] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 471.
[34] The CANTUS database shows medieval manuscript witnesses for the "Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia" in Tongerloo, Utrecht, Arras, Cambrai, Saint-Amand, Marchiennes, Anchin, and Ghent, and for the "Judaea et Jerusalem" in Saint-Amand, Arras, Cambrai, and Utrecht; see "Chants by Cantus ID: ah53070," CANTUS: A Database for Ecclesiastical Chant, accessed January 20, 2018, http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/id/ah53070; "Chants by Cantus ID: 003511," CANTUS: A Database for Ecclesiastical Chant, accessed January 20, 2018, http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/id/003511.

> Robert stood out as praiseworthy in the capture of Antioch and of Jerusalem; third Henry, who indeed had nothing at first, to the point that when his famous father, King William, died, he did not seem to be anything but a knight compared to the others [*inter ceteros*]. But wondrous fortune followed him…[35]

The text goes on to explain how Henry became king of England after the sudden death of William Rufus in 1100. Significantly, the phrase that the Munich compiler uses to express Robert Curthose's bona fides, "stood out as praiseworthy [*laudabilis enituit*]," is culled from a passage in the *Flandria Generosa* that describes not Robert Curthose, but Robert II of Flanders.[36] The compiler did not need this phrase to describe Robert II because he intended to supplant it with a lengthy excerpt from Herman of Tournai's *Liber de Restauratione*. Consequently, he shifted it to the duke of Normandy and so wove an additional crusading reference into his narrative. In a related move, the compiler concludes his account of the pious deeds performed by Richilde after her retreat to Hainaut following the Battle of Cassel by devoting a few sentences to her son, Baldwin II of Hainaut, "whom she had led out of Flanders with herself; he sought the Jerusalem way with other princes in the beginning, from whence he never returned, and whether he was killed or captured cannot be determined to this day."[37] By incorporating these references to crusaders associated with the counties bordering Flanders, the compiler of the *Ancienne chronique* whets his audience's appetite for information relating to the counts of Flanders themselves.

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[35] Genuitque ex Mathilde uxore sua sorore scilicet balduini montensis 7 Roberti frisonis · tres filios Guillelmum scilicet qui ei primus in regnum successit ·´ Robertum cui comitatum normannie dedit · Quique robertus ·´ in captione anthiocie 7 iherusalem · laudabilis enituit · Tertium henricum · qui primo quidem nichil habuit ·´ ita ut defuncto patre suo inclito rege willelmo · non nisi miles inter ceteros esse uideretur · Sed mirabilis eum fortuna prosecuta est." Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 7ra.

[36] "Comes itaque Robertus in expugnatione Ierosolimitana laudabili militia enituit." cf. *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 323.

[37] "quem de flandriis secum adduxerat · iter ierosolimitanum cum aliis principibus in principio expetiit · unde necdum rediit ·´ 7 utrum occisus an captus fuerit · usque hodie sciri non potuit ·'" Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 12va.

The compiler of the Munich version of the *Ancienne chronique* finally comes to comital journeys to Jerusalem at the end of his account of the reign of Robert the Frisian. After providing for his three daughters, the Munich version says, "Count Robert set out for Jerusalem. Returning from whence, he died after innumerable triumphs of warfare and is buried near Cassel, in the church of Saint-Peter which he built himself."[38] This simple narrative provides two pieces of information lacking in the *Flandria Generosa*. The first is the fact that Robert went to Jerusalem at all, and the second is the fact that he was buried at Cassel, in the church that he had endowed.[39] These facts are not contained in Herman of Tournai's *Liber de Restauratione* either—either the compiler had some other source document, or else he was working from the county's collective memory of the Frisian.[40] He may have been to Cassel and seen Robert's tomb himself. In any case, the Jerusalem pilgrimage was important enough to merit inclusion in what Moeglin describes as "une sorte de version 'officieuse' de l'histoire de la Flandre et des comtes de Flandre."[41]

The description of Robert II in the Munich version of the *Ancienne chronique* is effusive. Robert is "that most renowned count, who shone forth, crowned by extraordinary distinctions in war and the virtues of magnanimity."[42] After relating Robert's lineage, including his status as uncle to Louis the Fat, Charles the Good, and Thierry of Alsace, and also relating a cautionary tale about how Countess Clémence's use of birth control had caused God to curse Flanders with civil war, the compiler dedicates most of his attention to the First Crusade:

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[38] "Post hec pater earum comes robertus iherusalem proficiscitur · Vnde rediens · post innumeros bellorum triumphos moritur ·´ 7 apud cassellum in ecclesia sancti petri a se constructa sepelitur ·" Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 13vb.
[39] For the base passage in the *Flandria Generosa*, see *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 323.
[40] cf. Herman of Tournai, *De Restavratione*, c. 18, p. 56.
[41] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 471.
[42] "comes ille famosissimus ·´ qui mirificis bellorum insignibus magnanimitatisque uirtutibus laureatus effulsit." Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 13vb.

> In the following time, at the Council of Clermont, Pope Urban charged all the faithful of Christ to go to Jerusalem for the remission of their sins and to liberate the Holy Sepulchre from the hand of the pagans, along with the city itself. Then you would have seen, as if it had been divinely decreed, that an innumerable people gave up their only homeland and marched to Jerusalem. On this occasion the aforementioned Count Robert, along with his cousin, Robert, count of Normandy, went forth with the people of God with many other princes, leaving Flanders behind. In this expedition he gave innumerable proofs of his fortitude and probity in the attacks on the cities of that land, especially Antioch and holy Jerusalem. From those proofs, it is enough that this one alone be recorded to his praise, that because of the unconquerable constancy of his spirit, he was called "the Son of George" by the Arabs and Turks, and he was feared by all of them, just like thunder and lightning.[43]

The first half of this passage is drawn, mostly verbatim, from the nineteenth chapter of Herman of Tournai's *Liber*.[44] Unlike Herman, however, the Munich compiler lists only the two Roberts by name before focusing on the deeds of Robert II.[45] The compiler was still cribbing from Herman at this point, for the beginning of his sentence about the Roberts, "Hac occasione prefatus comes Robertus una cum Roberto comite normannie," corresponds with Herman's text, which reads "Hac itaque occasione prefatus comes Robertus una cum Godefrido comite Boloniensi [et al.]."[46] This explicit borrowing means that he made a pointed decision to excise the other crusading leaders from the text, in order to focus the reader's attention on Robert II. This decision was not made for lack of interest in the other figures, for as shown above, the compiler acknowledges the participation of Baldwin of Mons earlier in his work. However, in

[43] "Succedente tempore urbanus papa in concilio claromontensi · uniuersis xpisti fidelibus ·pro remissione peccatorum suorum · iniunxit ierosolimam ire 7 sepulchrum dominicum de manu paganorum una cum ipsa ciuitate liberare · Tunc cerneres innumerabilem populum · ac si diuinitus preceptum fuisset · genitale solum relinquere ·´ 7 tendere iherusalem · Hac occasione prefatus comes robertus una cum roberto comite normannie consobrino suo · multisque aliis principibus ·´ relicata flandria proficiscuntur cum populo dei · In qua expeditione 7 urbium terre illius presertim anthiochie 7 sancte iherusalem expugnatione ·´ innumera fortitudinis 7 probitatis sue dedit insignia · Ex quibus hoc solum ad laudem eius satis est commemorari ·´ quod ob inuincibilem animi eius constantiam · ab arabibus 7 turcis georgii filius appellabatur ·´ 7 tamquam tonitruum ac fulgur ab omnibus formidabatur." Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 14r. The story about Clémence and birth control that precedes this passage is drawn from herman of Tournai.

[44] cf. Herman of Tournai, *De Restauratione*, c. 19, p. 57.

[45] In Herman's account, the Roberts are listed along with Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Hugh of Vermandois, Baldwin of Mons, Anselm of Ribemont, and Clarenbald of Vendeuil. Herman of Tournai, *De Restauratione*, c. 19, p. 57.

[46] Herman of Tournai, *De Restauratione*, c. 19, p. 57.

the dramatic narrative of the crusade, the compiler reserves all of the accolades for Robert. The second half of the passage, which describes Robert's deeds at Antioch and Jerusalem as particularly praiseworthy, comes almost entirely from Walter of Thérouanne's *Vita Karoli*.[47] The compiler seems to have come up with the bit about thunder and lightning on his own.

The conclusion to the account of the First Crusade in the *Ancienne chronique* includes several suggestive points. First, it indicates that Robert returned to Flanders "with Evremar having been elevated to the honor of the patriarchate of the holy city, and Duke Godfrey with the diadem of the kingdom."[48] Godfrey had been made ruler of Jerusalem, but Evremar was not to become the patriarch until 1102, two years after the duke's death. The *Ancienne chronique* omits both the abortive first tenure of Arnulf of Chocques and the rule of Dagobert of Pisa, a result of the compiler's faithful reproduction of his source material. As Rider has shown, one family of manuscripts of Walter of Thérouanne's *Vita Karoli* also contained this error.[49] This mistake was easily recognized, for a subsequent branch of the manuscript family containing the error corrects it.[50] The error is fortunate, though, because it suggests that the compiler of the *Ancienne chronique* was working with an exemplar drawn from this family of manuscripts, all of which come from Cistercian houses. The fact that the text says that Godfrey was crowned is also important. It is not actually clear that Godfrey was crowned in 1099. However, Lambert of Saint-Omer reports that he was in the *Liber Floridus*. It therefore seems likely that the compiler of the Munich version of the *Ancienne chronique* was working at a Cistercian house (or had access to a

[47] cf. Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, c. 4, p. 31.
[48] "7 in sancta ciuitate · ebremaro patriarchatus honore · 7 godefrido duce · regni diademate sublimatis." Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 14rb.
[49] Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, pp. 10-15, 20-24.
[50] In addition, lists of Latin patriarchs from Flanders show the correct sequence. In the Brussels Crusade Codex discussed in Chapter 2, for example, it is not Dagobert but rather Evremar himself who is omitted from the list of patriarchs, presumably because the latter was never formally approved by the pope. See Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 9823-34, fol. 140vb. The list of Latin patriarchs begins with Dagobert, Ghibbelin of Arles, and Arnulf of Chocques, omitting Arnulf's brief (and uncanonical) tenure in 1099 and Evremar's entire tenure entirely.

Cistercian library), and that he had the opportunity to consult Lambert's masterwork as he was creating his history.

A second intriguing feature of the end of the First Crusade narrative is its emphasis on Saint George. In addition to mentioning that the Arabs and Turks referred to Robert as "the Son of Saint George," the *Ancienne chronique* concludes its account of the crusade by noting that Robert carried Saint George's arm to the church of Anchin on his return journey, a detail present in the original *Flandria Generosa*.[51] By interpolating the passage from Walter of Thérouanne's *Vita Karoli* in his narrative, the compiler of the *Ancienne chronique* doubles down on the association between Robert and George, that most noteworthy of Christian warrior-saints.

The *Ancienne chronique* goes on to note the crusading activities of Charles the Good, as well. The passage that describes Charles's activities in the East is drawn verbatim from the *Vita Karoli*.[52] It indicates that Charles went to Jerusalem shortly after becoming a knight and cut his teeth as a warrior fighting the "pagans." It also preserves Walter's assertion that Robert II received Charles "with honor" [*honore*] on his return to Flanders. Even though the narrative itself is the same in both texts, it carries more impact in the *Ancienne chronique* than it does in the *Vita Karoli* because in here it is the first mention of Charles in the text. In other words, the compiler has chosen to introduce Charles by relating his status as a crusader, and by relating that Robert II honored him for his crusading prowess.

This is the last mention of crusading or Jerusalem in the Munich version of the *Ancienne chronique*, which ends abruptly midway through its introduction of Bertulf, prior of Saint-

[51] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 14rb. The wording of the passage in the *Flandria Generosa* corresponds almost exactly to that present in twelfth-century codices from Anchin and Marchiennes—these codices are both preserved at the municipal library in Douai. See Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 799, fol. 113v and Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170, fol. 91v. For the history of the crusade in these codices, see Chapter 3.

[52] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 15r; cf. Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli*, c. 3, p. 30, ll. 28-36.

Donatian in Bruges, and the role that he had to play in the 1127-28 civil war. Despite the incomplete preservation of the manuscript, it is possible to draw some preliminary conclusions about how the Munich compiler viewed the relationship between crusade and Flemish history. First, the compiler reworks his source material to make crusading exploits the chief examples of the martial prowess of both Robert II and Charles the Good, at least as far as the latter's early career is concerned. This focus on the Holy Land suggests that crusading was still one of the key ways to develop a reputation for prowess in Flanders at the end of the twelfth century. Second, the compiler's inclusion of references not only to Robert II's nickname but also to the arm of Saint George at Anchin testifies to the commemorative power of relics. Thus the nickname and the relic at Anchin work in tandem to inscribe Robert II's crusading credentials on the collective memory of the county. The alignment of text, memory, and material culture was central to the process by which crusade became bound up in comital identity in Flanders, and in the Munich version of the *Ancienne chronique* they all work together.

Matters are different in the Brussels version of the *Ancienne chronique*. The Brussels version shares many references to crusading with the Munich version. For example, the Brussels version includes a lengthy discussion of the artistic and religious activities of Robert the Pious, and mentions the "Sanctus Spiritus adsit nobis gratia" and the "Iudea et Iherusalem."[53] Unlike the Munich version, however, the Brussels version lists all of Robert's achievements together in one place. As a result, the reference to the two aforementioned chants does not carry as much impact. In fact, the Brussels version begins its description by mentioning that Robert often sang Vespers, Matins, and the Mass with the monks of Saint-Denis, so the emphasis of the passage is placed on Robert himself, rather than on the ideological content of the chants. Here the chants are proof of his piety, not nods to crusading.

[53] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae,* p. 318.

Suggestively, the initial references to crusading in this version of the text are favorable not to the counts of Flanders, but to the counts of Hainaut. The first such passage concludes the chronicle's account of the Battle of Cassel. It notes that after her release, Richilde made war on Flanders from Hainaut, as did her son:

> Baldwin, her son and Arnulf's brother, rebelled at the same time, and the count [i.e., Robert the Frisian] defeated him and drove him off. Baldwin sought the Jerusalemite road with the other princes in the beginning, from whence he never returned, and whether he was killed or captured has not been able to be ascertained to this day.[54]

The second half of this passage, the part dealing with Baldwin's participation in the crusade, comes from Herman of Tournai's *Liber de restauratione*. As noted above, it is also present in the Munich version of the text, and it precedes mention of the two Flemish Roberts there, too.[55] In the Brussels version, however, this first reference to Baldwin of Hainaut takes on new weight, for a few sentences later the text turns to the description of the closed gate that faced Robert the Frisian when he reached Jerusalem on his pilgrimage, quoted at the beginning of the chapter. Instead of using the memory of the journey to bolster Robert's credentials, here the author uses it to explain why the counts of Hainaut should once again wield control over Flanders—God himself demands it in order to atone for Robert's misdeeds, which were a lynchpin of Flemish historiography throughout the twelfth century.[56]

The conclusion to the account of the closed door in the Brussels version of the *Ancienne chronique* complicates matters further. It remains generally unfavorable to Robert:

> Robert, extremely frightened about the prodigy of the gate, agreed to the counsel of the hermit. He came to the gate, which opened to him on its own. While he was passing time in the city, in the home of a certain very powerful Sarracen, he heard from the astrologers of the Sarracens and from various others that Jerusalem would be captured by Christians

[54] "Rebellavit simul filius ipsius mulieris Balduinus frater Ernulfi, quem comes devicit atque fugavit. Balduinus iter Iherosolimitanum cum aliis principibus in principio expetiit, unde necdum rediit, et utrum occisus an captus fuerit, usque hodie sciri nequivit." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 322.
[55] cf. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 12va.
[56] On this theme, see Rider, "Vice, Tyranny, Violence, and the Usurpation of Flanders," pp. 55-70.

> shortly; the city was captured not long afterward, in the thirty-ninth year of King Philip. Robert, returning from his trip to Jerusalem, returned Douai to Baldwin, count of Hainaut, with great fear. But when Robert had been elevated to the rule of Flanders, he disinherited dying clerics.[57]

The end of this passage is a bit clumsy, perhaps because the compiler was keen to squeeze in Robert's attacks on clerical property, material that he probably derived from the *Liber Floridus*. Nevertheless, the message is clear. Robert, though genuinely frightened by the portent of the gate, had not actually amended his behavior. He continued to usurp that which was not rightfully his. Furthermore, his actions after passing through the gate of Jerusalem remained questionable. He had not, after all, returned all of Flanders to Baldwin of Hainaut, surrendering only the city of Douai. Furthermore, the text suggests that he misspent his time in the Holy City, hobnobbing with important Muslims instead of visiting the holy sites like a true pilgrim. The prophecy that Jerusalem would soon be recaptured, which is also reported by Guibert of Nogent, has no particular bearing on Robert's character—he was simply in the right place at the right time to hear it.

The Brussels version of the *Ancienne chronique* is far less effusive in its treatment of Robert II than is the Munich version. In fact, it says very little about crusading at all after its lengthy discussion of Robert the Frisian's pilgrimage. To be sure, the text mentions that Robert II won accolades in the East and also relates his translation of the arm of Saint George.[58] That, however, is all it says about him. While it mentions that Robert delegated authority in the county to the prior of Saint-Donatian while he was gone, and that Cîteaux was founded in his absence, it

[57] "Ille autem nimis timoratus de portae prodigio, annuit eremitae consilio, venit ad portam, quae ultro aperta est ei. Cum autem in civitate degeret, in domo cuiusdam perpotentis Saraceni audivit ab astrologis Saracenorum et diversis, Iherusalem in proximo capiendam esse a christianis; quae capta est non multo post, 39. anno Philippi regis. Robertus autem reversus de itinere Iherusalem, Duacum timore nimio reddidit Balduino comiti Hainoniensi. Robertus autem dum in regno Flandriae esset sublimatus, morientes clericos [exhereditabat]." *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 323. I have supplied the word "exhereditabat" from the text of Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Genealogia comitum Flandriae*, which was the source for this sentence in the *Ancienne chronique*, because the text does not make sense without it—cf. *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 310.

[58] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 323.

says nothing else about what he himself was doing.[59] It is also completely silent on the crusading activity of Charles the Good, and adds nothing to the account of Thierry Alsace's reign given in the *Flandria Generosa*. All the older text says about Thierry's illustrious career is that he married Sybilla, who was the daughter of the king of Jerusalem.[60] It makes no mention of Thierry's four trips to Jerusalem.[61]

Finally, there is the Old French version of the text, which both Moeglin and Rider agree was derived from a Latin exemplar. Like the other versions of the text, the Old French version includes a detailed panegyric to Robert the Pious. This section of the text shares certain features with each of the two Latin versions. Like the copy from Brussels, the Old French text includes its entire biographical sketch of Robert in one block, rather than in two different places in the text, as in the manuscript from Munich. Unlike the Brussels version, however, it omits references to Robert's interactions with the monks of Saint-Denis. Instead, it begins by mentioning that Robert was a disciple of Gerbert, and then lists the chants he composed, including the "Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia" and "Iudaea et Iherusalem."[62] Unlike the Munich version, the Old French version specifically names two other chants, the responsories "Concede nobis domine quaesumus" and "O constantia martyrum."[63] Both of these feature in the feast of All Souls, and both survive in manuscript copies from Arras, Cambrai, and Saint-Amand.[64] The latter chant, "O constantia martyrum," shares the crusading overtones of "Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia" and

[59] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 323.
[60] *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 324.
[61] This discussion of the Brussels version of the *Ancienne chronique* is dependent upon Bethmann's edition of the text in the MGH. All of these conclusions should be considered tentative until the publication of Jeff Rider's new edition, which will provide a reliable version of the Brussels text.
[62] *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*, p. 5.
[63] *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*, p. 5.
[64] For a list of manuscript witnesses for these chants, see "Chants by Cantus ID: 007262," CANTUS: A Database for Ecclesiastical Chant, accessed January 24, 2018, http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/id/007262; "Chants by Cantus ID: 006305," CANTUS: A Database for Ecclesiastical Chant, accessed January 24, 2018, http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/id/006305.

"Iudaea et Iherusalem." It reads: "O praiseworthy constancy of the martyrs; O inextinguishable love, O invincible patience, which, although it seems contemptible in the midst of the oppression of persecution, will be found worthy of praise and glory and honor in the time of retribution."[65] The Brussels version of the *Ancienne chronique* also mentions these additional chants, but it undercuts the ideological importance of "O constantia martyrum" by making it part of a pun—according to the Brussels version, Robert's wife, Constance [*Constantia*] saw Robert composing one day, and "said as a joke that he should write some song about her. The king freely agreed, and wrote the ditty 'O constantia martirum' in honor of Saint Denis and other martyrs."[66]

The Old French version of the *Ancienne chronique* is closer to the Munich version than to the Brussels version in much of its crusade content. For example, like the Munich text, the Old French narrative includes a description of Robert Curthose's crusading exploits in its list of the sons of William the Conqueror.[67] It also mentions Baldwin of Hainaut's loss on the First Crusade in the same spot as the Munich version, just after its description of the Battle of Cassel, though the sections have different subtitles. In the Munich version the section is "Concerning the religious end and burial of the Countess Richilde," while in the Old French version the section is called "How Richilde and Baldwin, her son, retained the county of Hainaut."[68] It shares its mention of Robert the Frisian's pilgrimage with the Munich version, but does not include the

[65] "O constantia martyrum laudabilis o caritas inextinguibilis o patientia invicibilis quae licet inter pressuras persequentium visa sit despicabilis invenietur in laudem et gloriam et honorem in tempore retributionis." "007262," CANTUS: A Database for Ecclesiastical Chant, accessed January 24, 2018, http://cantusindex.org/id/007262. This chant does not appear in the *Analecta hymnica*.

[66] "dixit quadam die per iocum, ut faceret de ipsa aliquem cantum. Rex autem libenter annuity, et scripsit ritmum *O Constantia martirum* in honore s. Dionisii et ceterorum martirum." *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*, p. 318.

[67] The text is very close to the one found in the Munich version: "li autres fu Robiert, à ki il donna le conté de Normandie, ki moult se prouva bien Outremer en la prise d'Antioche et de Jherusalem." *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*, p. 7.

[68] "De religioso fine 7 sepultura comitisse Richildis." Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 23583, fol. 12rb; "Coment Rikeut et Bauduins ses fils requirent le conté de Haynau." ." *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*, p. 18. In the Old French version edited by De Smet, the subtitle reads: "Lie Richens requist le conté de Héna avoekes Bauduin sen fil." *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*, p. 45.

lengthy description of the closed gate found in the Brussels version.[69] The Old French version's description of the First Crusade tallies, almost word for word, with the Munich version.[70] Finally, the Old French version describes Charles the Good's pilgrimage in the same way that the Munich version does.[71] The description of Robert's reception of the returning Charles is slightly different: "Afterwards, the young marquis returned hither to Robert, count of Flanders, who was his uncle, and Count Robert received him honorably, as was fitting for such a man."[72]

Given the preceding comparison, it is clear that the Old French version of the *Ancienne chronique* is more closely related to the Munich version that it is to the Brussels version, at least as far as crusading material goes. So, while the incompleteness of the Munich manuscript makes it impossible to say with any certainty what sort of crusading content was in the second half of the Munich version of the text, it seems likely that it was similar to the crusade material in the Old French version. This amounts to a pittance, in any case, as the rest of the *Ancienne chronique* focuses on the civil war of 1127-28 in both the Brussels and Old French versions.

There is, however, one mention of the crusade in the latter half of the Old French *Ancienne chronique*. According to the Old French version, when Baldwin IV of Hainaut made his pitch to Louis VI to be made count of Flanders in 1127, he did so by reminding the French king "that his ancestor Baldwin, who had gone to Jerusalem, had been chased from Flanders by an injustice and disinherited by Robert, his uncle."[73] This tidbit, which does not come from Walter or Herman, depicts Baldwin arguing for control of Flanders by contrasting the exemplary behavior of his grandfather, Baldwin II, and Robert the Frisian. Whether this detail is rooted in

[69] *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*, p. 21.
[70] *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*, pp. 21-22.
[71] *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*, p. 24.
[72] "Après, il retorna arrière à Robiert le conte de Flandres le jovene marchis ki estoir ses oncles, et il cuens Robiers le rechut honnorablement, ensi k'il aferoit à tel home." *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*, p. 24.
[73] "que ses ayves Bauduins qui à Jherusalem estoit alés, avoit esté à tort chaciés de Flandres, et avoit esté deshiérités par Robiert son oncle." *Les chronikes des contes de Flandres*, p. 57.

fact is immaterial here. Other historians and chroniclers had used Robert's pilgrimage to Jerusalem as a rhetorical tool both for and against him. Here the compiler of the *Ancienne chronique* wields Baldwin II's crusade in the same way.

As the preceding analysis shows, the three Latin versions of the *Ancienne chronique de Flandre* produced at the end of the twelfth century take different approaches to relating the crusading activities of the counts of Flanders and their neighbors. The Munich and Old French versions highlight the crusading exploits of both Robert II and Charles the Good in ways that the Brussels version does not. They also present the chants composed by Robert the Pious in a way that encourages the reader to think about the content of the chants themselves, while the Brussels version frames the chants in a broader discussion of Robert's piety and wit. Finally, the Brussels version includes the lengthy story about Robert the Frisian and the closed gate of Jerusalem, a story that highlights the inefficacy of Robert's Jerusalem pilgrimage, undermines the probity of his behavior in Jerusalem, and suggests that he ultimately failed to repent of and atone for his role in Arnulf's death. There are, then, essentially two different versions of the *Ancienne chronique*. The first is favorable to Robert the Frisian and his descendants—it emphasizes the crusading exploits of these descendants and, through its treatment of Robert the Pious, even suggests that the dynasty's interest in Jerusalem and the ideological underpinnings of crusade goes back to its Capetian forebears. The second is critical of Robert the Frisian, and tones down the crusading credentials of his descendants while reframing his own pilgrimage as a critique.

Two preliminary conclusions suggest themselves, the first general and the second specific. The first is that, as in the early twelfth century, the commemoration of crusading activity was a powerful rhetorical tool that authors and compilers in Flanders could use to color the prestige, legitimacy, and character of their subjects. More specifically, in the redactions of

the *Ancienne chronique de Flandre* the commemoration of Robert the Frisian's pilgrimage and the crusading deeds of his ancestors plays a critical role in assessing the legitimacy of Robert's dynasty. In the Munich and Old French versions, Robert's usurpation of the county is a legitimate if unsavory act. In the Brussels version, on the other hand, the compiler repeatedly frames claims about the illegitimacy of Robert's accession with crusading material. This suggests that the Brussels version was made somewhere in or near the Hainaut.

The second relates to the textual history of the *Ancienne chronique*. If, as Rider suggests, the Old French version is the closest extant version to the original Latin text, then a plausible chain of composition presents itself. The *Ancienne chronique* was compiled in Flanders, perhaps even at the court of Philip of Alsace (as Moeglin suggests), for Baldwin V of Hainaut, whom Philip had designated as his heir.[74] The text that this compiler produced was something akin to the Munich and Old French versions. Maybe the occasion for the reworking of the *Flandria Generosa* was Philip's imminent departure on the Third Crusade, and part of the purpose of creating the text was to introduce Baldwin to the crusading tradition of his forebears—this might help to explain why Baldwin II's crusading credentials are also mentioned in the text. When the text was sent to Baldwin in Hainaut, however, a cleric or someone at Baldwin's court read the text and was put off by its pro-Robertian stance. This individual decided to rework the *Ancienne chronique* to present a historical narrative less favorable to Robert that reiterated longstanding historical arguments for why the count of Hainaut ought to rule Flanders, which are notably absent in the Munich and Old French versions of the text. This reworking included downplaying the activities of crusaders like Robert II who had, after all, fought successful wars against Baldwin II and his son, Baldwin III. This second compiler then presented his work to Baldwin V (or VI).

[74] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 74.

This narrative of events, while conjectural, helps to explain several puzzling features of the *Ancienne chronique*. One is the fact that so many different versions of the text appear to have been created in such rapid succession—the movement of the text across the border from Flanders into Hainaut provides an easy explanation for the extensive reworking of the text evident in the Brussels version. Another is the fact that each version of the *Ancienne chronique* fails to extend the narrative of the *Flandria Generosa* past 1164. If the preceding explanation is correct, then there was no reason for the text to dwell on the crusading reputations of either Thierry or Philip of Alsace, for they would have been well-known to Baldwin V, who was Thierry's son-in-law and had been born shortly after the Second Crusade (c. 1150). As Lambert of Ardres tells us in his *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, tales about the crusade were a favorite form of entertainment at court, and there were plenty of men and women in Flanders and Hainaut who had gone to Jerusalem with Thierry and Philip and could spin yarns about their adventures.[75] Indeed, it is hard to believe that Thierry and Philip would not have shared their stories with Baldwin V themselves. By the time Baldwin was old enough to remember such stories, however, there would have been very few if any veterans of the First Crusade alive, and so the commemoration of Robert II's deeds had to be left to books, rather than bards.

THE *CHRONICON HANONIENSE*

At roughly the same time that the *Ancienne chronique* was written, Gilbert of Mons wrote his Latin history of the counts of Hainaut, the *Chronicon Hanoniense*. Gilbert had been chaplain of Baldwin V of Hainaut, one of the likely recipients of the aforementioned history of the counts of Flanders. Indeed, it may have been Gilbert himself who, reading the *Ancienne chronique*, was moved to rewrite it to make it more favorable to his lord's ancestors. He certainly would have had access to the history, for he served as Baldwin V's chancellor during the final

[75] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 96, p. 607.

fifteen years of the count's reign.[76] The two seem to have enjoyed a close relationship, for in addition to being Baldwin's chancellor, Gilbert describes himself in his history as the count's "protégé [*alumnus*].[77] He wrote the *Chronicon Hanoniense* just after the death of his lord and patron, between 1195 and 1196.[78]

The *Chronicon Hanoniense* is an important work because it, like the *Ancienne chronique*, was written at a time when, after more than a century of conflict, the counts of Hainaut had suddenly achieved control over Flanders. Consequently, Gilbert presents Flemish history from a perspective that is entirely favorable to Hainaut. Since there was a rapprochement between the two counties under the rule of Philip of Alsace, however, and since the count of Hainaut was also the count of Flanders in the mid-1190s, the *Chronicon* is far less critical of the counts of Flanders than it might have been had it been written thirty or forty years earlier. Nevertheless, Gilbert makes his historiographical perspective plain from the very beginning, indicating in his first line that he intends to write "concerning the deeds and the genealogy of rulers—the counts of Hainaut, and certain emperors of the Romans and of the Byzantines, and the kings of the Franks, of Jerusalem, of Sicily, and of the English, and also of many princes and other nobles along with the counts themselves."[79] There is, conspicuously, no mention of the counts of Flanders.

The *Chronicon Hanoniense* focuses its attention on the deeds of the counts of Hainaut, who were not regular crusaders during the twelfth century, possibly because the disappearance of Baldwin II during the First Crusade was so disadvantageous to the county. As a result, there is only one extended discussion of crusading in the *Chronicon*, a section of five chapters describing

[76] Napran, introduction to *Chronicle of Hainaut*, p. xxvii.
[77] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 251, p. 327.
[78] Napran, introduction to *Chronicle of Hainaut*, p. xxviii.
[79] "de gestis et genealogia dominorum comitum Hanoniensium imperatorumque quorumdam Romanorum et Constantinopolitanorum, et regum Francorum, Jherosolimitanorum et Sicilie et Anglorum, multorum quoque principum et aliorum nobelium cum ipsis comitibus." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 1, p. 1

the First Crusade. Because affairs in Hainaut were so bound up in Flemish politics, however, crusading nevertheless features prominently in many of the most important episodes in the *Chronicon*. The analysis that follows will begin by unpacking the relationship between crusade and politics in Hainaut in two of the key events in Gilbert's history, the civil war of 1071 and Baldwin V's acquisition of the county of Flanders after the death of Philip of Alsace on crusade in 1191.

Gilbert provides the most damning account of Robert the Frisian's usurpation of Flanders in the historiography of the high medieval Low Countries. Though he acknowledges that Robert was "a bold knight and powerful in arms," the bulk of his narrative of the civil war emphasizes not Robert's boldness and martial skill, but rather the fact that he was "resolute in malice and perfidy."[80] Gilbert notes that Robert broke his oaths when he invaded Flanders, and claims that Baldwin VI had entrusted [*committere*] his sons and their wellbeing to Robert, making his ultimate treachery all the more egregious. Finally, unlike the Flemish accounts of the Battle of Cassel, which emphasize the fact that Arnulf had achieved his majority by the time of the battle, Gilbert stresses Arnulf's youth, indicating that the king of France had belted him a knight when Richilde went to him for help, "even though he was very young."[81] Earlier in the same section, Gilbert relates that Baldwin VI felt the need to entrust his sons to Robert "because of the smallness of their bodies and their extreme youth."[82] These details make Robert appear cowardly and traitorous, taking advantage of the youth and weakness of his nephews when he should have been nurturing them to adulthood.

[80] "Robertus autem, miles animosus et in armis potens, sed in malicia et perfidia obstinatus." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 5, p. 6.
[81] "licet satis juvenem ordinavit." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 5, p. 7.
[82] "pro corporum suorum parvitate et nimia juventute." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 5, p. 6.

It is hardly surprising, then, that Gilbert makes no mention either of Robert the Frisian's foundation of the churches at Watten and Cassel or of his penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the *Chronicon Hanoniense*. In an unexpected twist, however, he does close his account of Cassel with a pilgrimage. According to the *Chronicon*, the man who struck the blow that killed Arnulf was one of his liegemen, a knight named Gerbod of Ooosterzele.[83] After the battle, Gerbod was "led to repentance" [*penitentia ductus*] and went to Rome to seek forgiveness from the pope. The pontiff ordered his cook to lead the penitent knight out and to cut off his hands. Unbeknownst to Gerbod, however, the pope also told the cook that if the Fleming should hold out his hands out to receive the blow without shaking, then he should refrain from cutting them off. Gerbod "stood with his hands unmoving and not trembling at all," so the cook brought him back in to the pontiff unharmed.[84] The pope ordered Gerbod to travel to Cluny and present himself to the abbot there, which the knight did, ultimately becoming a monk at Cluny and distinguishing himself through his good works and piety.[85]

This story almost certainly represent Gilbert's attempt to override the memory of Robert the Frisian's pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Robert's journey was well-documented in the historiography of Flanders, and would have been known in Hainaut.[86] Even so, Gilbert never mentions it. Instead, Gilbert seeks to supplant the memory of Robert's trip entirely by dedicating an entire chapter to Gerbod's pilgrimage to Rome. He also creates a stark contrast between the penitential attitude of Gerbod, who recognizes the sinfulness of his role in the civil war and strives to make amends for it, and the brazenness of Robert the Frisian, who continues to

[83] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 5, p. 8.
[84] "stetit manibus immotis et nequaquam trepidantibus." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 6, p. 8.
[85] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 6, p. 8.
[86] Indeed, if the *Ancienne chronique* was in fact taken to Hainaut during the reign of Baldwin V, then Gilbert knew that Robert had gone to Jerusalem—that he knew about the count's later career is on display later in the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, where he mentions that Alexius Comnenus dispatched a private message to the elder Robert before the First Crusade. See Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 23, p. 40.

antagonize the people of Hainaut long after 1071. Thus in the first critical moment in the history of the counts of Hainaut, Gilbert omits the birth of the Flemish tradition of Jerusalem pilgrimage, replacing it with a story that uses penitential pilgrimage to malign Robert the Frisian.

The count of Hainaut did not go on the Third Crusade, but the expedition nevertheless plays a prominent role in the second half of the *Chronicon Hanoniense*. The first nod toward the coming crusade takes place in Chapter 135, in which Gilbert mentions the Battle of Hattin, and with it the capture of Guy of Lusignan and the loss of the city of Jerusalem.[87] This news reached Europe during the autumn of 1187, just a few months after the battle itself. Pope Gregory VIII immediately sent a papal legate, Henry of Albano, into France and Germany to preach the crusade because, as Gilbert relates, only Conrad of Montferrat had gone to the defense of the Holy Land after Hattin.[88] Gilbert notes that Duke Richard of Aquitaine, the famed Lionheart himself, took the cross at this time, along with some important ecclesiastical leaders. He does not, however, continue immediately with reports of others joining the crusade. Instead, he dedicates two chapters to a lengthy description of political maneuvering that placed Baldwin V between Philip Augustus and Frederick Barbarossa during Advent 1187.[89]

When Gilbert returns to the activity of Henry of Albano, he finds the papal legate at the court of Baldwin V of Hainaut. One imagines, given subsequent events, that Henry tried to convince Baldwin to take the cross himself, but Gilbert does not report anything of the kind. Instead, he indicates that some other knights of Hainaut agreed to go on the crusade. All he says about Henry's interaction with Baldwin V is that "the honors done him [*honorificentia*] by the count pleased him a great deal."[90] Baldwin did give Henry permission to recruit crusaders in

[87] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 135, pp. 199-201.
[88] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 135, p. 200.
[89] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, cc. 136-137, pp. 201-204.
[90] "Comitis autem honorificentia admodum ei placuit." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 138, p. 205.

Hainaut, and then aided the cardinal in correcting the apparently rampant simony practiced by Bishop Ralph of Liège.[91] At the end of the chapter, Gilbert reports that Philip Augustus, Henry II of England, and Count Philip of Flanders took the cross together at Gisors in January 1188. He downplays the importance of this event, however, by noting that the truces ratified by these would-be crusaders at Gisors would ultimately prove to be ineffective, foreshadowing the conflicts that would weaken the forces the Third Crusade.[92] Gilbert simultaneously obscures the fact that Baldwin V did not take the cross and undercuts the virtue of Philip of Flanders.

Gilbert further downplays the importance of crusading within his narrative by proceeding directly from the conference at Gisors to a lengthy account of the conflict between the counts of Hainaut, Namur, and Champagne that occupied Baldwin V throughout the late 1180s. This narrative comprises twenty-five chapters dedicated to events that took place between 1187 and 1189. One reason for the amount of detail present in this section of the *Chronicon Hanoniense* is Gilbert's involvement in the events being narrated. He was chancellor of Hainaut by this time, and traveled with Baldwin V as the count conducted his war and negotiated with the rulers of Namur and the Holy Roman Emperor.[93] Since Gilbert set out to record the deeds of the counts of Hainaut, it makes sense that he dedicates so much space to the conflict between Namur and Hainaut, which would end with the latter subsuming the former in 1189. At the same time, he can hardly have been unaware of the fact that, by breaking up the references to the crusading preparations and departures of powerful neighbors like Philip of Alsace and Philip Augustus, he was also reframing the events of the late 1180s and making the Third Crusade a distant sideshow of a conflict that, in his mind, really mattered. Furthermore, he repeatedly indicates that all of the

[91] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 138, pp. 205-206.
[92] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 138, p. 206.
[93] Gilbert is mentioned by name several times in this section of the text; see, for example, Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, cc. 148-149, pp. 227, 230.

important magnates whose territories bordered Hainaut were unfavorably disposed toward Baldwin, especially Philip of Flanders. In Chapter 144, for example, Gilbert reports that "the count of Flanders extended no expression of love to him at that time, so that the count of Hainaut expected nothing of good or peace from the count of Flanders."[94] He goes on to say that the king of France and the emperor of the Romans were similarly hostile. Small wonder, then, that Baldwin did not wish to go on crusade with Philip or his other powerful neighbors.

When Gilbert finally gets around to describing what happened during the Third Crusade, he provides only a piecemeal narrative. Since Frederick Barbarossa and the kings of France and England left for the East at different times, their departures are separated by more than ten chapters in the narrative.[95] Gilbert relates the entire story of Barbarossa's crusade, from his departure to his drowning in the Saleph River in Asia Minor in 1190, in a single chapter, concluding his account by noting that "he could have laid out great help to the Jerusalemite land, if he had survived."[96] This hints at the fact that the crusade was to be something less than successful, and once more mitigates any criticism of Baldwin's failure to take the cross himself. By the time Gilbert gets around to the kings of France and England, the reader already knows not to expect anything from the Third Crusade.

Gilbert describes Philip of Alsace's departure in Chapter 167, noting that Baldwin V of Hainaut and his wife, Marguerite, were present at Ghent when Philip accepted the purse and staff of the pilgrim before his departure for Jerusalem. This took place in September 1190. According to Gilbert, Philip's wife Mathilde, whom he left in charge of the county, styled herself a queen

[94] "Comes eciam Flandrie nullum ei tunc amoris vultum pretendebat; ita quod comes Hanoniensis ab ipso comite Flandrie nichil boni vel pacis expectabat." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 144, p. 222.
[95] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, cc. 152, 165, pp. 235-237, 247-248.
[96] "Qui quidem terre Jherosolimitane magnum potuisset, si supervixisset, auxilium impendisse." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 152, pp. 236-237.

[*se reginam nominari faciebat*] after his departure.[97] Gilbert returns to this point later in his narrative while detailing the conflict that accompanied Baldwin V's accession in Flanders—the repeated mention of Mathilde's insistence that she was a queen seems to be aimed at painting her as arrogant, if not delusional. By concluding the chapter about Philip's departure with this detail, Gilbert makes the focus of the chapter Mathilde's pretension, rather than Philip's virtue as a crusader. Similarly, a few chapters later when narrating Philip's death, Gilbert dedicates only a single sentence to the count's passing. He then turns his attention to the political fallout, mentioning a rumor that Philip Augustus had abandoned the crusade shortly after his namesake's death. Gilbert suggests (and most modern historians have followed his lead) that Philip Augustus hoped to profit from the count's sudden death by reasserting his right to the Vermandois before a successor could consolidate control of the territory.[98]

Throughout his narrative of the Third Crusade, Gilbert undermines any impulse the reader might have to praise the participants in the expedition. He breaks the events of the crusade up into pieces and thus avoids narrating the expedition straight through. He also frames the chapters that mention the Third Crusade with details and editorial comments that foreshadow the failure of the expedition and the less-than-pious motives of key players, like Philip Augustus. Gilbert's final judgment on the expedition comes in Chapters 184-185. In the former, Gilbert returns to Philip Augustus's return home from the crusade, claiming that "his withdrawal brought pain and harm to the Christian pilgrims, for whom the only protection seemed to be from that king, but it brought joy to the Sarracens, who despised his presence more than any other."[99] By calling the French king's behavior and motives into question, Gilbert begins to undermine the

[97] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 167, p. 249.
[98] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 173, pp. 255-256.
[99] "Cujus recessus peregrinis christianis, quibus unicum videbatur in ipso rege refugium, dolorem et detrimentum, Sarracenis autem, qui ejus solius presentiam pre ceteris abhorrebant, gaudium contulit." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 173, p. 271.

moral authority of the crusade. He begins the following chapter by passing judgment on the venture explicitly:

> It must truly be wondered at—nay, rather, blamed on the sins of Christians—that with excellent, choice knights from all the parts of the world in which the name of Christ is called upon gathered together, along with so many of their princes, they accomplished almost nothing toward the recovery of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, since they recovered only the city of Acre.[100]

This conclusion has been in the offing since fifty chapters earlier, where Gilbert first noted the lukewarm response to the news of Hattin on the part of important princes in Europe. His friend and lord Baldwin V did not participate, but given the misbehaviors and misfortune of the key players involved in the Third Crusade, that is hardly a criticism.

Gilbert's treatment of the Third Crusade seems to stand in marked contrast to his account of the First Crusade. Here there are none of the implicit and overt critiques of the crusaders, and the entire expedition is narrated in a single block of text extending from Chapter 22 to Chapter 26. The reason for this approach seems to have been Baldwin II's participation in the First Crusade, for chapter dedicated to the expedition focuses on the exploits of the count of Hainaut. However, a close reading of this narrative suggests that the same attitude visible in his treatment of the Third Crusade also undergirds his account of the First.

Gilbert begins his narrative by setting Baldwin's activity in the broader context of the history of Jerusalem. Many people, he claims, have asked who originally built the city of Jerusalem.[101] Gilbert draws his answer from both biblical and extra-biblical sources, citing Genesis and Joshua for the early history of the city and Isidore of Seville and Josephus for later events, including the story of the Maccabean revolt, Pompey's conquest of the city, the

[100] "Mirandum est equidem, imo christianorum peccatis imputandum, quod congregates ab universis mundi hujus partibus, in quibus nomen Christi invocator, militibus probis et electis cum suis quampluribus principibus, quasi nichil in regno Jhesu Christi recuperando profecerunt, cum solam civitatem Acram recuperaverunt." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 185, p. 272.
[101] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 22, p. 37.

appointment of Herod, the birth of Christ, and the city's destruction under the emperor Vespasian.

After discussing the accession of Constantine and Helena's discovery and subsequent division of the True Cross, Gilbert incorporates the story of Heraclius into his history. He begins with Khusrau's invasion of Jerusalem and his capture of the half of the True Cross Helena had left there. He then describes how Heraclius defeated an army of Gentiles [*gentilium exercitus*] and, having recovered all of the territory lost to Khusrau, marched his army into Persia and confronted the Persian king. When Khusrau refuses to agree to convert to Christianity, Heraclius beheads him, forcibly baptizes his son, and then returns in triumph to Jerusalem:

> He carried the Cross of the Lord, which Khusrau had carried away, back to Jerusalem, and he restored it to the Sepulcher of the Lord, just as it is read publicly in the churches on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. And thus for a long time the kingdom of Persia was subject to the empire of Constantinople, and the veneration of the Christian faith flourished in Jerusalem and in many cities of the East, until, with God having been offended by the sins of Christians, the error of the Gentile grew strong again, and the Gentiles, leaving their borders, overcame Jerusalem and the Sepulcher of the Lord, and they conquered Armenia, Syria, and part of Greece, almost all the way to the sea that is called the Arm of Saint George.[102]

Gilbert then devotes two chapters to describing how Alexius Comnenus appealed for help from the West, first from Robert the Frisian and then from Urban II.[103] A final preparatory chapter describing the effect that Godfrey of Bouillon's decision to take the cross had on the political landscape of western Flanders follows.[104]

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[102] "Crucem dominicam, quam Cosdroe asportaverat, rursus Jherosolimis detulit, et ad sepulchrum dominicum reposuit, sicut in exaltatione Sancte Crucis publice per ecclesias legitur. Itaque longo tempore regnum Persidis imperio Constantinopolitano subjectum fuit, et christiane fidei cultus in Jherusalem et in multis urbibus Orientis floruit, donec christianorum peccatis offenso Deo, rursum error gentilitatis invaluit, ac de finibus suis egressi gentiles, Jherosolimam ac sepulchrum Domini pervaserunt, Armeniamque et Syriam partemque Grecie pêne usque ad illud mare quod dicitur Brachium Sancti Georgii, obtinuerunt." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 22, p. 40.
[103] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, cc. 23-24, pp. 40-43.
[104] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 25, pp. 43-44.

The inclusion of the Heraclius story reveals a great deal both about Gilbert's understanding of history and about his rhetorical priorities in the *Chronicon Hanoniense*. He presents Heraclius as the latest in a line of Christian warriors, including the Maccabees and Constantine, who fought against Gentiles to safeguard Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulcher, and the True Cross. These warriors were part of the rhythm of sacred history, which moved from repentance to triumph to sin to destruction and back. The end of the Heraclius story, in which Gilbert reports that Gentiles had conquered Jerusalem and must of the rest of the East, signals to the reader that the time is ripe for a new Heraclius or Judas Maccabeus to lead a Christian army to victory in the East. When Gilbert turns directly from Heraclius to Alexius Comnenus's appeal to Robert the Frisian for help against the "Gentiles," he sets the reader up to expect either Alexius or Robert to take this role.

Instead, Gilbert pivots away from Robert the Frisian. He notes that Robert's sister Mathilda was married to William the Conqueror and bore him three sons, and that the youngest of these (Henry) ultimately passed the kingdom of England on to Stephen, the brother of Count Theobald of Blois.[105] Theobald's wife, Gilbert reports, was Eustace of Boulogne's daughter, and it was Eustace's brothers, Godfrey and Baldwin, who were kings in Jerusalem. He does not expand on this information—there is no further discussion of the capture of Jerusalem, no attempt to link either Godfrey or Baldwin to Heraclius or his illustrious predecessors. Gilbert essentially buries the lineage of the first two kings of Jerusalem in a genealogy of the kings of England, for it is with Stephen and not Godfrey or Baldwin that the chapter ends.

The single chapter Gilbert devotes to the First Crusade itself is also something of an anticlimax. He allots only a single sentence to the first two-thirds of the expedition, fast-forwarding his narrative directly to the siege of Antioch. His account of the siege focuses on the

[105] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 23, pp. 40-41.

placement of Baldwin of Hainaut's camp—apparently Baldwin was bringing up the rearguard of the crusader army during the approach to Antioch, and by the time he reached the city there were no good places to pitch his army's tents. This predicament becomes an opportunity for Gilbert to work in a dig at the courage and martial skill of the Greek soldiers and their general, Tetigius. Baldwin, "placing little value [*villipendens*] upon the troops of Tatin, the legate sent from the emperor, and apprehending his perfidy toward the Christians, did not fear to pitch his tents between those of the legate and the city."[106] As a result of this decision, which was aimed at protecting the Frankish forces from the possibility that a Turkish sortie might destroy the apparently unimpressive Byzantine soldiers, Baldwin's troops had to deal with constant harassment from the Turkish forces inside the city. Nevertheless, Baldwin's boldness earned him a good reputation among the Franks, and when it came time to report the fall of Antioch to Alexius Comnenus, Baldwin was chosen to accompany Hugh the Great in carrying the news to the emperor. Unfortunately, the messengers fell into a Turkish ambush, and Baldwin was presumed killed, though Gilbert notes that no one knew for sure what had happened to him at the time.[107] Gilbert ends his entire narrative of the First Crusade there, turning immediately to the journey that Baldwin II's widow, Ida, made to try to discover his fate. He does not even mention the eventual capture of Jerusalem in 1099. The *Chronicon Hanoniense* turns instead to the accession of Baldwin III.

Gilbert's treatment of the First Crusade represents a compromise hatched by an author who was trapped between his own convictions and his audience. On the one hand, Gilbert did not want to make too much of the triumphal end of the First Crusade because his stated goal was to relate the deeds of the counts of Hainaut, and the count of Hainaut had not been present at

[106] "Balduinus vero Tatini ab imperatore missi vires vilipendens, ejusque perfidiam erga christianos metuens, inter illius tentoria et civitatem sua tentoria figere non timuit." Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 26, p. 44.
[107] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, cc. 26, p. 45.

Jerusalem in July 1099. Furthermore, Gilbert may have been skeptical about the importance of the First Crusade. Heraclius, after all, had restored Jerusalem to Christian hands "for a long time" [*longo tempore*], while the crusaders had failed to secure the city for even a century. The loss of the True Cross at Hattin and the subsequent loss of Jerusalem had proved to Gilbert, in other words, that the heir to Heraclius's legacy was not among the Frankish crusaders. It was certainly not Robert the Frisian, the kin-killer. One wonders whether for Gilbert, as for Galbert of Bruges, the punishment for Robert's sins was being meted out to his successors, and the failure of the crusades, the cherished project of the counts of Flanders, was part of that punishment.

On the other hand, as the author himself acknowledged in his description of Jerusalem, many people wanted to know about the Holy City and about its recapture by the Franks. Gilbert responded by crafting a narrative that acknowledges the importance of crusading but seeks to focus the reader's attention on its implications for life within Hainaut. This strategy allows Gilbert to deflect potential criticism of the undistinguished crusading record of the counts of Hainaut, who did not go east again after 1098. It also undercuts one of the main sources of the prestige of the counts of Flanders. It is certainly no coincidence that Thierry of Alsace is nowhere described as a crusader, or that Gilbert's entire narrative of the Second Crusade amounts to three sentences.[108] Gilbert knew the historiographical stakes involved in the commemoration of the crusades, and he produced a narrative that undercuts that commemoration in order to present a history that is favorable to the counts of Hainaut.

THE *HISTORIA COMITUM GHISNENSIUM*

The *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* was written at Ardres, near Saint-Omer in the northeastern part of Flanders, just after Gilbert finished his *Chronicon Hanoniense* at the turn of the twelfth century. Leah Shopkow, who recently translated the text into English, argues that its

[108] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, c. 53, p. 92.

author, Lambert, began writing in 1198-99 and finished the history shortly after 1206.[109] He addresses his work to Arnold II, count of Guines, though he mentions toward the end of the narrative that he wrote it in part to make amends with Baldwin of Guines, whom he says he had offended by failing to ring the bells of the church of Ardres quickly enough after Arnold's wedding in 1194.[110] Shopkow notes that this may be a literary device, and indeed, Lambert's whole work is carefully crafted rhetorically.[111]

Lambert's decision to write his history in Latin is an interesting one. In his description of the avid love that Baldwin of Guines, the dedicatee of his book, had for learning Lambert notes that the old count required Latin texts to be translated so that he could read them:

> But since he embraced all knowledge of all things with great enthusiasm, and was unable to retain all knowledge of all things in his heart, while he had charge of the lordship of the territory of Ardres he made a most erudite man, Master Landry of Waben, translate the Song of Songs for him from Latin into Romance [i.e., French]—not only according to the letter, but also according to the mystical understanding of the spiritual interpretation, so that he might taste and understand their mystical force—and read them to him often.[112]

Lambert goes on to indicate that Baldwin had a number of other books translated, both religious and didactic in nature, and amassed a sizable library. So committed was he to his books that other laymen at court also became literate. Of one Hasard of Aldehem, for example, Lambert writes that "he, keeping and guarding the whole library of the count, both reads and understands all of his books that have been translated from Latin into the Romance language."[113] It would

[109] Shopkow, introduction to *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, pp. 2-3.
[110] For this episode, see Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 149, pp. 637-638.
[111] Shopkow, introduction to *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 6. On Lambert's use of rhetoric, see ibid., pp. 4-8.
[112] "Sed cum omnem omnium scientiam avidissime aplecteretur et omnem omnium scientiam corde tenus retinere nequivisset, virum eruditissimum magistrum Landericum de Wabbanio, dum Ardensis honoris preesset comes dominio, Cantica canticorum non solum ad litteram, sed ad misticam spiritualis interpretationis intelligentiam de Latino in Romanum, ut eorum misticam virtutem saperet et intelligeret, transferre sibi et sepius ante se legere fecit." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 81, p. 598.
[113] "Ipse…totam comitis bibliothecam retinens et custodiens, omnes eius libros de Latino in Romanam linguam interpretatos et legit et intelligit." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 81, p. 598.

seem, in light of such evidence, that Lambert would have found an eager and capable audience for his history at court if he had written it in French. Why, then, did he choose to write in Latin?

Leah Shopkow argues that Lambert wrote in Latin rather than French because it suited his chief aim, which was to create a record of the deeds of the lords of Guines and Ardres that would reach a wide audience and survive into posterity. As she puts it, "if Lambert hoped his history would circulate widely, Latin was a better choice. But even if the work went no further than the nearby monastery of Andres, Latin was also the proven language of posterity."[114] Shopkow is surely correct in this assessment, but her analysis can be pushed further. In her discussion of Lambert's decision, she notes that the chaplain of Ardres was unconcerned about the question of whether or not Count Arnold would ever read the history, for the stories it contained would have been familiar to him already.[115] The goal was, instead, to reach a wider audience, both temporally and geographically, an aim the count would surely have shared.

The great lords of the Low Countries were still deeply invested in the importance of Latin histories in the late twelfth century. As the discussion of the *Ancienne chronique* above shows, Latin was the language of choice for the preparation of a historical text intended to solidify Baldwin VI of Hainaut's claim to Flanders and to bind him to the tradition of crusading that had long characterized his powerful neighbors. Gabrielle Spiegel provides another example of aristocratic interest in Latin texts in *Romancing the Past*. In her chapter on early thirteenth-century translations of the Pseudo-Turpin, she quotes at length part of the preface to a French translation produced by one Nicholas of Senlis.[116] Nicholas begins his text by explaining that the book from which his translation was made belonged to Yolande of Saint-Pol, and had been given to her by her brother, Baldwin V of Hainaut, who was also Baldwin VIII of Flanders from 1191-

[114] Shopkow, introduction to *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 8.
[115] Shopkow, introduction to *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 8.
[116] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 55.

1195.[117] Baldwin himself had sought a copy of the Latin text because, as Nicholas tells it, he loved Charlemagne, but did not believe the stories that the jongleurs sang about him.[118] So, he sent agents to "le bones abaies de france" to try to acquire a copy of "la veraíe estoría." They were seeking, in other words, the Latin history.

Unlike Baldwin of Guines, Baldwin V of Hainaut did not have this history translated into French, at least as far as Nicholas tells us. He passed the Latin codex on to Yolande at his death, and it was she and her husband, the renowned crusader Hugh IV of Saint-Pol, who had it translated. Whether Baldwin V did not have the work translated because he knew enough Latin to read it and so did not need a translation or because he could easily have someone read it for him is immaterial—the point is that the Latin history carried a rhetorical weight and authority that Baldwin both recognized and desired. There is every reason to think that Arnold II of Guines thought as Baldwin did. Indeed, Lambert reminds his patron of this fact explicitly in the text, noting near the beginning of the preface that "all things under heaven are fleeting in time and transitory, unless they are committed to the forms of letters."[119] Though Lambert does not specify Latin letters, his choice of language suggests that that is what he means.

Lambert had examples of the power of the written word all around him. Shopkow notes that he mentions historical authors like Bede and Sigebert of Gembloux in his history, and refers to events from the *vitae* of Bertin and Rictrude. She concludes that Lambert probably had access to a monastic library, naming Marchiennes as a likely candidate.[120] This is a plausible suggestion, particularly given the references to Rictrude and Sigebert of Gembloux. Lambert

[117] On the translation, see Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 70-71.
[118] For the prologue to Nicholas's translation, see Theodor Auracher, "Die sogenannte Poitevinische Übersetzung des Pseudo-Turpin," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1 (1877), pp. 262-263. Spiegel typically cites Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 124 in *Romancing the Past*.
[119] "omnia autem que sub celo sunt, nisi literarum commendentur apicibus, caduca esse in tempore et transitoria." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, p. 559.
[120] Shopkow, introduction to *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, p. 6.

need not have restricted himself, however, to Marchiennes. He also knew the *Flandria Generosa*, a text which he quotes in the first chapter of his history, where he indicates that he is drawing "from the commendatory chronicles of Flanders."[121] Whether the church at Ardres possessed a copy of this text is not known. None of the surviving manuscript witnesses comes from Ardres or from Guines.[122] The autograph copy, however, was only fifteen miles away from Lambert's church at the abbey of Saint-Bertin. Furthermore, the histories of Saint-Bertin and Guines were closely connected. Lambert himself notes at the beginning of his history that the monks of Saint-Bertin had, at one point, claimed that all of Guines was theirs by right, and that the count should hold it from them.[123] It seems reasonable, then, to think that he would have sought out the opportunity to consult the books at Saint-Bertin in preparing his *Historia Ghisnensium*. If he did, he would have had firsthand access to the chief repository of crusade memory in Flanders.

Like the *Ancienne chronique*, Lambert's *Historia Ghisnensium* is concerned primarily with aristocratic activity other than crusading, such as the foundation of churches and monasteries, legislative activity, and the conduct of local wars. However, there is still a great deal of crusade-related material in the history. In addition to the passages indicated above, in which Lambert mentions the regularity with which crusading was discussed at court, the crusades and pilgrimages of the counts of Guines and lords of Ardres are recounted, as are those of many of the counts of Flanders themselves. There are also a number of matter-of-fact statements that particular noblemen or families from Guines or Ardres went on crusade. These

[121] "ex commendaticiis Flandrensium chronicis." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 1, p. 564.
[122] For a list of manuscripts, see *Flandria Generosa*, pp. 314-315.
[123] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 4, pp. 564-565. This relationship seems to have been ongoing—when the monastery of Saint-Leonard at Guines was destroyed in the fourteenth century during the Hundred Years' War, its martyrology ended up at Saint-Bertin, and ultimately found its way into the Bibliothèque d'Agglomération in Saint-Omer. The manuscript, which is Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 112, is digitized: "Obituaire de l'abbaye S. Léonard de Guines," Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux, accessed January 29, 2018, http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/20220/manifest.

statements typically offer context for other activities. For example, Lambert mentions that a nobleman named Baldwin, the son of Robert of Licques, was about to depart on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with his four sons when he decided to place the canons of the church of Licques under the control of the canons of Watten.[124] The text says nothing else of Baldwin or his pilgrimage. A few chapters later, while offering one- and two-sentence biographies of the children of Eustace the Old, Lambert relates that his second son, Enguerrand, went crusading with Philip of Alsace, but never returned from the East.[125] Though these are minor characters in the *Historia*, Lambert is careful to record their crusading activity.

Crusading also plays a central role in some passages in the *Historia* that are not overtly connected with Jerusalem or the East. Most notably, Lambert invokes the misuse of crusading resources to explain why God allowed Arnold of Guines to be captured at the city of Verdun in the 1190s. Lambert notes that Arnold had accepted a tithe [*decimatio*] to finance participation in the Third Crusade with Philip Augustus and Philip of Flanders.[126] In the event, however, he failed to depart for Jerusalem, and instead spent all the money from the tithe in loose and reprobate living. Lambert opines that it was his prodigality that caused God to allow him to fall into captivity at Verdun, and to languish there while the friends to whom he had distributed the pilfered tithe were powerless to free him.[127] That Lambert decided to include a story portraying Arnold of Guines, the nominal target audience of the *Historia*, in such an unfavorable light suggests how important he thought its lesson to be.

There are three extended sections of the *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* that deal with themes of crusading. They coincide with important events in the history of Flanders, Guines, and

[124] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 38, pp. 580-581.
[125] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 40, p. 581.
[126] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 95, p. 606.
[127] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 95, p. 606.

Ardres. So, while the *Historia* cannot fairly be said to focus upon crusading, the topic does appear at important points in the narrative, and in three passages in particular.

The first of these sections deals with pilgrimage before the First Crusade, and appears in conjunction with the story of Robert the Frisian's usurpation of Flanders. As indicated in Chapter 1, Lambert paints a flattering portrait of Robert and an especially ugly one of Richilde. In his account, Richilde levied oppressive taxes on the people of Flanders, doing so "foully and wantonly and irreverently" [*turpiter et proterve et irreverenter*].[128] She would have done the same to the inhabitants of Guines, had not Robert, having been repeatedly summoned to the county, invaded Flanders. In Lambert's narrative, Richilde tries memorably to win the ensuing battle at Cassel by flinging enchanted dust at Robert and his army, only to have God change the direction of the wind and blow it back on her and her men. According to Lambert, "Richilde, understanding that she was submitting herself to trial at the will of God and that she had been conquered already in war, and respecting that fact, gave the place to the count [Robert]."[129] In response, Robert the Frisian founded a church at Watten in honor of the Virgin Mary as a "reminder and a memorial" [*mentoria et memoria*].[130] Apparently this was not enough for Robert. He later founded another church at Cassel in honor of Saint Peter, since the battle had been fought on the Feast of the Chair of Saint Peter.

Lambert uses Robert the Frisian's ecclesiastical foundations at Watten and Cassel as a narrative pivot to introduce the foundation of important churches and monasteries in Guines. Immediately after mentioning the placement of canons at Cassel, Lambert shifts his focus to

[128] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 27, p. 575.
[129] "Richildis igitur Dei nutu se cause succumbere et bello victim iam se esse intelligens et respiciens, locum dedit comiti." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 28, p. 575.
[130] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 28, p. 575.

Baldwin of Guines. Baldwin, he says, was inspired by Robert's victory to restore a monastic church [*cenobialis ecclesia*].[131] Lambert connects this desire to Robert the Frisian:

> Therefore the devout servant of God, Count Baldwin of Guines, understanding and accepting the divine response concerning the divine and worthy-to-be-remembered works of Count Robert of Flanders, namely concerning the acquisition of the liberty of Flanders and of the restoration of churches—he was raised up because of this loftier desire—began to think how and where he might more properly and conveniently restore a monastic church.[132]

According to Lambert, it was Robert the Frisian's commitment to the churches of Flanders that ultimately secured God's favor. Robert is cast here as a reformer, one who is involved in the *restauratio* of the churches of Flanders. Baldwin of Guines seems to have understood the power of the reformer label, which is why he sought particularly to restore [*restaurare*] a monastic church.

Lambert's description of Baldwin's reforming activity connects the reformation of churches with themes of both pilgrimage and Jerusalem. Wishing to reform a church, but not yet knowing which church he ought to reform, Baldwin of Guines departed on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela with one of his nobles, Enguerrand of Lillers.[133] En route to Santiago, Baldwin and Enguerrand stopped at the abbey of Saint-Sauveur in Charroux. There Baldwin reached an agreement with Abbot Peter and the monks of Charroux that they would provide him with an abbot and monks when he returned to Guines and made good his intention to found a monastery. Having returned from Santiago, Baldwin consulted Bishop Gerald of Thérouanne, who according to Lambert guided him in the direction of the church of Saint-Médard at Andres.

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[131] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia*, c. 29, p. 575.
[132] "Intelligens igitur timoratus Dei famulus comes Ghisnensis Balduinus et divinum accipiens responsum super divinis et digne memorandis Flandrensis comitis Roberti operibus, de libertatis videlicet Flandrie acquisitione et ecclesiarum—quo ampliori augebatur desiderio—restauratione, cepit cogitare, qualiter et ubi competencies et oportunius cenobialem restaurare posset ecclesiam." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia*, c. 29, p. 575.
[133] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia*, c. 29, p. 575.

It was this church that Baldwin then reformed, installing monks from Charroux there with a certain Gilbert as abbot.[134]

Here reform activity is closely tied to pilgrimage, and in a surprising way. Baldwin sets off on his pilgrimage destined for Santiago in Spain, but Lambert says very little about the journey and nothing about the shrine of Saint James itself. Indeed, the whole pilgrimage is embedded in an ablative absolute: "entering into this deal, the venerable count, with the journey of the pilgrimage done, went back to his fatherland by traveling a propitious course."[135] Instead of Santiago, the real endpoint of Baldwin's pilgrimage is Charroux, where the eleventh-century abbey church was modeled on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[136] Charroux was also the birthplace of one of several eleventh-century legends about Charlemagne making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In the Charroux legend, the emperor made his pilgrimage after founding the abbey there and being commanded by the pope to travel East to acquire a prestigious relic for it. He returned with the Holy Prepuce, which he bestowed on the monks.[137] This story spread widely during the Middle Ages. Peter Comestor ultimately incorporated it into his *Historia Scholastica*.[138] Even though Lambert does not explicitly mention the city of Jerusalem, then, his account of the foundation of Andres ties together reform, pilgrimage, and the holy city, linking all of them to Robert the Frisian in the process.

The chapter that follows Lambert's tale of the reform of Andres also connects pilgrimage, Jerusalem, and the foundation of religious houses. In it, Lambert narrates Countess Ida of Boulogne's foundation of the monastery Capella. Most of this narrative is taken up with

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[134] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 29, pp. 575-576.
[135] "Quod in pactum suscipiens venerabilis comes, facto peregrinationis itinere, prospero cursu remeando pervenit ad patriam." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 29, p. 576.
[136] See Gisela Schwering-Illert, *Die emehalige französische Abteikirche Saint-Sauveur in Charroux (Vienne) im 11. und 12. Jh.: Ein Vorschlag zur Rekonstruktion und Deutung der romanischen Bauteile* (Düsseldorf: Zentral-Verlag für Dissertationen Triltsch, 1963), pp. 92-102 and passim.
[137] Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory*, pp. 44-51.
[138] Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory*, p. 51.

descriptions of the relics she installed in the monastery and the wonders worked there, but it begins by noting her connections to a number of prestigious knights and magnates:

> Whence in imitation of such a pious operation, she who was formerly the daughter of Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia, at one time the widow of Count Eustace of Boulogne, and the mother of Godfrey and Baldwin, kings of Jerusalem (in the kingdom of Judea, the holy city of Jerusalem had been manfully captured "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm" and thoroughly freed, along with Antioch, from the Arabs and Sarracens and other foreign and unbelieving races), and of Eustace, noblest count of Boulogne, the countess of Boulogne, Ida—one venerable with respect to both name and sanctity of life—founded a church within the borders of Merck, in the town once called Brouckham, in honor of the blessed and glorious Mary, ever a virgin…"[139]

This is the first overt reference to the First Crusade in the *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*. Though it is an aside in a list of titles aimed at indicating the prestige of Ida of Boulogne, it still reinforces the coordination between pilgrimage, Jerusalem, and the foundation or reformation of churches and monasteries developed in the two preceding chapters.

The second important episode in the *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* related to crusading involves the death of Baldwin of Ardres, which ends up being the catalyst for the marriage that joined Guines and Ardres together. Baldwin's death on crusade is mentioned twice in the narrative, the result of the ingenious narrative device that Lambert uses to transition between his treatment of the overlords of Guines and Ardres. After recording the history of the counts of Guines, Lambert relates the story of the lords of Ardres as it was told by a member of Arnold's household, Walter of Le Clud, who was himself an illegitimate son of Baldwin of Ardres.[140] The first reference to Baldwin's crusade is in Chapter 65, well before Lambert takes up Walter's

[139] "Unde ad tam pie operationis imitationem Lotharie ducis Godefridi quondam filia, Boloniensis comitis Eustacii quandoque vidua, Godefridi et Balduini—in Iudee regno sancta Ierosolimorum civitate, ab Arrabicis et Sarracenis aliisque gentibus alienigenis et incredulis in manu forti et brachio extento cum Antiochia viriliter expugnata, penitus liberata—regum Ierosolimorum et Eustacii nobilissimi Bolonie comitis mater, nomine et vite sanctitate venerabilis Ida, Boloniensis comitissa, in confinio Mercuricii in villa Brucham olim nominata sub honore beate et gloriose semperque virginis Marie fundavit ecclesiam…" Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 31, p. 577. "In manu forti et brachio extento" is a quotation from Deuteronomy 26:8, describing God's care for the exiles of Israel as they made their way out of Egypt and into Canaan.

[140] On Walter's identity, see Shopkow, introduction to *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, pp. 4, 196n21.

narrative. Lambert relates Baldwin's departure for the Second Crusade in the company of Thierry of Alsace and his subsequent disappearance. The emphasis of the narrative is not, however, on Baldwin's crusade, but rather on the fact that his disappearance presented a political opportunity to another lord, Arnold of Merck, who was married to Baldwin's sister and was ultimately able to have himself installed as lord of Ardres after Baldwin's death.[141]

Lambert returns to Baldwin's disappearance seventy-five chapters later, within the context of Walter of Le Clud's narrative.[142] Here the focus is squarely on the pilgrimage itself, rather than on the political situation in Ardres. Lambert devotes a chapter to Baldwin's preparations for the expedition, noting the knights with whom he travelled and also that the abbot of Capella gave him a packhorse as a gift before his departure.[143] The story about the packhorse seems to have been included in part because it draws a marked contrast between the attitudes of those who wished Baldwin success on his crusade and were prepared to make sacrifices to help him achieve it, and those like Arnold of Merck who were concerned with their own interests and so were unhappy with the way that Baldwin proposed to order Ardres in his absence—Lambert notes here that Arnold "gave his assent to these arrangements with more grumbling and complaining than blessing."[144] Lambert also emphasizes Baldwin's piety, making particular note of his desire to see and venerate the Holy Sepulchre.[145]

The subsequent chapters deal with the crusade and its aftermath. Baldwin's journey ended somewhere in Satalieh, where he died of disease and was thrown into the sea.[146] Or did he? Lambert immediately jumps forward thirty years to 1176, when a certain "pseudo-pilgrim"

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[141] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 65, p. 593.
[142] Though Walter is the narrator of this section, I have chosen to refer to Lambert as the author. This should not be taken to indicate that I believe that Walter of Le Clud is being used as mere literary conceit—he may well have
[143] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 141, p. 633.
[144] "super hoc magis grunniente et immurmurante quam benivolum prebente assensum." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 141, p. 633.
[145] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 141, p. 633.
[146] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 142, pp. 633-634.

[*pseudoperegrinus*] showed up at Douai in Flanders claiming that he was Baldwin of Ardres.[147] By this time Guines and Ardres had been united under the same family, for Arnold of Guines had moved to marry his son, Baldwin, to Baldwin of Ardres's niece after the latter's disappearance in 1147. Some people in the county were fooled by the pretender, and one, the prior of Hénin, even urged Count Baldwin and his wife to meet the old man, but Baldwin was unmoved—according to Lambert, he judged that the man was a vagabond [*trutannus*].[148] In the narrative, Walter of Le Clud reports that he met and talked with the man, and was likewise convinced that it was not actually his father. Ultimately, the pseudo-pilgrim made off with a stash of treasure that he had wheedled away from the unsuspecting of the region.

Lambert's double treatment of Baldwin of Ardres's role in the Second Crusade offers his readers multiple perspectives on the importance of the crusade. Lambert considers the political ramifications of crusading in the Guines portion of his narrative, unpacking the sort of maneuvering required for an important leader like Baldwin to leave his county for an extended journey to the East and the consequences of his failure to return. In the Ardres portion of the narrative, Lambert focuses instead upon the personal side of crusading, with its attendant dangers and uncertainties. In addition to highlighting the support that Baldwin enjoyed from the monks of Capella, Lambert mentions the names of the knights who went on the Second Crusade with him.[149] He also emphasizes the fears and uncertainties that could plague the family members of a crusader, especially if the crusader disappeared on campaign and no one could say for certain what had happened to him. Even thirty years on, Walter of Le Clud suggests that he was tempted to believe in the man posing as his father, couching his disbelief in terms of uncertainty: "I,

[147] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 143, p. 634.
[148] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 143, p. 634.
[149] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 141, p. 633.

however, when I heard that my father was alive, did not believe it in a determined way."[150] The figure of Walter and the tale-within-a-tale device allow Lambert, in other words, to explore the human cost of crusading without interrupting his narrative of the political dealings of the counts of Guines.

The third and final crusade episode of importance comes entirely from the Walter of Le Clud portion of the *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*. It concerns Arnold the Old of Ardres, who went to Jerusalem in the army of the First Crusade. Lambert begins his account of Arnold's crusade by noting that the lord of Ardres was far more pious than commonly thought, so that it was hardly surprising when he answered Urban II's call at Clermont by taking the cross.[151] Lambert indicates that Arnold returned from the crusade with a cache of precious relics, including part of Christ's beard, pieces of the True Cross, part of the Holy Lance, and also some relics of Saint George.[152] He had, apparently, performed with great distinction. However, his deeds were not as widely known as Lambert thought they should be, because the composer of the *Chanson d'Antioche* [*Antiochena cantilena*] had omitted Arnold from his song—apparently the lord of Ardres had denied the singer two scarlet stockings, presumably the price requested for inclusion in the *chanson*.[153] Lambert laments this omission with a comic amount huffy indignation.

This story is justly famous, both because it is funny and because it points to the prominent role that *jongleurs* played in the transmission of crusading myth and memory. But it is

[150] "Ego autem ut audivi, patrem meum vivere, non fixo modo credidi." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 143, p. 634.
[151] Lambert dates the Council of Clermont to November 18, 1096, indicating that what he writes of the assembly agrees with what he had heard "in the written chronicles of Flanders [*in chronicalibus Flandrie scriptis*]." Elsewhere in the *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, these chronicles usually refer to the *Flandria Generosa*, but that text makes no mention of Clermont. There is no way to know precisely where Lambert got his information, but it is interesting to note that the crusade manuscript produced at Saint-Bertin in the first decade of the twelfth century also misdates the council to 1096; cf. Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 776, fol. 36r.
[152] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 130, p. 626.
[153] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 130, p. 627.

also important because it suggests how many tools there were for preserving crusading memory, even when the singers did their jobs poorly. Spiegel has pointed to the role of vernacular historiography in the commemorative process, noting that early French histories written in Flanders stress the untrustworthiness of the *chansons*.[154] Vernacular historiography was, however, only the latest in an array of commemorative practices. Lambert's account suggests the role that relics played in building a reputation as a crusader. Indeed, the list of relics that Arnold reportedly brought back from Antioch and Jerusalem beggars belief. The inclusion of relics of Saint George in particular, so closely associated with Robert II in Flemish memory, raises the possibility that Lambert (or perhaps Walter?) was conflating his heroes. Perhaps that is precisely the point—in the sort of environments in which Walter was supposedly relating the history of the lords of Ardres, people were likely to embellish the credentials of their heroes, and in that way crusading reputations grew. Walter's tale is itself a tool of commemoration, as of course is the Latin history within which Lambert records it. The story about the disgruntled singer is a particularly brilliant piece of commemoration, for it has done more to ensure the continuing memory of Arnold the Old, even into the twenty-first century, than any of his actual crusading exploits.

In the *Historia comitum Ghisenensium*, Lambert wanted to create a lasting memorial to the deeds to the counts of Guines and the lords of Ardres. In particular, he wanted to highlight the things they had done that were enduring, like establishing religious houses. For this reason, it was important for the *Historia* to incorporate the crusading exploits of both noble houses. Though neither the counts of Guines nor the lords of Ardres were particularly regular crusaders, their pilgrimages had important consequences for their patrimonies, and were worthy to be remembered, particularly as they went to the East in company with their noted crusading

[154] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 55-69.

overlords, the counts of Flanders. By recording these deeds, already well-known at court in Guines and Ardres, as part of a Latin history, Lambert was inserting his own overlords into a historiographical conversation that, as he well knew, had been going on in Flanders for more than a century.

CONCLUSION

A few sentences into the prologue to the *Historia comitum Ghisenensium*, Lambert reveals an important part of his historiographical practice to his readers. "We intend," he writes, "to commemorate not only things that have been seen, but also what we have heard and remembered, and the things that our fathers told us."[155] This was not a radical decision per se, but it was somewhat out of step with the prevailing trends of Lambert's day. Within a decade of his composition of the *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, other historians in Flanders would be writing vernacular histories in which they disparaged oral sources of information, staking the credibility of their histories on the claim that they were rooted in written, prose sources.[156]

Whatever the claims of these other historians, Lambert's statement is an important reminder that all of the authors of the late twelfth century were writing in a milieu in which what they had heard or seen was just as important as what they had read. All three authors of the works analyzed here wrote Latin histories that were shaped in large part by the concerns that were current at court while they were writing. They had to take into account the sorts of collective knowledge that their audiences would possess. Furthermore, at least one of them, the *Ancienne chronique*, seems to have been written in an effort to imbue its intended reader with a social and political ideology that was foreign to him—the author wanted to prepare someone who had grown up in the comital court of Hainaut to discharge the responsibilities of the count

[155] "Non enim tantum visa, sed quanta audivimus et recognovimus et patres nostri narraverunt nobis, commemorare intendimus." Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, p. 557.
[156] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 55-69.

of Flanders. Given the timing of the composition of the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, it seems reasonable to think that it was written for a similar purpose. Perhaps Gilbert intended it as a sort of counter to the *Ancienne chronique*, a text that would remind Baldwin VI, newly fashioned count of Flanders and Hainaut, of the deeds of his illustrious ancestors in Hainaut and the misdeeds that the former counts of Flanders had perpetrated against his forebears. A similar agenda clearly motivated the final redactor of the *Ancienne chronique*. These Latin histories were ideological tools aimed at shaping the interests and priorities of their readers.[157]

Although none of these Latin histories is primarily concerned with crusading, crusading plays an important role in each of them. This is partially because authors could use their treatment of the crusading exploits of their subjects as a rhetorical tool—the changes that the redactor of the *Ancienne chronique* made to his base text testify to the importance of this strategy. However, crusading also plays a role in these histories because it was already important in the contexts in which they were written. It was part of the "social logic of the text." Accordingly, authors had to talk about the crusades. Those who would read and hear their narratives had already seen and heard a great deal about the crusading deeds of their ancestors and neighbors, and they expected crusading to be a part of the written histories that commemorated those deeds. Even authors like Gilbert of Mons who wanted to downplay the importance of crusading had to do so by framing it carefully in their narratives, not by ignoring it altogether. In a highly ironic turn, both Gilbert and the redactor who created the Brussels version of the *Ancienne chronique* used the story of Heraclius and the True Cross in order to reframe Robert the Frisian's pilgrimage and the First Crusade less than a decade before Count Baldwin IX of Flanders would actually become emperor of Constantinople.

[157] On the role that historical texts play in the construction of memory and political ideology, see Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors*.

The role that collective memory played in shaping the crusading content of these histories is perhaps most evident in their treatment of the civil war of 1071 and the pilgrimage of Robert the Frisian, events that took place before the First Crusade. The *Ancienne chronique*, *Chronicon Hanoniense,* and *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* each present Robert's seizure of the county in different ways, but they all move directly from the civil war to a pilgrimage. Strikingly, each text names a different pilgrim. The *Ancienne chronique* names Robert, while the *Chronicon Hanoniense* describes the pilgrimage of the dominicide Gerbod and the *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* narrates the journey of Baldwin of Guines. Even the destinations are different—the pilgrims travel to Jerusalem, Rome, and Charroux, respectively. Yet the fact that pilgrimage follows civil war in each narrative can hardly be a coincidence. Rather, each author had to deal with the fact that the memory of Robert the Frisian's pilgrimage ran deep in the communities for which he was writing. The only way to conveniently omit a reference to Robert's journey was to redirect the audience's attention to a different pilgrim. A full century after the First Crusade, authors who wrote about the counts of Flanders had to attend to the crusading tradition that their subjects had created.

CONCLUSION: CORONATION AND DISASTER
The Fourth Crusade and Baldwin I, 1195-1205

When Philip of Alsace died at Acre in 1191, his sister Margaret became countess of Flanders and her husband, Baldwin V of Hainaut, became the count of Flanders, the eighth of his name. This succession was not entirely smooth, for Philip Augustus had hurried back to France from Acre with the intention of blocking Margaret's accession. He claimed that because Philip of Alsace had died without a male heir, Flanders should revert to the direct control of the king of France.[1] However, Baldwin kept control over the county despite King Philip's claims, and ultimately the two parties came to an agreement. At Arras in March 1192, Philip formally invested Baldwin VIII with Flanders in exchange for five thousand silver marks.[2] Despite this success, Baldwin was not in an enviable position, for royal control over Artois and the loss of Vermandois had diminished Flemish power considerably. Consequently, Baldwin dedicated much of his energy to trying to recover this territory. He did succeeded in reoccupying some of the important cities in Artois, most notably Aire-sur-la-Lys, Saint-Omer, and Péronne, helped along by the fact that Philip Augustus was busy campaigning against fellow crusader Richard I of England.[3] Since Margaret was countess of Flanders *suo jure*, however, her death in November 1194 deprived Baldwin VIII of the comital title and ended his efforts to recover Artois, returning the aforementioned cities to King Philip.[4] His son succeeded him as Baldwin IX of Flanders, and when the elder Baldwin died the following year, he also became Count Baldwin VI of Hainaut.

From the beginning of his rule, Baldwin IX pursued a decidedly anti-Capetian policy. In 1196 he entered into an alliance with John of England, who was acting on his brother's behalf.[5]

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[1] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 74.
[2] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 36.
[3] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 37.
[4] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 75.
[5] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 38-39.

Baldwin IX campaigned against Philip Augustus in both 1197 and 1198, making sufficient progress to force Philip, already under intense pressure from Richard in Normandy, to sue for peace in 1199. In January of the following year he and Baldwin IX made a treaty at Péronne in which the count recovered Aire-sur-la-Lys, Saint-Omer, and the rest of northern Artois, in addition to confirmation of his lordship over the western counties of Flanders, including Guines, Ardres, and part of Béthune.[6] King Philip managed to check Baldwin's expansion only through the capture of his brother, Philippe of Namur, in late 1199. As a result, the king was able to retain Vermandois, Boulogne, and the southern part of Artois. Philip did, however, agree that Artois would return to the count of Flanders if his own son, the future Louis VIII—who was heir to the county through his mother, Isabelle of Hainaut—should die without an heir.[7] That, of course, would not come to pass.

Even before the successes of 1199 and 1200, however, events were already underway that would wrest Flanders from the control of its crusader counts. In August 1198, Innocent III, who had been pope for just eight months, issued a bull calling for a new crusade to the Holy Land.[8] He set March 1199 as a goal for the crusaders to depart from Europe.[9] Innocent was to be disappointed, for March 1199 came and went without any meaningful activity. Political conditions in Europe were too uncertain for either Richard I or Philip Augustus to leave their kingdoms, and Baldwin IX was busy prosecuting his war against the French.[10] Innocent's crusade was in real danger of failing before it had begun.

[6] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 40.
[7] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 41.
[8] Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (New York: Viking, 2004), p. 5.
[9] Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 1.
[10] Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 7-12; Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 1-2.

The proposed military campaign would catch its first break only after that initial target date had passed. In November 1199, Count Thibaut of Champagne held a tournament at Ecry-sur-Aisne at which he, his cousin Louis of Blois, and a host of other knights decided, seemingly spontaneously, to answer Innocent's call and take the cross.[11] Shortly thereafter, on Ash Wednesday, Baldwin IX did the same at Bruges.[12] Baldwin's decision was possibly only because he had made peace with Philip Augustus. Indeed, one wonders whether the preaching of the crusade was one of his reasons for seeking peace with Philip when he did. Geoffroi de Villehardouin, author of the *Conquête de Constantinople* and one of the chief sources for the Fourth Crusade, indicates that Baldwin's wife, Marie, also took the cross at Bruges. Since Marie was Thibaut of Champagne's sister, it is also possible that she played a role in convincing Baldwin to go east with her brother. A number of other Flemish nobles also agreed to go, including Baldwin's brothers Henry and Eustace and his nephew, Thierry, who was the illegitimate son of Philip of Alsace.[13] Virtually the entire comital house, in other words, committed to going east.

Like Philip of Alsace, Baldwin IX took more than two years to actually leave Flanders for the crusade, setting out only in the spring of 1202. As part of his preparation, he made several donations that paralleled his predecessor's. These donations are recorded in eighty-two charters Baldwin issued between Ash Wednesday 1200 and his departure in mid-April 1202.[14] Roughly a

[11] Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 3.
[12] Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et C^{ie}, 1882), pp. 6-8.
[13] Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 8.
[14] For these charters, see Walter Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1964), nos. 131-213, pp. 293-437. Future references to this volume will include both charter and page numbers. There are a further twenty-three charters that Prevenier, who edited all of the charters of the counts of Flanders from 1191 to 1206, dates to the part of Baldwin's reign before he left for the Fourth Crusade, but which cannot be securely dated to the period between February 1200 and April 1202; cf. Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, nos. 214-237, pp. II.437-503.

third of these donations involved religious institutions or towns in Artois.[15] These included a number of gifts to institutions in the town of Saint-Omer, including the town itself, the abbeys of Clairmarais and Saint-Bertin, and the new Cistercian women's house of Sainte-Columbe at Blendecques.[16] Most of the Saint-Bertin charters seek to settle disputes between the monks and the townspeople of Saint-Omer.[17] The amount of time that Baldwin spent quelling the *querela* of Artois before departure highlights the importance of the region. It also suggests that Baldwin considered Philip of Alsace's strategy of using pre-crusade donations to assert authority in the region to be viable in 1201-02.

Despite Baldwin's clear interest in Artois, one set of acts was guided not by regional concerns, but rather by economic ones. In March 1202, Baldwin issued charters for the cities of Aire-sur-la-Lys, Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, Courtrai, Oudenaarde, and Lille. Each of these charters

[15] Most of these Artesian institutions had also benefitted from the donations of Philip of Alsace, especially in 1188-90. For example, Baldwin made five separate donations to the canons of Aire-sur-la-Lys during this period, most of them during March 1202, just before he left for the East. One of these, issued sometime in 1201, confirmed Philip of Alsace's foundation of six new prebends for the canons. Philip had made this donation in 1190, shortly before departing for Acre. He had specified that the canons whom these prebends supported should be priests, and that they should live with the chapter. These instructions were meant to insure that they could say daily masses, and the charter specifies that three of them were to celebrate masses for the dead [*defuncti*] each day. Baldwin confirmed this donation in 1201 and doubled down by transferring property near Aire-sur-la-Lys to Gerard, the chancellor of Flanders, to be used in establishing six more prebends there. For the Artesian donations, see Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, nos. 141, 171, 192-194, pp. II.308-310, 371-373, 402-410. For Philip's original charter for the canons is "DiBe 7687," Diplomata Belgica, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, accessed February 25, 2018, http://www.diplomata-belgica.be/charter_details_en.php?dibe_id=7687. This charter is no. 830 in the *Regering*. For Baldwin's confirmation of this act, see Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, no. 171, p. II.372. For Baldwin's later donation to the same house, see Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, no. 226, pp. II.476-477.

[16] Baldwin issued two charters on behalf of the sisters of the Cistercian abbey of Sainte-Columbe at Blendecques during this period. Sainte-Columbe was a brand-new foundation, established by the monks of Clairmarais in the 1180s—its foundation charter dates to 1182, and was ratified by Bishop Didier of Thérouanne in 1186. The first of Baldwin's charters on behalf of the abbey bestows a gift on the sisters, and the second is a lengthy enumeration of all of the lands and privileges enjoyed by Sainte-Colombe. See Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, nos. 154, 157, pp. II.328-329, 337-345. For the Clairmarais charters, see Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, nos. 145, 158, 173-174, pp. II.313-317, 345-346, 374-376. For a charter issued on Clairmarais's behalf at around the same time by Philip of Alsace's widow, Mathilda of Portugal, see Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, no. 188, pp. II.395-396.

[17] Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, nos. 155-156, 212-213, pp. II.329-337, 434-437. Several of these charters mention Jerusalem specifically, such as no. 213: "Quia igitur pro salute anime mee iter Iherosolimitanum arripueram." This suggests that Baldwin may not have known that the intended destination of the crusade was Egypt.

addresses a custom according to which the counts of Flanders payed only three *denarii* for a lot [*lotum*] of wine.[18] Baldwin had decided, in advance of his departure, to eliminate this custom:

> I, about to depart for Jerusalem, learning from religious, wise, and discreet men that this custom is more an act of plunder and a violent exaction than a reasonable and just custom, have entirely remitted the exaction of this iniquitous custom for you and for all throughout the county of Flanders in perpetuity, lest I should leave to posterity and to my successors this example of plunder and iniquitous exaction, and so should yield both myself and them over to eternal damnation.[19]

Baldwin's decision to link his crusade with the abolition of a comital privilege that seems to have rankled the burghers of Flanders hints at the changing social landscape of thirteenth-century Flanders. Where his predecessors had directed most of their pre-crusade rhetoric at monasteries and colleges of canons, Baldwin also targeted the residents of his cities and towns. Though Baldwin issued a slew of more traditional pre-crusade privileges in the days immediately before his departure, including one to Saint-Nicholas at Veurne where he said that he was "incited by the example of the good memory of my uncle, Count Philip," the economic and consequent political power of the towns required Baldwin to alter the strategies that had characterized comital crusading practice since Thierry of Alsace.[20]

After leaving Flanders, Baldwin made two important stops en route to Venice. The first was at Clairvaux, where he gave the monks an annual rent of ten pounds to be used to buy bread

[18] A lot was equivalent to two liters of wine; Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, no. 205, p. II.423n1.

[19] "Ego Ierosolimam profecturus intelligens a viris religiosis sapientibus et discretis, consuetudinem istam potius esse rapinam et violentam exactionem quam consuetudinem rationabilem et iustam, ne si posteris et successoribus meis exemplum hoc rap(i)ne et exactionis inique relinguerem, mihi et eis ad eternam cedere posset dampnationem, consuetudinis huius inique exactionem vobis et omnibus per comitatum Flandrie omnino remisi in perpetuum." Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, no. 205, p. II.424. The same charter was issued on behalf of the other six cities, though the copy for Bruges survives in an Old French transcription of the fourteenth century, rather than Latin. See Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, nos. 205-211, pp. II.423-433.

[20] "bone memorie avonculi mei Philippi comitis incitatus exemplo." Baldwin's final Flemish beneficiaries included Loos, Saint-Nicholas, the Premonstratensians at Thenailles, and the Premonstratensian Order writ large. See Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, nos. 202, 204, 227, 229-230, pp. II.419-420, 422, 478-479, 481-485.

and wine for the mass, and also exempted them from all tolls in Flanders.[21] The charter detailing the annual rent of ten pounds lays particular stress on the effect that Clairvaux had on Baldwin's spiritual state, noting that he was "invigorated by the holy vision of the congregation, and made, without a doubt, more fervent in the love of God, inflamed from the example of such devotion."[22] He also invoked the memory of "the count of Flanders and Vermandois, my uncle Philip, the most famous prince in the whole world."[23] This was surely a poignant, and pointed, reminder, for Philip of Alsace was buried in the church at Clairvaux. From there, Baldwin proceeded to Cîteaux, where he granted the monks the same exemption from taxes and tolls and the same gift of ten *livres*, to be used to purchase bread and wine for the Mass.[24] Then, having completed his spiritual and temporal preparations, he continued on to Venice at the end of April, leaving his brother, Philip of Namur, as regent of Flanders. He also left his chancellor, Gerard, to advise Philip, along with two castellans and Mathilda of Portugal, widow of Philip of Alsace and dowager countess of Flanders.[25] Baldwin's wife, Marie of Champagne, also remained in the county because she was pregnant with their second child. After delivering the baby and recovering, however, she journeyed to Acre with the intention of meeting Baldwin in the Holy Land. She left her two daughters, Joan and Margaret, in the care of their uncle, Philip.

The story of the Fourth Crusade has been told by others, and so it remains to provide only the most basic summary here.[26] The crusaders faced serious problems from the time that they arrived in Venice, for there were not enough of them to meet the financial obligations to which

[21] Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, nos. 243-245, pp. II.509-514.
[22] "congregationis sancta vision roboratus, et in Dei nimirum amore ferventior, ex tante devotionis accensus exemplo." Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, no. 243, p. II.511.
[23] "Flandr[ensis] et Viromand[ie] comes avunculus meus Philippus princeps toto orbe clarissimus." Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, no. 243, p. II.512.
[24] Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, nos. 246-257, pp. II.514-517.
[25] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 76.
[26] For detailed analysis of the expedition, readers should consult Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*; for a more narrative-driven approach, see Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade*.

their envoys had agreed in 1201 when they had ratified the Treaty of Venice.[27] In order to pay their debt to the Venetians, the crusaders agreed to aid Enrico Dandolo, the doge of Venice, in attacking Zara, a city on the Adriatic that had rebelled against the republic. Even after subduing the city, the crusaders were anxious about their financial situation. Despite Innocent III's proclamation against making war on fellow Christians, which had been made even before the attack on Zara, they agreed to aid Alexius, the dispossessed son of the deposed Byzantine emperor Isaac II, in an attempt to retake the throne of Constantinople.[28] Between May and July 1203 they campaigned against the Byzantines, first in the Balkans and then before the walls of Constantinople. Even after the flight of Emperor Alexius III and the coronation of the crusader-backed exile, Alexius IV, however, the situation did not improve. Alexius IV was unable to fulfill his many promises, and his efforts to playcate the Franks and Venetians on one side and his own subjects on the other failed. He was ultimately strangled and replaced by his erstwhile *protovestiarius,* Alexius Ducas Mourtzouphlus (Alexius V), in February 1204.[29] Deprived of their ally, out of money, and faced with the hostility of the new emperor, the crusading army decided to launch a new attack on Constantinople.[30] On April 12, 1204, they succeeded in gaining a foothold on the walls of the city, prompting Alexius V to flee. Beginning on April 13, the crusaders began a brutal sack of the city that would last for three days. The Fourth Crusade ended, hundreds of miles from Jerusalem, with sustained violence against the Greek Christians of Constantinople.

The Franks and Venetians found themselves in possession of an imperial city, but without an emperor. They turned their attention to the task of choosing one. The most likely claimants to

[27] Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 9-20, 40-54.
[28] Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 79-88.
[29] Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 119-171.
[30] Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 172-192.

the imperial throne were Boniface of Montferrat and Baldwin of Flanders. The crusaders had already agreed in March 1204 to elect an emperor if they succeeded in taking Constantinople, but were wary about the possibility that the man who lost the election might take his army and abandon the city, leaving it indefensible.[31] After working through this concern by decreeing that the man chosen as emperor would give all of the lands east of the Bosporous to his rival, the crusaders appointed twelve electors, six Franks and six Venetians. There was a great deal of back-door politicking over the identities of the Frankish electors, but ultimately all of the maneuvering was for nought, for the Venetians voted in a body for Baldwin.[32] Those Frankish electors who had originally supported Boniface changed their votes so that the decision would be unanimous, and in the middle of the night on May 9, 1204, they announced Baldwin's election as emperor. A week later, on May 16, he was crowned emperor of Constantinople in Hagia Sophia.[33]

Though Baldwin's coronation was a lavish spectacle, several of the most important sources for the Fourth Crusade say surprisingly little about it. Villehardouin, for example, passes over the coronation itself by asserting that "concerning the joy and the *fête* it is not necessary for me to speak."[34] Gunther of Pairis simply writes "he [Baldwin] was called into the throne of the kingdom, and a diadem was set upon his head."[35] These sparse descriptions are perhaps the result of hindsight—both authors knew that Baldwin's reign had not lasted long, and they may have wished to forego lengthy descriptions of the coronation for that reason.

[31] Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 150-152.
[32] Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 201-202.
[33] Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 154.
[34] "De la joie ne de la feste ne convient mie à parler." Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 154.
[35] "collocatus est in sede regni et capiti eius dyadema impressum." Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana: Untersuchungen und kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Peter Orth (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1994), p. 163.

Fortunately, Robert of Clari is far more generous with his details, dedicating two chapters of his *La Conquête de Constantinople* to the coronation. He begins by describing the gem-encrusted clothes in which the ecclesiastical and secular leaders of the crusade dressed Baldwin, noting that his garments bore so many precious stones that "it looked as if the whole cloak was on fire."[36] Then he reports how Baldwin was led to the nave of Hagia Sophia:

> When he was dressed like that, they led him before the altar; as he was led before the altar, Count Louis carried the imperial standard. And the Count of Saint Pol carried the sword. And the marquis carried the crown. And two bishops supported the two arms of the marquis who was carrying the crown. And two other bishops were beside the emperor; and the barons were all very richly dressed and there was no Frank or Venetian who did not have a satin or silk garment. When the emperor came before the altar, he knelt. And then they removed the cloak and the pallium; so he was left in just his coat, so they unfastened the golden buttons in front and behind, so he was quite naked from the waist up. And then they anointed him. When he was anointed, they refastened the coat with the golden buttons and then they put the pallium back on him, and then they clasped the cloak over his shoulder. And then when he was dressed and two bishops were holding the crown above the altar, all the bishops went together and took the crown, so they blessed it and made the cross over it and put it on his head…When they had crowned him, they sat him in a high throne and he was there while mass was being sung. And he was holding in his hand his sceptre and in the other hand a golden globe with a cross on top. And the decorations which he had on him were worth more than the treasure of a rich king could be. When he had heard mass, they brought him a white horse which he mounted; the barons led him to his Palace of Boucoleon, so they sat him on the throne of Constantine.[37]

[36] "si que che sanloit que li mantiaus fust alumés." Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and trans. Peter Noble (Edinburgh: Société Rencesvals British Branch, 2005), pp. 114-115. All translations of Clari's *Conquête* are from the Noble edition.

[37] "Quant il fu si faitement vestus, si l'amena on devant l'autel, si comme on le mena devant l'autel, se li porta li cuens Loeis sen gonfanon emperial. [E]t li cuens de Saint Pol li porta s'espee. [E]t li marchis li porta se corone. [E]t doi vesque soustenoient les deus bras le marchis qui le corone portoit. [E]t doi autre vesque adestroient l'empereeur; et estoient li baron trestout molt rikement vestu, ne si n'I avoit Franchois ne Venicien qui n'eust robe ou de samit ou de drap de soie. Et quant li empereres vint devant l'autel si s'agenoulla. [E]t puis se li osta on le mantel et puis le palle; si remest en pure le cote, se li descousi on le cote des boutons d'or par devant et par derriere, si qu'il fu tous nus puis le chaint en amont. [E]t puis si l'enoinst on. Quant il fu enoins, se li recousi on le cote as boutons d'or et puis se le revesti on le palle, et puis le mantel li frema on seur l'espaulle. Et puis, quant il fu si vestus, et doi vesque tenoient le corone seur l'autel, si alerent tout li vesque, si prisent le corone tout ensanle, se le beneïrent et si le prinsennierent, se li misent u chief…Quant il l'eurent coroné, si l'assisent en une haute caiiere, et fu illuec tant que le messe fu cantee. [E]t tenoit en se main sen septre et en l'autre main un pume d'or et une croisete par deseure. [E]t valoient mix li warnement qu'il avoit seur lui que li tresors a .i. rike roi ne faiche. Et quant il eut messe oïe, si li amena on .i. blanc cheval ou il monta; si l'en ramenerent li baron en sen palais de Bouke de Lion, se le fist on seïr en le caiiere Coustentin." Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 114-117.

Anointed like David, enthroned like Constantine, and mounted on a white horse like Christ himself in the Book of Apocalypse, Baldwin had achieved something spectacular. A few years earlier he had been contesting control of Artois with Philip Augustus. Now he was seated on an imperial throne in splendor that outshone even royal coronations.

In the wake of this triumph, things fell apart for Baldwin incredibly quickly. His wife Marie had sailed across the Mediterranean in 1204 to join him and to fulfill her own crusading vows. She had, however, sailed for Acre. The diversion of the cruade to Constantinople (not to mention the planned diversion to Egypt) had seemingly been lost on her. Upon arriving, she threw herself into the work of being empress, accepting the homage of Bohemond V of Antioch who, as a vassal of the Byzantine emperor, was now a vassal of her husband.[38] Shortly thereafter, however, she became seriously ill, her European constitution perhaps ill-suited for Levantine summer. Marie died in early summer 1204. News of her death reached Constantinople in the autumn, causing "great mourning" [*granz duels*].[39] By that time, Baldwin was already facing political and military difficulties. He and Boniface of Montferrat had quarreled over the question of whether Baldwin should march with the marquis to Thessalonica, where Boniface was hoping to establish an independent kingdom. Baldwin instead wanted Boniface to do homage for it. This caused a major rift between them, and Boniface actually laid siege to the city of Adrianople, whose governor Baldwin had appointed, before they were reconciled.[40]

More serious still, in February 1205 there was a rebellion in Thrace, spurred on by Kaloyan [Johannitsa], emperor of the Bulgarians. The rebels deposed the Latin-appointed governor of Adrianople and expelled the city's Frankish garrison. Baldwin led a contingent of knights out of Constantinople in March to besiege the city. A few weeks after the Franks

[38] Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut," p. 289.
[39] Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 186-188.
[40] Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 162-178.

invested the city, Kaloyan arrived to raise the siege. After a preliminary skirmish on Wednesday, April 13, in which some of the Frankish forces were tricked into pursuing a force of Kaloyan's cavalry, the Latins made a battle plan in which they stressed the importance of not being lured away from their siege camp. Nevertheless, the next day, Maundy Thursday, Kaloyan used the same trick to lure the forces of Count Louis of Blois two leagues away from the rest of the crusader army. When Baldwin saw that Louis was in trouble, he led a force of several hundred knights to try to relieve him. Ultimately, both Frankish contingents were destroyed, and Louis was killed. Baldwin ended up a captive of Kaloyan.[41]

Baldwin's capture presented a major difficulty for the Latin Empire. Because it was not clear whether he was alive or dead, the Franks were not sure whether they should crown a new emperor. They named Baldwin's brother, Henry, regent in his absence. In July 1206, however, they learned definitively that Baldwin had died in captivity, a prisoner of Kaloyan.[42] A number of grisly stories survive in Greek sources concerning his death, including a later tradition that Kaloyan used Baldwin's skull as a drinking cup, in imitation of Krum of Bulgaria, who had reportedly done the same thing with the skull of the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus I in the early ninth century.[43] In any case, Baldwin was probably dead in 1205, and certainly so by 1206. Henry was duly crowned emperor, and went on to reign skillfully until 1216. So, while Baldwin's death was a blow for the Latin Empire, it was not insurmountable.

In Flanders, even before Baldwin's capture, the demands of imperial rule in Constantinople meant that he seems to have had little time to attend to his Flemish affairs. Only a few of his surviving acts from the period between May 1204 and April 1205 concern either

[41] Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 206-214.
[42] Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 262.
[43] Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut," p. 290.

Flanders or Hainaut.[44] Things were only to get worse. Baldwin's capture and the uncertainty that surrounded his fate provided Philip Augustus with a major opportunity to reassert his own prerogatives in Flanders. The French king met with Philip of Namur, Baldwin's regent, in June 1206 and secured a promise that Philip would not broker marriages for either of Baldwin's daughters without royal consent.[45] Philip also took an oath of fealty to the French king. A few years later, in September 1208, the regent placed both of his nieces directly in Philip Augustus's care with the understanding that any marriage that the king might try to arrange for either girl would come with a cash dowry exceeding the one that Mathilda of Portugal had offered to Philip if would agree to marry Joan, the eldest of the two, to her nephew, Ferrand of Portugal.[46] Philip was prepared, in other words, to cede political influence in Flanders to Philip Augustus in exchange for cash. The king of France pounced on Philip of Namur's weakness and self-interest, using the period of his regency to strengthen the royal position in Flanders. By the time the regent died in 1212, Philip Augustus was strong enough to seize Joan and Ferrand, who had just been married, and hold them prisoner until they agreed to return all of the territory that Baldwin IX had won at Péronne in 1200 back to the crown of France.[47] Two years later at the Battle of Bouvines, Philip Augustus crushed the Flemish nobility in battle. Though Baldwin IX's daughters would rule Flanders for nearly a century, the county would never again attain the level of power and independence it had had before 1204.

Baldwin IX's death also marked the end of the crusading tradition that had characterized the counts of Flanders since the end of the eleventh century. From the First Crusade to the Fourth, the counts had participated in all of the major expeditions to the Holy Land between

[44] Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut," p. 289.
[45] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 42.
[46] Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut," p. 292.
[47] Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut," p. 293; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 42-45.

1096 and 1204. They had also made a number of independent journeys. This tradition, which began with Robert the Frisian's effort to rehabilitate his reputation in the wake of Cassel, ultimately involved all but two of the twelfth-century counts of Flanders. The commemorative activities that accompanied the development of this tradition grew to include the townspeople, monks, canons, and nobles of Flanders. This tradition transcended the comital court, taking root at monastic scriptoria, the booths of money-lenders, and the banqueting tables of the knights and nobles of the county. It colored every aspect of Flemish life. If, as Rosamond McKitterick's claims, "an idea can hold a people together and sustain it," in twelfth-century Flanders that idea was the importance of crusading.

At the core of this idea lay a great irony. Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, counts of Flanders journeyed east in order to increase their standing in the west. Robert the Frisian made his pilgrimage in order to rehabilitate his reputation after the death of his nephew at Cassel. Thierry of Alsace went on crusade to consolidate his control over the county after a civil war. Philip of Alsace took the cross in part to combat rumors about his brutal treatment of Walter of Fontaine and atrocities he committed in the Revolt of 1173-74. Baldwin IX joined the Fourth Crusade in order to consolidate the gains he had made against Philip Augustus at the turn of the twelfth century. Between 1071 and 1204, Flanders withstood two civil wars and a series of wars with its poweful neighbors in part because its counts were committed to leaving for long periods of time in defense of Christendom. It was only when Baldwin IX allowed himself to be crowned emperor in Constantinople that the counts lost their grip on Flanders. Baldwin would never have been in Constantinople, however, without the tradition his predecessors had created. Across the long twelfth century, then, crusading made and unmade the counts of Flanders.

EPILOGUE: CRUSADE AND HISTORY

Despite the travails that followed the Fourth Crusade and the coronation, capture, and death of Baldwin IX, the county of Flanders remained one of the most important regions in Europe. The thirteenth century was a vibrant time within the county, both economically and culturally.[1] After the death of Philip Augustus in 1223 and his son Louis VIII in 1226, Flanders enjoyed a temporary reprieve from the interference of the French monarchy. Despite the political trials caused by Countess Margaret's illegal marriage to Burchard of Avesnes, the county was relatively stable early in the rule of Guy de Dampierre, who ruled as count alongside Margaret beginning in 1251 and on his own after her abdication in 1278.[2]

In the 1280s, however, Flanders found itself threatened once more by a French king. This time it was Philip IV, nicknamed "the Fair." As David Nicholas succinctly notes, "not since Philip Augustus had the Flemish princes met as determined and unscrupulous an enemy in Paris."[3] Guy found himself caught between Philip and Edward I of England, and unlike his twelfth-century predecessors, he had neither the political nor military resources necessary to preserve his own prerogatives against such powerful foes. During the last decade of his life, Guy was imprisoned no less than three times by King Philip before dying in captivity in 1305.

Before his protracted struggle against Philip, Guy de Dampierre was a noted patron of literature.[4] His court sponsored a great deal of literary output, especially in the 1280s. It was during this period, for example, that someone at court translated the first book of Maccabees from Latin into Old French and adapted it as a romance, the *Roman de Judas Machabe*, probably

[1] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 124-149.
[2] On Margaret's turbulent reign, see Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 156-157.
[3] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 186-187.
[4] Mary D. Stanger, "Literary Patronage at the Medieval Court of Flanders," *French Studies* 11 (1957), pp. 222-227.

at the behest of Guy's second son, William.[5] The *Roman de Judas Machabe* turns the story of the Maccabees into a plea for a new crusade. Mary Stanger notes that it is remarkable for "the strength of its author's opinion concerning the Crusade."[6] Eighty years after Baldwin IX's death, crusading was still relevant at the comital court.

Another book produced at court illustrates this point even more dramatically. This book is listed in an inventory of the things Guy had in his possession when he died in prison in 1305 as a "livre des Chroniques de Flandres."[7] Jean-Marie Moeglin argues that this note probably refers to Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 12203, a deluxe manuscript produced in the late thirteenth century.[8] It contains five texts: the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, an Old French history of the crusades adapted from William of Tyre; the Old French *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*; Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople*; Henry of Valenciennes's history of Henry of Constantinople; and the *Ancienne chronique de Normandie*.[9] Moeglin dates this codex to around 1280 and suggests that Guy commissioned it himself.[10]

The creation of this codex shows how deeply crusading was engrained in the identity of the counts of Flanders. It had been more than three-quarters of a century since Baldwin IX had gone east, but crusading and comital history were still interconnected in the Flemish imagination. Furthermore, the fact that Guy had this book with him when he entered captivity for the final time suggests how important it was to him. As Stanger notes, he must have had an extensive library, but the inventory from his death only lists five books among his possessions, suggesting that he had to choose only a few favorite tomes to take with him. He seems to have passed a

[5] Stanger, "Literary Patronage at the Medieval Court of Flanders," p. 223; Richard E. Leson, "Heraldry and Identity in the Psalter-Hours of Jeanne of Flanders (Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS lat. 117)," *Studies in Iconography* 32 (2011), p. 190n26. The manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 15104.
[6] Stanger, "Literary Patronage at the Medieval Court of Flanders," p. 223.
[7] Stanger, "Literary Patronage at the Medieval Court of Flanders," p. 223.
[8] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 474.
[9] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 472.
[10] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," pp. 473-474.

great deal of his time in reading, for the inventory indicates that "a magnifying glass for reading" [*un expectacle pour lire*] was also among his possessions.[11] Forced to abandon most of his books, Guy chose to take a volume that celebrated the crusading legacy of his predecessors.

Moeglin, who is one of the most important contemporary French scholars of medieval Flemish history, sees the composition of the *Ancienne chronique* as a watershed moment. He argues that it is "une première histoire nationale flamande au service des comtes de Flandre," and asserts that it was likely the official chronicle of the counts of Flanders by Guy de Dampierre's time.[12] He also notes how closely crusading was tied to this "national" history, especially in Guy's manuscript:

> L'identification des destinées de la Flandre et des destinées de la dynastie des comtes de Flandre, réalisée par l'Ancienne chronique de Flandre, se trouve associée étroitement à l'exaltation du prestige des comtes de Flandre avec des arguments pris à la fois dans la fable et dans la réalité : le manuscrit de Munich nous montre le lien avec le *Roman de Troie* (les comtes de Flandre descendaient, de fait, des Carolingiens et donc de Priam) ; le manuscript fr. 12203 nous montre l'exaltation de l'épopée des croisades dans laquelle les comtes de Flandre ont joué un grand rôle.[13]

However, Moeglin rejects the idea that there was any comparable history—that is, a history that articulates a distinctly Flemish identity—before the compilation of the *Ancienne chronique*.[14] He bases his argument on the claim that earlier historical texts, like the *Flandria generosa*, were produced at monasteries and churches rather than at the comital court, claiming that they serve monastic and ecclesiastical ends rather than those of the counts, in contrast to histories written at court beginning in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century.

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[11] Stanger, "Literary Patronage at the Medieval Court of Flanders," p. 223.
[12] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 474. Jean Dunbabin notes that the continuators of the *Ancienne chronique* begin to devote more attention to urban affairs than they had before; Jean Dunbabin, "Discovering a Past for the French Aristocracy," in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London: The Hambledon Press, 1992), p. 5. However, even in the original *Flandria generosa* the role that townspeople play in Flemish affairs is on display. See, for example, the long lists of city-dwellers who fought on both sides of the civil war in 1071 in the text's account of the Battle of Cassel; *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, p. 322.
[13] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," p. 475.
[14] Moeglin, "Une première histoire nationale flamande," pp. 455-476.

In fact, however, Flanders had a national historiography long before it had a national history in the form of the *Ancienne chronique*. The scriptoria across the county that created crusade histories such as the *Liber Floridus* and the Brussels and Saint-Amand Crusade Codices had combined crusading, comital genealogy, and epic in praise of the crusading deeds of the counts of Flanders a full century and a half before Guy de Dampierre commissioned his book. Though these codices were made by monks and canons, they were often made for and even at the request of the counts of Flanders themselves, and their focus on crusading aimed to increase the prestige and importance of both the counts and the county. The scribes who worked on Guy de Dampierre's behalf in the late thirteenth century were not working in a vacuum. They connected crusading and the counts of Flanders because those topics were already bound together in myth, history, and memory.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TABLES

TABLE 2.1: CONTENTS OF THE BRUSSELS CRUSADE CODEX

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5	Anonymous account of King Baldwin's actions in 1112	fols. 123vb-125vb
6	Aimery of Limoges, "Epistola ad Ludouicum regem Francorum"	fols. 125vb-126vb
7	Rorgo Fretellus, *Descriptio locorum circa Ierusalem adiacentium*	fols. 127ra-139va
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16	Map of Jerusalem	fol. 157r
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TABLE 2.2: PARTIAL CONTENTS OF THE SAINT-AMAND CRUSADE CODEX

Texts present in the Brussels Crusade Codex are marked with asterisks.

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2	Rorgo Fretellus, *Descriptio locorum circa Ierusalem adiacentium**	fols. 54v-66r
3	"Nomina ępiscoporum Iherosolimitarum" (et al.) *	fols. 66r-67v
4	"Descriptio ęcclesie sancte ciuitatis Ierusalem"*	fol. 67r
5	Bede, excerpt from *Super euangelium Marci**	fol. 67v
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10	Gilo of Paris, *De via Ierosolymitana*	fols. 71r-86r
11	Hildebert of Lavardin, *De operibus sex dierum*	fols. 86v-87v
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APPENDIX B: FIGURES



FIGURE 1.1: Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fol. 76v

Ghent University Library. "Liber Floridus [manuscript]." Accessed April 19, 2018. https://lib.ugent.be/viewer/archive.ugent.be%3A018970A2-B1E8-11DF-A2E0-A70579F64438.



FIGURE 1.2: Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fol. 153v

Ghent University Library. "Liber Floridus [manuscript]." Accessed April 19, 2018. https://lib.ugent.be/viewer/archive.ugent.be%3A018970A2-B1E8-11DF-A2E0-A70579F64438.

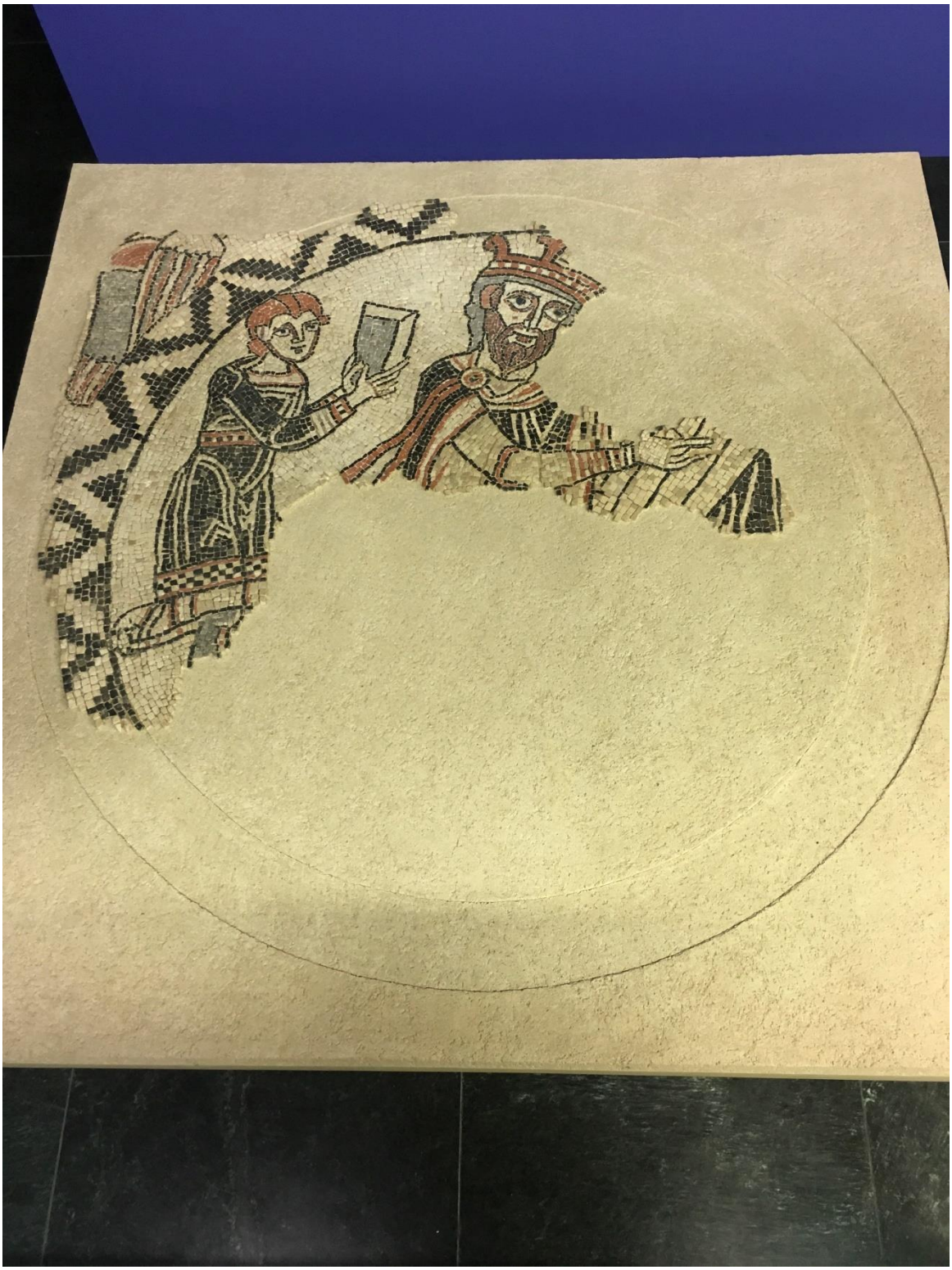


FIGURE 1.3: David, choir pavement at Saint-Bertin

Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin, Saint-Omer. Photo by the author.



FIGURE 1.4: Solomon, choir pavement at Saint-Bertin

Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin, Saint-Omer. Photo by the author.



FIGURE 1.5: William of Flanders, choir pavement at Saint-Bertin

Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin, Saint-Omer. Photo by the author.

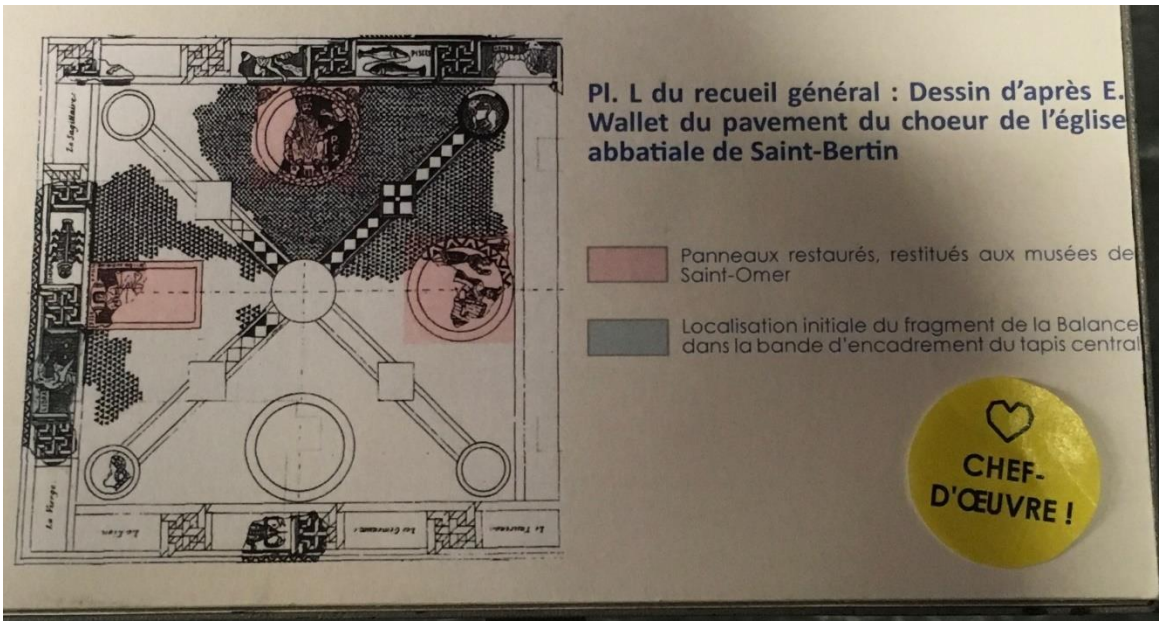


FIGURE 1.6: Plan of choir pavement at Saint-Bertin

Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin, Saint-Omer. Photo by the author.

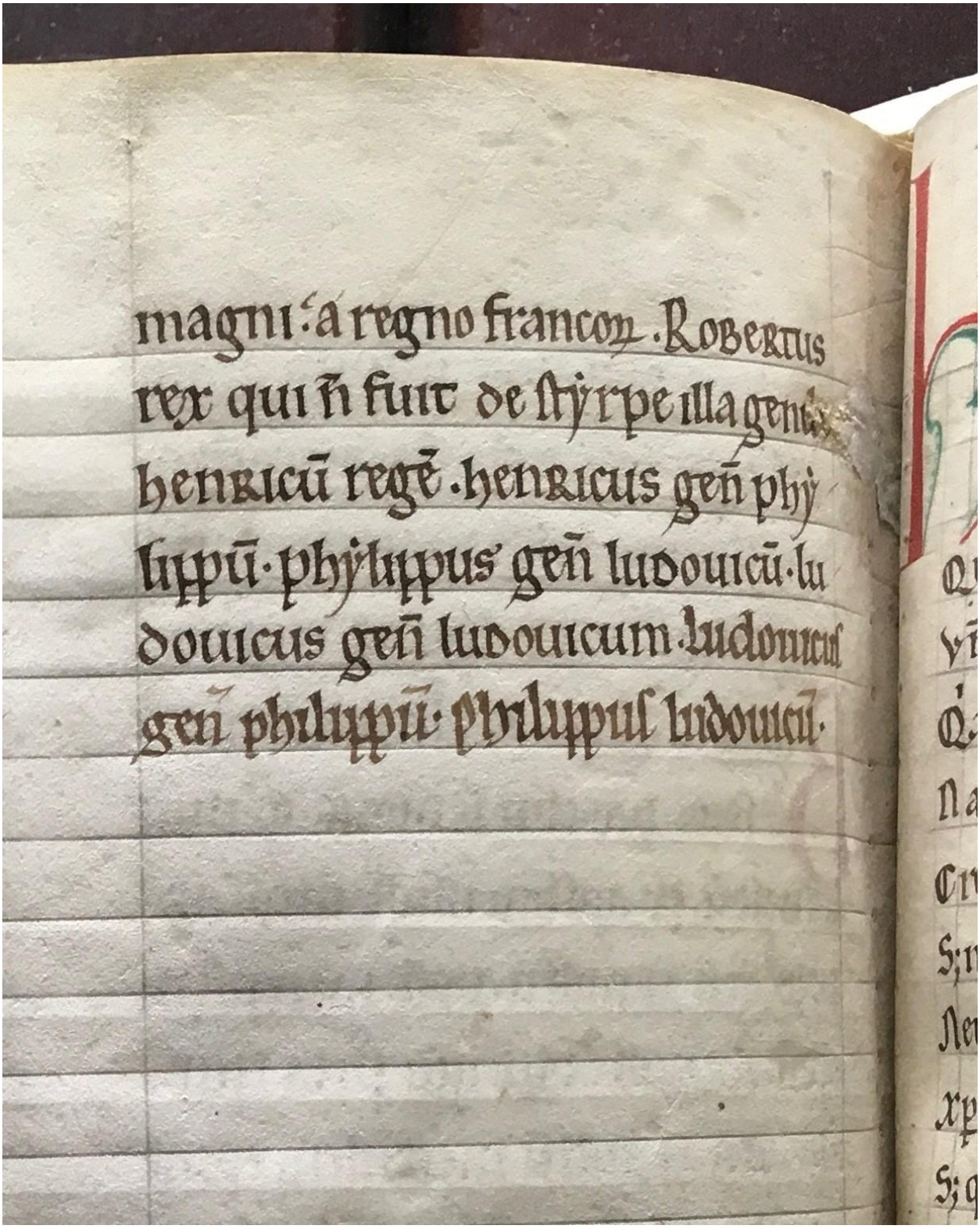


FIGURE 2.1: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9823-34, fol. 148vb, ll. 1-6

Photo by the author.

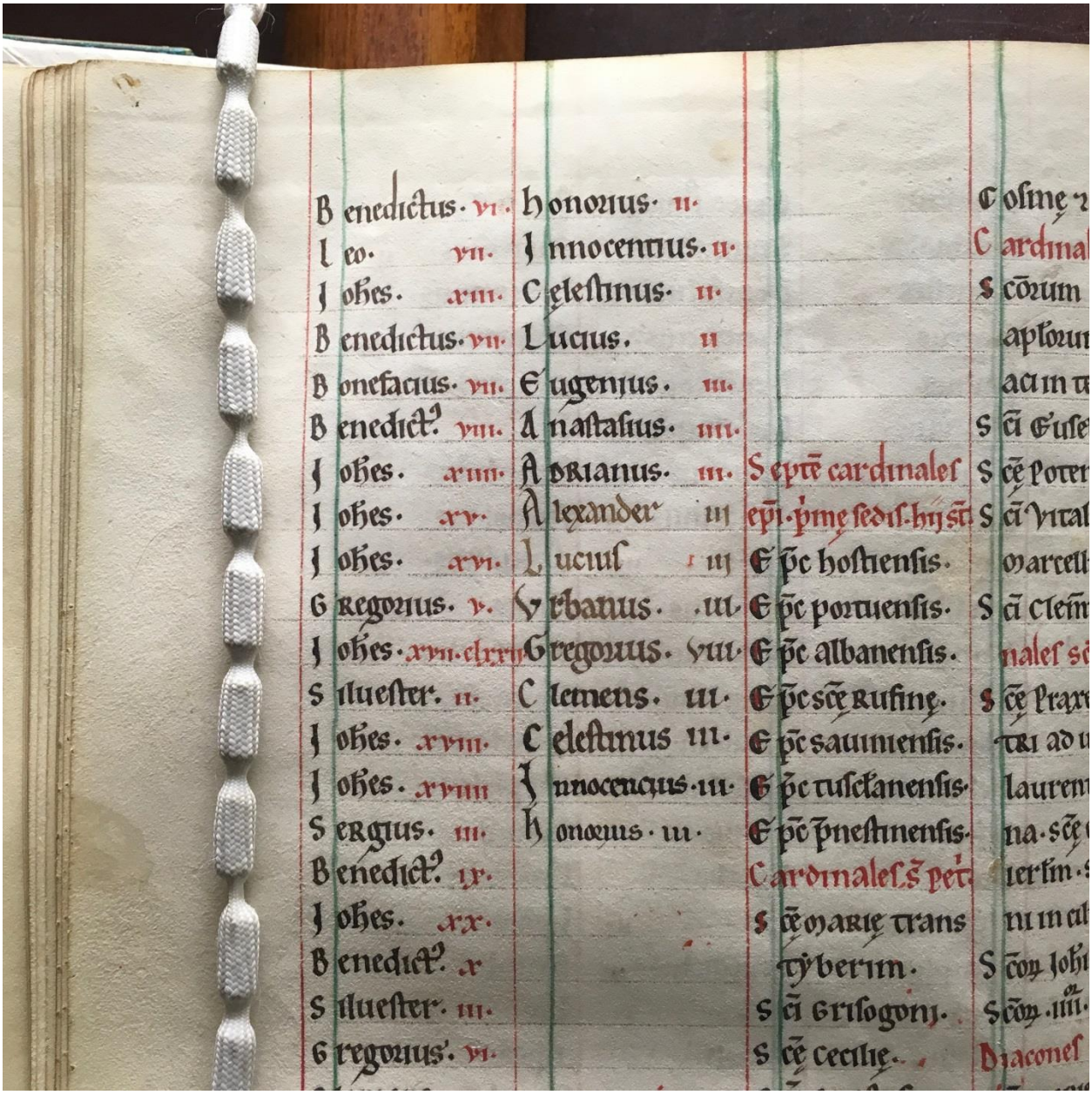


FIGURE 2.2: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9823-34, fol. 141v

Photo by the author.

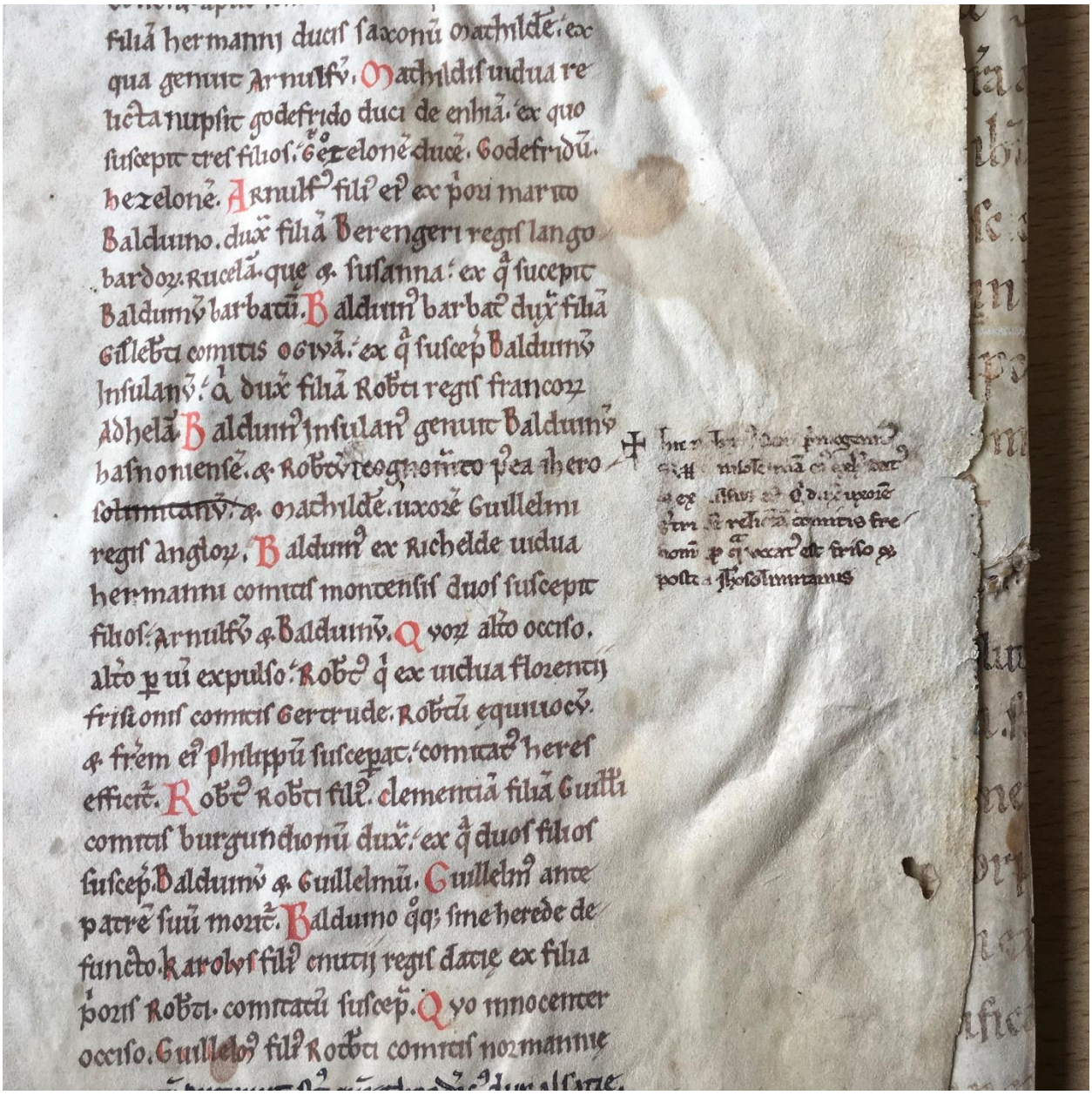


FIGURE 3.1: Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 318, fol. 174r, ll. 13-38

Photo by the author.

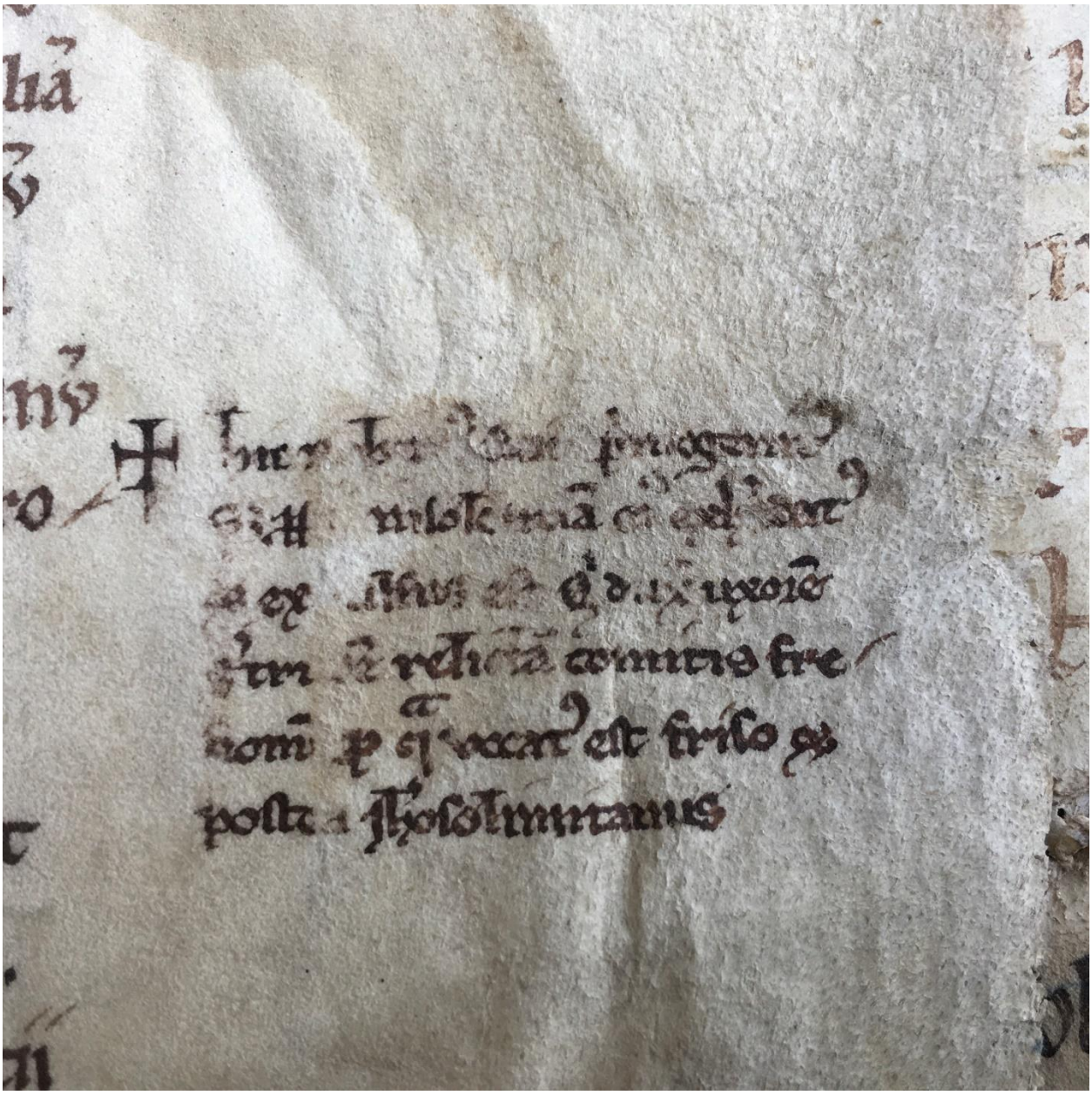


FIGURE 3.2: Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 318, fol. 174r (detail)

Photo by the author.

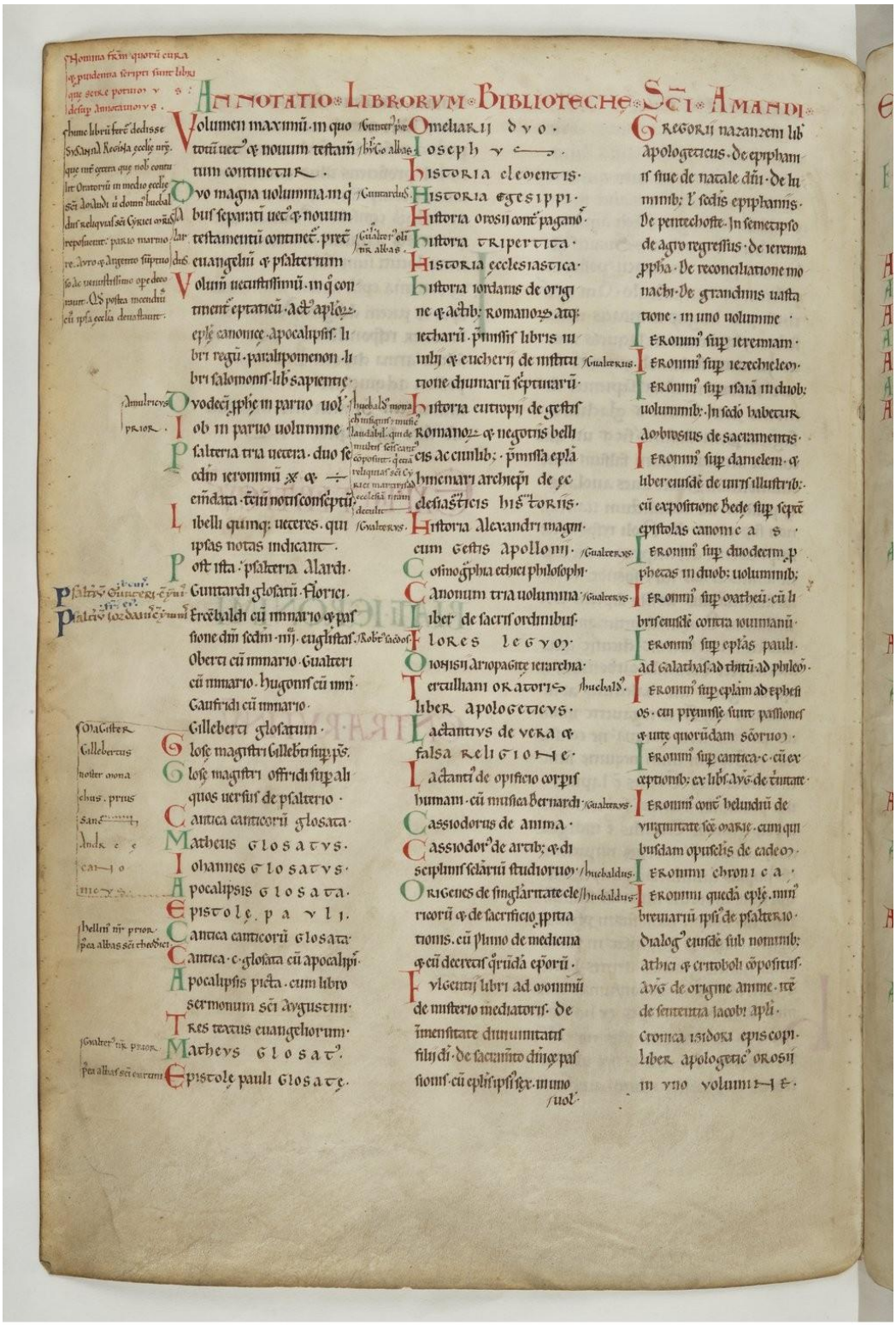


FIGURE 4.1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1850, fol. 199v

"Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Latin 1850." BnF Gallica. Accessed September 3, 2016. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85301860/f1.item.zoom.

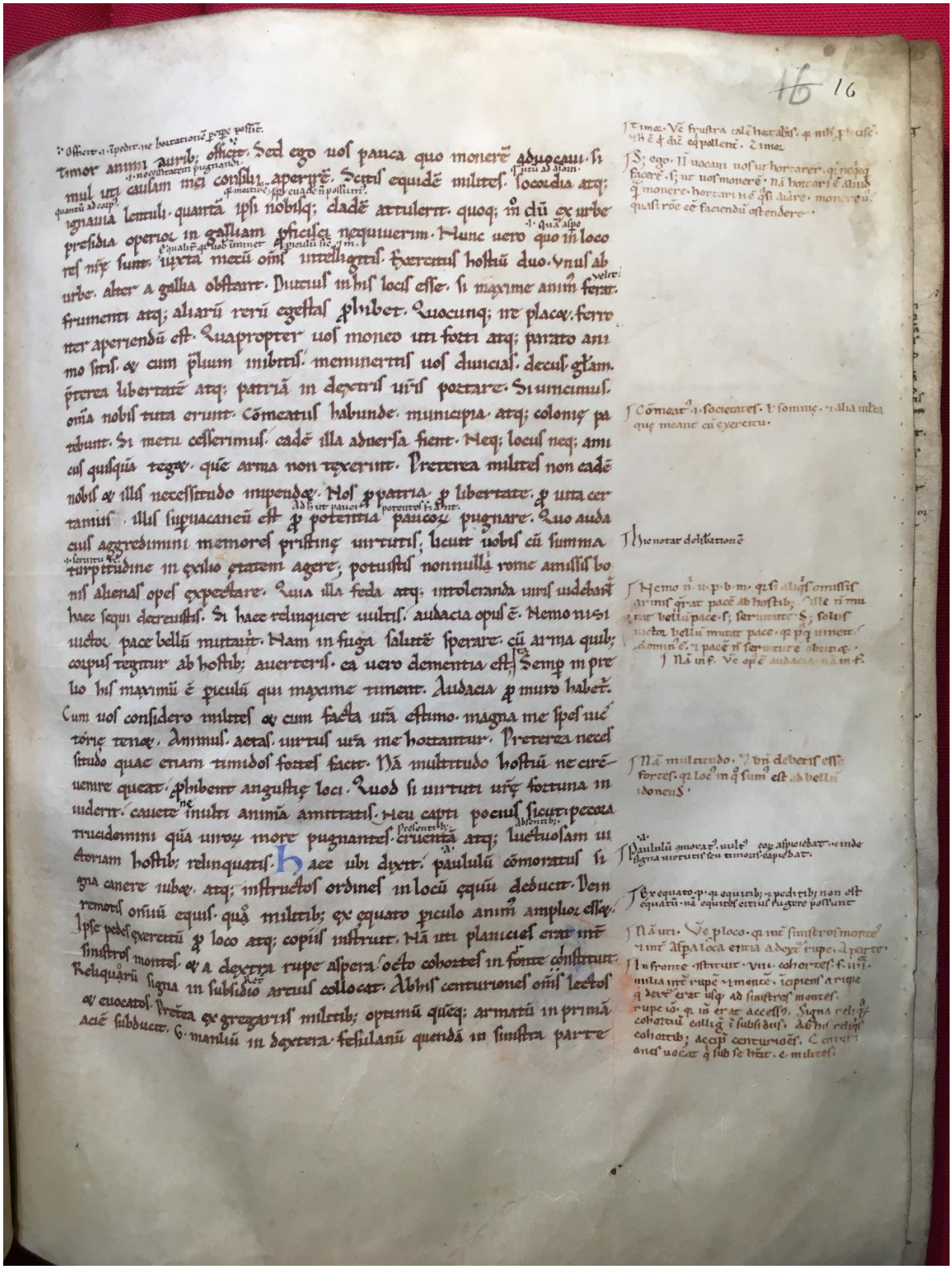


FIGURE 4.2: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 549, fol. 16r

Photo by the author.

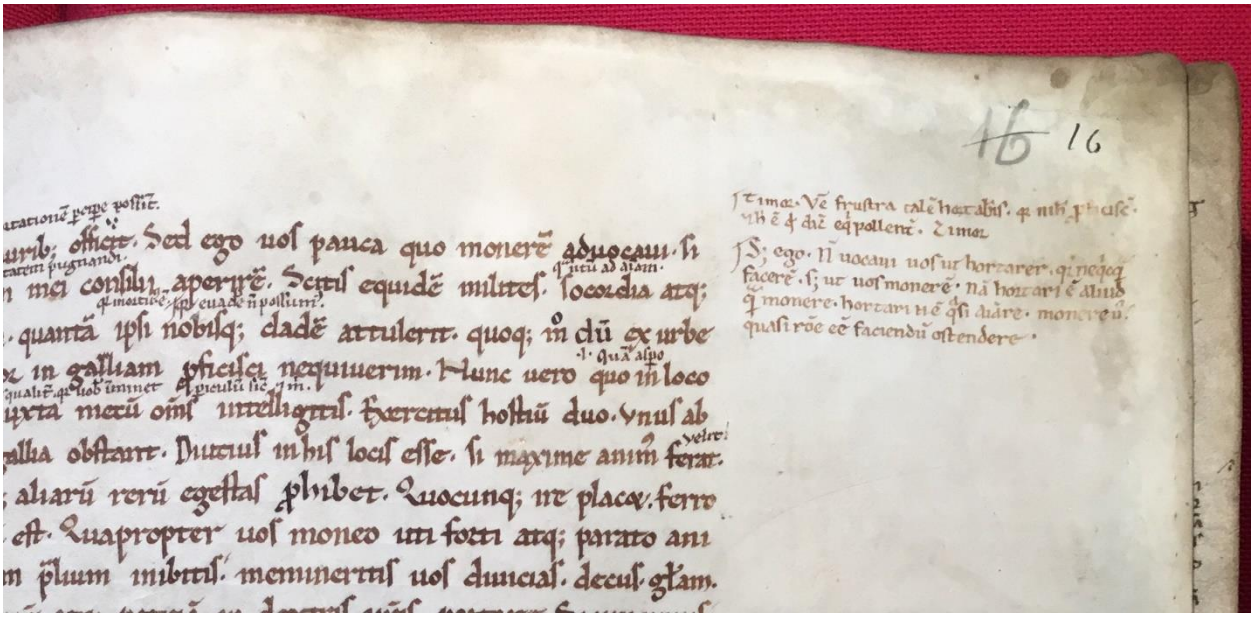


FIGURE 4.3: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 549, fol. 16r, ll. 1-9

Photo by the author.



FIGURE 4.4: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 549, fol. 1r

Photo by the author.



FIGURE 4.5: Pammakaristos Church, Istanbul

User:Vmenkov. “Pammakaristos Church.” Wikipedia. Accessed March 9, 2018. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pammakaristos_Church.



FIGURE 4.6: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 99, fols. 12v-13r

"Apocalypse figurée." BnF Gallica. Accessed April 19, 2018. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84525958.



FIGURE 4.7: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 99, fol. 15r

"Apocalypse figurée." BnF Gallica. Accessed April 19, 2018. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84525958.



FIGURE 4.8: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 412, fol. 16r

"Prudence. Psychomachia." BnF Gallica. Accessed April 19, 2018. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84526145.

APPENDIX C: THE "RELATIO MIRACULI IN REGIONE SAXONUM FACTI"

THE "RELATIO MIRACULI IN REGIONE SAXONUM FACTI:" TEXT AND TRANSLATION

The Latin text reproduced and translated below was published by Edward Schröder in "Die Tänzer von Kölbigk: Ein Mirakel des 11. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Theodor Brieger and Bernhard Bess, vol. 17 (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1897), pp. 101-103. The text of Schröder's MSS 6-8 has been followed where there are significant divergences.

Omnibus Deum diligentibus et magnalia eius magnificando amplectentibus universus Saxonicae regionis populus divina expertus miracula nuperrimis temporibus inaudita ex quo primus homo est conditus prosperitatem transitoriae huius vitaeque caelestis perennitatem angelicis cum civibus.

To all those loving God and embracing His mighty works with praise, the whole community of Saxony, having experienced divine miracles unheard of in recent times, since the one in which the first man was created, wishes the prosperity of this transitory life and the perpetuity of the celestial life with angelic citizens.

Ego peccator nomine Othbertus, etsi vellem tegere peccatum meum, indicium esset mearum inquietudo venarum et motus membrorum. Quod ut quisque cognoscat ob quam causam acciderit et ut mihi pro Deo impendat elemosinam, legere volentibus per ordinem pandam. Eramus X et VIII, XV viri et tres mulieres, in villa Colbizce regionis Saxonicae, ubi sanctus Magnus martirium consummavit. Qui in sanctissima nativitate Domini expletis matutinis cum missarum sollempniis interesse deberemus, suadente diabolo choros in cimiterio duximus. Presbiter vero nomine Rüthbertus iam primam missam inchoaverat, sed heu! ita nostra cantilena impediebatur, ut idipsum inter sacra verba personaret. Commotus hac importunitate nos adiit, monens ut quiescentes a tali opere ecclesiam intraremus. Spretus ergo a nobis hac imprecatus est voce: "Utinam potentia Dei et merito sancti Magni martiris sic inquieti annum cantando ducatis." Nos eius verba subsannantes perstitimus cantantes.

I am a sinner, Otbert by name, and although I wish to hide my sin, the feverishness of my pulse and the motion of my limbs disclose it. So that anyone may know why this happened, and so that he may give alms before God on my behalf, I will unfold the tale straight through for those wishing to read it. We were ten and eight in number, fifteen men and three women, in the village of Kölbigk in Saxony, where Saint Magnus consummated his martyrdom. We, on the holiest birthday of the Lord, with Matins completed, when we should have been attending to the solemnities of the Masses, conducted a ring dance [choros] in the cemetery, with the devil driving us on. The priest, Ruthbert by name, had already begun the first Mass, but—alas!—our ancient song kept us away, to the point that it resounded, intermingled, among the sacred words. Troubled, he came to us with this importunity, urging that we enter the church, abstaining from such a deed. So, when we spurned him, he cursed us with this phrase: "Would to heaven that, by the power of God and the merit of Saint Magnus, the martyr, you all should keep up this revelry, unresting, for a year!" We, mocking his words, persisted, singing.

Erat vero una trium mulierum filia presbiteri nomine Mersint. Quam iussu patris frater ipsius mulieris vocatus Johannes brachio apprehendens conabatur a choro retrahere. Sed mox brachium a corpore abstraxit; attamen una gutta sanguinis non manavit. Quodque est mirabile dictu, sine brachio nobiscum cantando et terendo pedibus secundum imprecationem presbiteri annum peregit. Ergo VI mensibus evolutis usque ad genua terre immersi sumus, post annum redeunte eadem sanctissima nativitate Domini usque ad latera dimersi in circuitu choros duximus. Et tunc per dominum et sanctum Herbertum Colonie civitatis episcopum Christo volonte liberati sumus. Idem ad nos eadem die nativitatis veniens et orationem super nos complens a ligatura, qua invicem manu ad manum tenebamur, solvit nos, et ante altare Sancti Magni preciosi martiris ecclesie reconciliavit. Sic demum gravissimus sopor invasit nos atque ibi ante altare obdormivimus et tribus diebus cum tribus noctibus, Deum testamur, continue dormivimus. Unus ergo ex nobis, Johannes nomine, cum supradicta presbiteri filia et cum duabus aliis feminis ante ipsum altare prostrati terre statim spiritum emiserunt. Post excitationem nostram ad propria reversi accepimus cibum, et ita hactenus tremor membrorum in signo recordationis vel potius approbationis non nos deserit.

Now, one of the three women was the daughter of the priest, Mersint by name. At the command of her father, her brother, who was called John, tried to drag her out of the dance, grabbing her arm. Thereupon he yanked the arm from her body; even so, no drop of blood dripped out. Furthermore, what is miraculous to say, she completed the entire year with us, singing and shuffling our feet according to the curse of the priest. After six months had passed we were immersed in the earth to our knees, and after a year, with the same day of the birth of the Lord returning, we continued our dance, in a circle, sunk all the way to our sides. And then, through the lord and saint Herbert, bishop of the city of Cologne, we were freed, with Christ willing it. Coming to us on that same day of Christmas and completing a prayer over us, he released us from the binding by which we were held to one another hand-to-hand. And he reconciled us before the altar of the church of the precious martyr, Saint Magnus. At precisely that moment, very heavy sleep overcame us and there, before the altar, we slept, and for three days and three nights, as God is our witness, we slept continuously. One of us, John by name, along with the aforementioned daughter of the priest and the other two women, gave up the ghost straightaway, prostrate on the earth before the altar. Having returned home after awakening, we accepted food, and so to this time the shaking of the limbs has not deserted us, as a sign of remembrance, or perhaps more of approbation.

Sic in toto illo anno non manducavimus neque bibimus nec sompnum cepimus nec pluvia irrigati sumus. Nichil sensimus, nichil egimus, quam cantantes sine sensu fuimus. Frequenter super nos fabrica tecti ob arcendas pluvias erigebatur, sed hoc nutu Dei dissipabatur. Vestimenta nostra et calciamenta non sunt attrita, nec ungule capillive in modico crevere, sed ita ut

Thus for that whole year we neither ate nor drank, neither slept nor took refreshment from rain. We perceived nothing, we did nothing other than singing without sense. Frequently the shell of a roof was set up over us for deflecting the rain, but this dissolved by the will of God. Our garments and shoes did not wear away, nor did our nails or hair grow in the slightest, but we remained just as

cepimus insensati per totum annum mansimus. Aliqui iam ex nobis obierunt et miraculis choruscant, aliqui liberati Deo laudes decantant.

we began, insensate, for the whole year. At present, some of us have wandered about and tremble at these signs; others, having been liberated, sing praises to God.

Acta sunt hec anno incarnationis Dominice M° XXI" indictione quarta regnante Heinrico secundo.

These things happened in the year of the dominical incarnation 1021, in the fourth indiction, with Henry II reigning.

Hec littere date sunt nobis a domino Peregrino Coloniensi episcopo, domini Herberti successore venerando.

These letters were given to us by the lord Peregrinus, bishop of Cologne, venerable successor of the lord Herbert.

VITA

Bradley Phillis was born in Lake Forest, IL. He grew up in the Philadelphia area before settling in North Carolina for high school. Bradley earned a B.A. in History with Honors and a second major in Music from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2006, where he wrote a thesis analyzing the role of priests and bishops on the First Crusade under the direction of Brett Whalen. He completed an M.A. in Education at Wake Forest University under the direction of Raymond Jones in 2007. Bradley taught social studies, psychology, and Latin in Winston-Salem, NC for six years, first at the School of Pre-Engineering and then at Simon G. Atkins Academic & Technology High School. He enrolled in the Ph.D. program at the University of Tennessee at Knoxille in 2013. During his time at UT, Bradley won a Herman E. Spivey Fellowship, a Thomas Fellowship, and a McClure Travel Scholarship. He also received the Anne Marie Van Hook Memorial Travel Award from the Marco Institute at UT. In addition, Bradley won a Heckman Stipend from the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, a Vatican Film Library Mellon Fellowship from Saint Louis University, and an NEH Research Fellowship from the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at SLU. During the 2017-18 academic year he was a fellow at the UT Humanities Center.