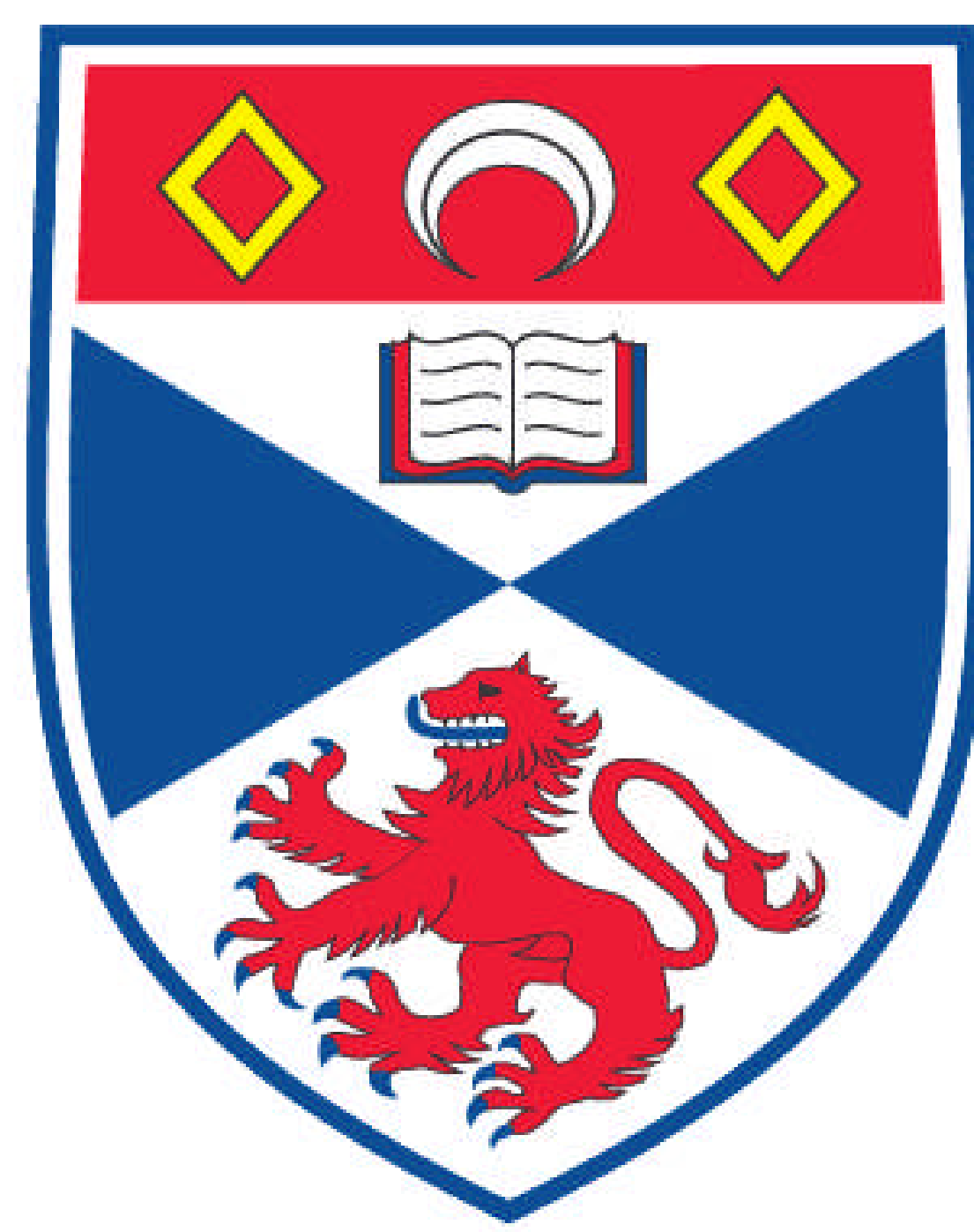


**MONARCHY AND NOBLITY IN THE LATIN KINGDOM OF  
JERUSALEM 1099-1131: ESTABLISHMENT AND ORIGINS**

**Alan V. Murray**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St. Andrews**



**1988**

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MONARCHY AND NOBILITY IN THE LATIN

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM 1099-1131:

ESTABLISHMENT AND ORIGINS

by

ALAN V. MURRAY

A thesis submitted to the University of St Andrews

for the degree of Ph. D.

February 1988

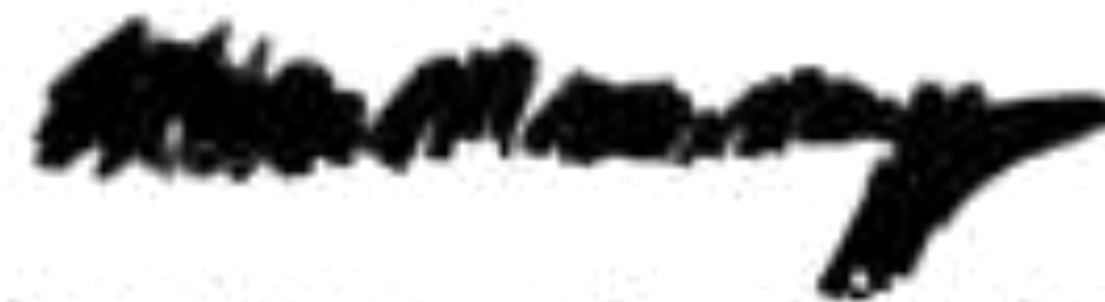




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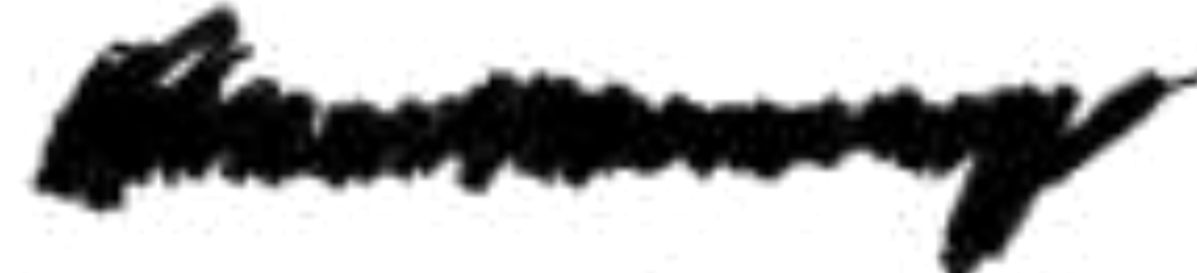


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## ABSTRACT

The starting-point of this thesis is the question of the origin of the nobility in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1131. This is discussed in parallel with the question of the origins of the monarchy itself and that of relations between the two institutions.

Chapter 1 discusses the European origins of the monarchy which derived from two distinct dynastic traditions, the House of Ardennes-Verdun whose power had declined in the later ~~eleventh~~ century and was extinguished on the eve of the crusade, and the House of Boulogne which was in an ascendant.

Chapter 2 examines Godfrey of Bouillon's crusading army between 1096 and 1099. Originally almost exclusively Lotharingian in composition, the army absorbed numerous elements from other contingents in the course of the march. The minority who remained in Outremer after 1099 were of diverse origin and had developed strong ties to the Ardennes-Boulogne family.

Chapter 3 re-assesses the generally accepted nature of the state established in Palestine by the First Crusade, arguing that this was a secular monarchy headed by a princeps whose authority derived from God.

Chapter 4 deals with the origins of the nobility and is an analysis of prosopographical material presented in the Appendix, while Chapter 5 is a chronologically-based analysis of relations between monarchy and nobility. The nobility comprised four main groups: Lotharingians and Germans; Normans; Flemings, and Picards; and men from the Ile-de-France and the surrounding areas. The last group increased in numbers and influence after the accession of a new dynasty in the person of Baldwin II. Resentment against his policies, and a growing factionalism based on dynastic loyalties and geographical origins enabled sections of the nobility to threaten the monarchy in this and the next reign.



PREFACE

I would like to express my thanks to Dr Hugh Kennedy, for first suggesting Godfrey of Bouillon and his following as a rewarding subject for research, and for his subsequent supervision of this thesis. I am also indebted to Professor D. E. R. Watt for comments in the proof stage; to Mrs Susan Edgington for information concerning the manuscripts of the Historia Hierosolymitana of Albert of Aachen; to Martina Häcker for help with the proof-reading; and to Shirley and Herbert Würth for the use of their word-processor, their invaluable help with the typing, and their inexhaustible patience.

A. V. M.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Albert of Aachen, <u>Historia Hierosolymitana</u> , RHC Occ. IV
AHR	<u>American Historical Review</u>
Ant.	<u>La Chanson d'Antioche</u> , ed. S. Duparc-Quioç (Paris, 1976)
App.	Appendix: The Jerusalem Nobility 1100-31. Below, pp. 160-219
BCRH	<u>Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire-Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis</u>
BD	Baldric of Dol, <u>Historia Jerosolimitana</u> , RHC Occ. III
Cant.	<u>La chronique de Saint-Hubert dite Cantatorium</u> , ed. K. Hanquet (Brussels, 1906)
C. Dunois	E. Mabille, <u>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Dunois</u> (Châteaudun, 1874)
C. Hosp.	J. Delaville Le Roulx, <u>Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem 1100-1310</u> , 4 vols (Paris, 1879-1906)
C. Temple	Marquis d'Albon, <u>Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple</u> (Paris, 1913-22)
EHR	<u>English Historical Review</u>
FC	Fulcher of Chartres, <u>Historia Hierosolymitana</u> , ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913)
GF	<u>Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimatorum</u> , ed. R. Hill (London, 1962)
HEp	H. Hagenmeyer, <u>Epistulae et chartae ad Historiam primi belli sacri</u> (Innsbruck, 1901)
JGLGA	<u>Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde-Annuaire de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de la Lorraine</u>

- MF A. Miraeus, Opera diplomatica et historica, ed. J. F. Foppens, 4 vols (Brussels, 1723-48)
- LL Laurence of Liège, Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium et abbatum S. Vitoni, MGH SS X
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. G. Pertz et al. (Hannover, 1826- )
- SS Scriptores in folio, 32 vols (1826-1934)
- Constitutiones Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum (1893- )
- DD Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae (1879- )
- DD Konrad I }  
Heinrich I } I. Conradi, Heinrich I et Ottonis I Diplomata  
Otto I }  
Otto II } II. Ottonis II et III Diplomata  
Otto III }  
Heinrich II III. Heinrich II et Arduini Diplomata  
Konrad II IV. Conradi II Diplomata  
Heinrich III V. Heinrich III Diplomata  
Heinrich IV VI. Heinrich IV Diplomata  
Lothar III VIII. Lotharii III Diplomata nec non Richenzae Imperatricis Placita  
Friedrich I XI. Friderici I Diplomata
- Ord. Orderic Vitalis, The Ecclesiastical History, ed. M. Chibnall (London, 1969-80)
- PL J. P. Migne, Patrologia cursus completus. Series latina, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-64)
- PT Peter Tudebode, Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere, RHC Occ. III
- Raymond Raymond of Aguilers, Historia francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem, RHC Occ. III
- RBPhH Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire-Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis



RC	Radulph of Caen, <u>Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymita</u> , RHC Occ. III
RHC	Recueil des historiens des croisades, ed. Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1841-1906)
Occ.	Historiens occidentaux, 5 vols (1844-95)
Or.	Historiens orientaux, 5 vols (1872-1906)
Lois	Les Assises de Jérusalem, 2 vols (1841-43)
ROL 7	C. Kohler, 'Chartes de l'abbaye de Nôtre-Dame de la vallée de Josaphat', <u>Revue de l'Orient Latin</u> 7 (1900), 108-222
ROL 11	J. Delaville Le Roulx, 'Chartes de Terre-Sainte', <u>Revue de l'Orient Latin</u> 11 (1905-8), 181-91
Rolls Series	Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, 99 vols (London, 1858-96)
RRH	R. Röhricht, <u>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani</u> (Innsbruck, 1893) and <u>Additamentum</u> (Innsbruck, 1904)
WT	William of Tyre, <u>Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum</u> , RHC Occ. I
ZDPV	<u>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins</u>

## INTRODUCTION

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, established by the victorious crusaders in Palestine in July 1099, was one of the first colonial societies of the Middle Ages. The paramount criterion of social and legal status was the distinction between conquerors and conquered: on the one hand a privileged minority, French-speaking Western Europeans of the Roman Catholic rite, and on the other the majority indigenous population, consisting predominantly of Arabic-speaking Muslims and Christians of various eastern rites, with an admixture of Armenians, Druzes, Jews and Samaritans. The European minority, known collectively as Franks, formed the Staatsvolk of the Latin Kingdom, the only group in full possession of unrestricted legal, social and political rights. As one of the most recent surveys of this dichotomy has expressed it:

'Any Frank, even the poorest and the lowest, ranked well above the wealthiest of the native population'.

Yet within this privileged minority important distinctions existed. The top rank of Frankish society, and consequently of the entire kingdom, comprised the nobility. In times of war the nobles fought as knights, on horseback and in heavy armour; they held fiefs from the king or from their own lord who was also a noble; above all, they were distinguished in law from the rest of the Frankish population who belonged to a separate class known as burgesses. In short, the nobility formed the military and administrative class of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

What was the origin of this group? Modern historians of the Latin East have almost unanimously stressed the composition of the First Crusade as the decisive factor in determining the character of the early Jerusalem nobility, having an importance far beyond that of any subsequent immigration from the west. In his monograph on the Latin Kingdom, first published in 1953, Jean Richard drew attention to the followers of the first two monarchs, Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin I. His discussion of the origins of these knights came to the following conclusion:



'A quelques exceptions ... les premiers chevaliers établis dans le royaume venaient du nord de la France, et, par leurs mouvances féodales et leurs parentés, se rattachaient aux ducs de Basse-Lorraine et aux comtes de Boulogne dont Godefroy était issu'.<sup>3</sup>

The Israeli historian Prawer made a similar point shortly after:

'La majorité de ces chevaliers appartenaient aux vassaux européens de la maison de Bouillon ou était entrée au service de cette famille pendant la croisade'.<sup>4</sup>

More recently Riley-Smith adopted a fresh approach by examining the European origins of individual crusaders in the first year of the Frankish settlement, and concluded:

'Godfrey of Bouillon's domus, his household, accompanied him on the crusade and stayed by his side in the East. It seems to have been composed largely of men from his Duchy of Lower Lorraine. In Palestine its nucleus consisted of some of the more important Lorrainer vassals or of members of their families: Garnier, Count of Grez in Brabant, who was the most prominent and was related to Godfrey by birth and perhaps also by marriage, Franco of Mechelen, Gerard of Avesnes and Lambert of Montaigu'.<sup>5</sup>

The essentially Lotharingian character of the early nobility has been further stressed in discussions of relations between monarchy and nobility. Richard saw in the Frankish state a reproduction of the feudal conditions obtaining in Godfrey's duchy of Lower Lotharingia before the crusade:

'Nous avons déjà montré que Godefroy devenu 'roi' restait aux yeux de ses vassaux duc de Basse-Lorraine et leur seigneur naturel. Son frère Baudouin jouit du même prestige'.<sup>6</sup>

Prawer has regarded this phenomenon as the principal factor which contributed to the relative strength of the early Jerusalem monarchy, in contrast to that of the later twelfth century and to the second Latin Kingdom of the period after 1187:

'As Jean Richard has pointed out, the court of Godfrey of Bouillon was overwhelmingly composed of people who were his vassals in Lower Lotharingia. The political tradition of those vassals could not have been that of strong aristocratic opposition against the Advocatus who was their sovereign as duke of Lotharingia'.<sup>7</sup>

In modern scholarship, then, there exists an accepted model for the origins of the Jerusalem nobility. Put in a simplified form, this model states that the nobility essentially originated in the crusading army of Godfrey of Bouillon. While some knights entered his service in the course of the crusade, the bulk of his army was made up of men who had been his vassals in the duchy of Lower Lotharingia, and to a lesser

extent, men from the county of Boulogne. Their traditions of obedience and loyalty to the duke were reproduced in the Latin Kingdom, and were major contributory factors to the strength of the early Frankish monarchy.

The only full length monograph devoted to the nobility of the Latin Kingdom remains the Familles d'Outremer of Charles du Fresne Du Cange.<sup>10</sup> Du Cange intended to produce a work which would be a complete version of his principal mediaeval source, the Lignages d'Outremer,<sup>11</sup> covering the nobility of each of the crusader states for the entire period of their existence. However the Lignages contained numerous errors and inconsistencies.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore Du Cange was writing in the middle of the period which saw the publication of the greatest single collection of sources dealing with the Latin East, and before that of the best editions of most of the documents of the crusader states. He never completed the project. His collaborator, Rey, who eventually finished the work, had access to more and better source material and realised the difficulties created by over-reliance on the Lignages. Although he attempted to deal with as many of the inconsistencies as possible he nevertheless felt obliged to follow the original plan in the publication of Du Cange's work.<sup>13</sup>

Since that time modern monographs have appeared which have devoted considerable attention to the nobilities of the crusader states in northern Syria, the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch.<sup>14</sup> As far as the Kingdom of Jerusalem is concerned various studies have appeared, dealing with particular families or lordships. However there has been a dearth of research on the nobility of the early kingdom as a whole, in particular on its origins, although, as we have seen, it is the supposed origins of the nobility which have repeatedly been taken to explain important political features of the early kingdom. The one notable exception is a recent study by Riley-Smith which examines the origins of knights who remained in Palestine after the return to Europe of the majority of the crusaders in 1099. However it is restricted chronologically to the short reign of Godfrey of Bouillon, July 1099 to July 1100.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, despite the importance attached to the presumed Lotharingian origins of the early nobility there remains to date no



study of the composition of Godfrey's crusading army,<sup>14</sup> in contrast to other contingents on the crusade.<sup>15</sup>

This study is therefore an attempt to fill the gap in modern scholarship, by investigating the origins of the early Jerusalem nobility. However in view of the 'Lotharingian model' which forms the present opinio communis it is clear that the nobility cannot be properly discussed without also examining the origins of the monarchy. The full aim is therefore to clarify the origins and establishment of these two institutions as well as the relationship between them.

Chapter 1 is devoted to the House of Ardennes-Boulogne which provided the first two rulers of the Latin Kingdom, Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin I. It examines the origins of this family, its landed possessions, and political and dynastic interests in the period before the First Crusade. In view of the stress laid on the Lotharingian character of the early Jerusalem monarchy it also attempts to establish the powers and functions of Godfrey as duke of Lower Lotharingia.

Chapter 2 attempts to clarify the composition of the crusading army led by Godfrey, in the first instance by identifying as many of its participants as possible, and discussing their relationship to him and to each other. It also deals with political factors which encouraged participation in the crusade, and conversely, non-participation. Bearing in mind that this army took nearly three years to reach its goal it would be a mistake to regard it as a static, unchanging entity. The second half of this chapter therefore discusses how the composition and structure of the army changed in the course of the march from Western Europe to Palestine.

Chapter 3 deals with the short rule of Godfrey of Bouillon which has remained something of an anomaly in the accepted picture of a strong monarchy in the early kingdom. With one exception, a short but provoking essay by Riley-Smith,<sup>16</sup> historians have tended to regard Godfrey as a weak ruler, an official who was a mere servant of the Church. This chapter attempts to define the constitutional position of Godfrey in relation to the aims of the crusade and to existing models of government. It also attempts to re-interpret the evidence and reconcile it with the arguments of Riley-Smith.

The last two chapters examine monarchy and nobility in the period after their establishment in the Holy Land. Chapter 4 deals with the European origins of the nobility; it is primarily an analysis of the material in the Appendix which presents prosopographical studies of the individual members of this group. The editorial principles and the main sources used in the Appendix are detailed in a separate introduction.<sup>17</sup> Chapter 5 is a chronologically-based examination of relations between monarchy and nobility. 1130 has been chosen as the approximate limit for the period of this study. This date roughly marks the end of the first generation of settlers. Thereafter it becomes increasingly difficult to identify origins as surnames derived from European place-names became less meaningful, giving way to new names reflecting a different geographical environment. 1131 also saw the death of Baldwin II, and the accession of a new dynasty in the person of his son-in-law Fulk of Anjou. It would therefore seem logical to stop at this point, especially as the political history of the reigns of Fulk, Melisende and Baldwin III has been discussed exhaustively by Mayer.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, I have discussed one event, the revolt of Hugh II of Jaffa, which took place after the chronological limit chosen. I hope to show how this conflict had its roots in the period before 1131, and shall therefore examine it in the light of the relationship between monarchy and nobility in the reign of Baldwin II.



NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. J. Prawer, 'Social Classes in the Latin Kingdom: The Franks', in Setton, V, 121.
2. R. C. Smail, Crusading Warfare (Cambridge, 1956), p.110; J. Riley-Smith, The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174-1277 (London, 1973); Prawer, pp. 117-31.
3. J. Richard, Le royaume latin de Jérusalem (Paris, 1953), pp. 62-63.
4. J. Prawer, 'La noblesse et le régime féodal du royaume latin de Jérusalem', Le Moyen Age 65 (1959), 42.
5. J. Riley-Smith, 'The motives of the earliest crusaders and the settlement of Latin Palestine', EHR 98 (1983), 721-37.
6. Richard, Royaume latin, p.63.
7. J. Prawer, Crusader Institutions (Oxford, 1980), p.8. See also his Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem (Paris, 1969), I, 467-70; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', History 57 (1972), 230; W. Zöllner, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge (Berlin, 1977), p. 175.
8. Ed. E. G. Rey (Paris, 1869).
9. RHC Lois II, 435-74.
10. See below, p. 162.
11. Du Cange, pp. 228 ff.
12. J. Richard, Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine 1102-1187 (Paris, 1945); C. Cahen, La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades (Paris, 1940).
13. 'The motives'.
14. Prawer, 'La noblesse', p. 42, cites two studies of Godfrey's army in support of his claim that the early nobility was predominantly Lotharingian in character. The first, J. C. Andressohn, The Life and Ancestry of Godfrey de Bouillon (Bloomington, 1947), does give a detailed account of the march, but primarily from a biographical perspective. Andressohn's discussion of the participants other than Godfrey and Baldwin is limited to the naming of twelve crusaders, most of whom are identified wrongly or not at all. The second, an article by Charles Moeller, 'Les flamands du Ternois au royaume latin de Jérusalem', in Mélanges Paul Fredericq (Brussels, 1903), pp. 189-202, is not a study of the Lotharingian army, but an analysis of a short but valuable source, the Versus de viris illustribus dioecesis Tarvanensis qui in sacra fuere expeditione, which deals with crusaders from the Flemish diocese of Thérouanne.



15. On the Normans of Normandy, C. W. David, Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy (Cambridge, 1920), Appendix D, 'Robert's Companions on the Crusade', pp. 221-29. On the Normans of Italy, E. M. Jamison, 'Some notes on the Anonymi Gesta Francorum, with special reference to the Norman contingent from South Italy and Sicily in the First Crusade', in Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature Presented to Prof. M. K. Pope (Manchester, 1939), pp. 195-204.

16. 'The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon' Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 52 (1979), 83-86.

17. See below, pp. 160-65. Prosopographical entries are referred to directly in the main body of the text by numbers within parentheses.

18. H. E. Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem', Dumbarton Oaks Papers 26 (1972), 95-83.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE HOUSE OF ARDENNES-BOULOGNE

#### I

In July 1099 the leaders of the First Crusade elected Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lotharingia, as the first ruler of the newly established Frankish state in Palestine. On his death a year later he was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, who assumed the title King of Jerusalem and reigned for eighteen years. Another brother, Eustace, had returned to Europe on completion of his pilgrimage. He was expected by many in Jerusalem to succeed Baldwin in turn, but on his brother's death in 1118 Eustace's claims were defeated by a rival candidate, Baldwin of Edessa.

Thus for the first nineteen years of the existence of the kingdom of Jerusalem these three brothers were in turn monarchs, or in the case of Eustace, prospective monarch of the Frankish state. They were the offspring of a marriage contracted at some point in the third quarter of the eleventh century; after the death of his childless first wife Goda Count Eustace II of Boulogne married Ida, daughter of Godfrey II (the Bearded), Count of Verdun.<sup>1</sup> According to the historian William of Tyre, writing in late twelfth-century Palestine, Godfrey was the eldest, Baldwin the second, and Eustace the youngest son.<sup>2</sup> This, however, appears to be a rationalisation a posteriori based on the brothers' subsequent respective importance in the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and is contradicted by earlier sources connected with the Boulogne family. The true order of birth is given in a genealogy of the family composed around the time of the crusade and in the life of Ida of Boulogne written by a monk of le Wast in the Boulonnais in the 1130s.<sup>3</sup>

The evidence of these two sources is reflected in the names given to the three sons. The eldest, Eustace, was named after his father and was

intended to succeed to the county of Boulogne. In addition to Boulogne there existed the prospect of a maternal inheritance. Ida's brother Godfrey III (the Hunchback) had no children. It was thus likely that at some point his lands would pass to one of Ida's sons. Yet as the count of Boulogne was a rear-vassal of the king of France it was unlikely that Eustace would be permitted to succeed to Godfrey's fiefs which were situated in Lotharingia, in the westernmost part of the Empire. Ida's rights appear therefore to have been vested in the second son, Godfrey, who was significantly given the leading name (Leitname) of his maternal ancestry. The third son, Baldwin, was destined for the church. Thus the dynastic heritage of the first ruling house of Jerusalem consisted of two distinct components.

The founder of the House of Ardennes-Verdun was Godfrey, known as the Captive, who died around the year 995.<sup>4</sup> Through his paternal grandparents, the Count of the Palace Wigerich and the Carolingian Kunigunde, Godfrey was connected to a vast interrelated network which included the houses of Bar, Salm and Luxembourg, and which has been described as the 'Mid-Moselle Clan'.<sup>5</sup> This designation is somewhat misleading in that it implies a group identity common to the entire network, although it is doubtful to what extent its contemporary members were aware of such a unity. The varying and at times competing landed interests of each family as well as the evidence of name-giving habits suggest that dynastic consciousness was in fact centred on the individual branches. In the Ardennes-Verdun family this separate identity was expressed in the characteristic names Godfrey and its diminutive form Gozelo, which were particular to this house and occurred in every generation.<sup>6</sup>

The acquisition by Godfrey the Captive of the county of Verdun and other allodial possessions on the middle Meuse established the landed interests of the dynasty in central Lotharingia. Godfrey was eventually succeeded as count of Verdun by his younger son Gozelo I who became duke of Lower and then also of Upper Lotharingia. On Gozelo's death in 1044 the Emperor Henry III attempted to divide this concentration of ducal power between his two sons, bestowing Upper Lotharingia on Godfrey II and Lower Lotharingia on Gozelo II. Godfrey, however, disputed the settlement and after two unsuccessful revolts against the monarchy was



deprived of his duchy and numerous fiefs; on Gozelo's death in 1046 his duchy was given to Frederick of Luxembourg. Godfrey's interests now shifted to Italy where he spent most of the rest of his life. His marriage to Beatrix, widow of Boniface of Tuscany, brought him control of her extensive lands: with the help of Godfrey's growing influence his brother Frederick was elected Pope in 1065 as Stephen IX. Although restored as duke of lower Lotharingia in 1065, Godfrey clearly regarded Italy as the more promising sphere of interest. In order to secure the Tuscan inheritance for his dynasty Godfrey arranged a marriage between the heiress Mathilda, daughter of Boniface and Beatrix, and Godfrey III (the Hunchback) his own son by a previous marriage. This dynastic match proved to be spectacularly unsuccessful, breaking up soon after the death of the elder Godfrey. Mathilda became the major lay supporter of the Papacy during the Investiture Contest; her estranged husband returned to Lower Lotharingia and loyally served Henry IV as duke until his death in 1076.<sup>7</sup> The marriage had produced no children. On his deathbed Godfrey formally designated as heir his nephew Godfrey (IV), son of his sister Ida and Count Eustace II of Boulogne. Shortly afterwards the heir assumed his inheritance under the guardianship of his kinsman Henry of Verdun, Bishop of Liège.<sup>8</sup>

We cannot be certain whether Godfrey of Bouillon, as he is best known to historians, succeeded to all of the lands formerly held by his maternal ancestors. The landed possessions of the Ardennes-Verdun family were a heterogenous accumulation of fiefs, rights and allodial properties whose character varied considerably in the course of one and a half centuries. After the initial period of expansion and consolidation under Godfrey the Captive and his sons losses resulted owing to three main factors.

The first of these was the conventional piety of the age which encouraged gifts of property to the church. Among donations known were those of allods at Longlier, given by Godfrey II to the abbey of Florennes around 1056, and lands at Bellevaux, alienated by Godfrey III in 1074 or 1075.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, properties were regularly given as dowries to female members of the family on their marriage. Gozelo I gave his daughter Regelindis the allodial complex of Durbuy on her marriage to Albert II of Namur.<sup>10</sup> Similarly we can deduce a fairly extensive dowry

for Ida, sister of Godfrey III, from transactions made by her to raise finance for the crusade in 1095-96. Such alienations were common to practically all noble families of the period and cannot therefore be considered as major losses. However, we must also consider the results of the two revolts against the monarchy by Godfrey II in 1045-46 and 1049.

Adam of Bremen reports that in 1047 Henry III gave to the church of Hamburg the 'comitatum Fresiae ... quem ante Gotafridus habuit'. This would appear to be identical with the county of Fivelgo, described by Adam as the largest county in Friesland, which brought the archbishop an annual income of 1000 pounds of silver.<sup>11</sup> The county of Drenthe, formerly held by Godfrey's father Gozelo I, was granted to the church of Utrecht in 1046.<sup>12</sup> Further south, Godfrey's castle at Böckelheim on the Nahe was destroyed by the king: this is the last mention of any Ardennes-Verdun holdings in the Rhineland.<sup>13</sup> The picture which emerges from the aftermath of Godfrey's rebellions is somewhat fragmentary. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that while the core possessions on the middle Meuse remained intact, the monarchy carried out considerable punitive confiscations outwith these holdings. For this reason the examination of the landed resources of Godfrey IV on the eve of the First Crusade must confine itself to the period after the revolts of his grandfather, that is to say, the second half of the eleventh century.

The castle of Bouillon, towering high on a rock above the river Semois in the Ardennes, is first mentioned in a letter of Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims, to his brother Godfrey the Captive in 988.<sup>14</sup> It seems to have been the original patrimonial possession of the Ardennes-Verdun family and remained the focal point of their holdings. The status of Bouillon and its surrounding territory has been frequently misinterpreted as a result of a confusion in nomenclature. In the twelfth century it was common for important men to be known by the name of their most important, often allodial property, which then became confused with other titles. Thus a series of lords called Godfrey of Bouillon who were also dukes of Lower Lotharingia later gave rise to a 'duchy' or 'county' of Bouillon for which there is no justification in the eleventh century.<sup>15</sup>



The territory was actually an allodial complex, the basis of which had been part of the fisc of Paliseul, and is known to have included the villages of Bellevaux, Mogimont, Sensenruth and Assenois.<sup>16</sup> Most of the surrounding villages 'erant vero ipse possessiones fere omnes militum stipendiarie', that is, were assigned as fiefs to the knights who provided the principal military resources of the Ardennes-Verdun family.<sup>17</sup> In 1069 Godfrey III with the support of his vassals refused to carry out a bequest to the Church made by his dying father, on the grounds that too many of these fiefs would thereby be lost.<sup>18</sup>

The lords of Bouillon were also hereditary advocates of the monastery of St Hubert, an eighth century foundation at Andaginum in the Ardennes forest, about 35 kilometres north-east of Bouillon. The ninth century bishop Walcard of Liège replaced the original canons with Benedictine monks and brought about the translation of the relics of St Hubert from Liège.<sup>19</sup> The advocate had the duty of protecting the monastery and representing it in temporal affairs. At the same time the office offered numerous opportunities for interference and usurpation; it is likely that some of the properties of the Bouillon complex had been acquired in this manner. The allod of Tellin was included among the possessions of the abbey in 817-825. However at some point it was acquired by the lords of Bouillon and was only restored by Godfrey IV in 1076 at the urging of Bishop Henry of Liège.<sup>20</sup>

To the south, and contiguous to the allodial territory of Bouillon proper lay a fief held by the lords of Bouillon from the archbishop of Rheims. It was described in a treaty of 1127 as the 'beneficium quod Remensis ecclesie ab antiquo esse dinoscitur quod etiam ad Bullionem pertinere nulli dubium est'.<sup>21</sup> Although situated within the Empire, the fief was a temporal possession of the cathedral Church of Rheims and seems to have been created from land originally belonging to the abbey of Mouzon, of which several members of the Ardennes-Verdun family had been advocates. It lay between the Forêt de Bouillon and the Rivers Chiers and Meuse and in the twelfth century is known to have included the villages of Sedan, Givonne, Douzy, Villers-Cernay and Pouru-aux-Bois.<sup>22</sup>

The county of Verdun in Upper Lotharingia was held by the Ardennes-Verdun dynasty from the mid-tenth century up to 1096. The county



included the entire diocese of Verdun as well as part of the bishopric of Rheims to the west. This border area, the Argonne, had originally been a march of the Empire and in view of this defensive function had probably been later assigned to the count. The Argonne ridge formed a natural frontier protecting Verdun from the West, and included the mountain strongholds of Montfaucon-en-Argonne and Vienne-le-Château.<sup>23</sup>

A diploma of Frederick I issued in 1156 suggests that towards the end of the tenth century the monarchy had given Bishop Haimo of Verdun the right to grant out the beneficium comitatus et marchiae.<sup>24</sup> Yet in reality the bishops were frequently unable to assert their right to nominate the count in the face of a tendency towards hereditary succession pursued by the counts themselves. Thus after the death of Godfrey the Captive the succession to the county passed in turn to his sons Frederick, Godfrey I and Gozelo I. Soon after Gozelo's accession Haimo's newly elected successor Rambert nominated as count Louis of Chiny, who was subsequently defeated and killed in battle by Gozelo.<sup>25</sup> This was the only serious challenge to the counts until the first rebellion of Godfrey II in 1044-46. Henry III deprived Godfrey of the county and ordered Bishop Richard to re-grant it.<sup>26</sup> There is no evidence that the county was ever granted out by him. His successor Theoderic eventually restored the county to Godfrey after he had done penance and made restitution for the capture and burning of the city in 1047.<sup>27</sup> However taken in conjunction with the intervention of Henry III the charter evidence suggests that this restoration may have been made on terms far less favourable to Godfrey than had been the case prior to 1044. Under the bishops Berengar, Wigfrid, Haimo and Rambert the importance of the count was signalled in episcopal documents by his name being listed in the first place among the lay witnesses.<sup>28</sup> During the episcopates of Theoderic (1047-89) and Richer (1089-1107) the name of the count disappears from episcopal documents completely, figuring neither in the witness list nor in the dating formula which usually names only the bishop and the reigning emperor.<sup>29</sup> This development can also be seen in a general Lotharingian context. In the frontier areas of the Empire the monarchy was concerned to support those institutions which were amenable to central authority against the forces of local particularism. In the western dioceses of Liège, Cambrai, Verdun, Toul

and Metz the emperors tended to install bishops of their own choosing, usually of non-Lotharingian origin, who were given powers to strengthen the church as a counterweight to the less accountable hereditary dynasties.<sup>30</sup>

In this respect it is enlightening to compare the episcopate of Theoderic of Verdun, originally a royal chaplain, with contemporary developments in the neighbouring bishopric of Toul. On the death of Count Rainald II in 1052 Bishop Udo granted the county to a different dynasty in the person of Arnulf of Sorcy, whom he however deposed in 1069. In that year Udo issued a document describing the respective rights of the bishop and the new count, Frederick of Astenois.<sup>31</sup> The count's authority was excluded from the episcopal city; the bishops had exclusive rights of coinage and commanded a force of knights. One third of the profits of justice went to the count and two thirds to the bishop. The main duties of the count were the surveillance of highways and frontiers; nevertheless even outside the city he was entitled to no rights of justice, service or hospitality. This evidence, and the equally tractable position of the counts of Metz, suggests that after the revolts of Godfrey II the balance of power in Verdun had swung in favour of the bishop. The bishop had a force of knights at his command, and during the fighting between Godfrey of Bouillon and Theoderic we find the vassals of Verdun on the side of the bishop.<sup>32</sup> The only later evidence of comital activity comparable to the period before 1044-46 is to be found in a charter, probably issued in 1065 or 1066, in which Godfrey II as grand advocate of Verdun laid down the rights and duties of the lay advocates of the Verdun abbeys.<sup>33</sup> Yet as the document itself states, this act was in fact a renewal of regulations issued jointly by Bishop Richard, Gozelo I and Godfrey himself in the period 1039-1044; therefore the apparent authority demonstrated by Godfrey is actually a reflection of a time when comital authority was considerably stronger.

The allods of Stenay and Mouzay, situated midway between Bouillon and Verdun, were more recent acquisitions of the Ardennes-Verdun line. The caput of this cluster of possessions was the former royal castle of Stenay above the Meuse, the scene of the murder of King Dagobert II and site of a church dedicated to him.<sup>34</sup> Stenay and Mouzay had come to Godfrey II as part of the dowry of his second wife Beatrix, daughter of



Frederick II of Bar, Duke of Upper Lotharingia.<sup>35</sup> This meant that the Ardennes-Verdun claim to the allods was open to question; as the marriage proved childless, they could also be claimed by Mathilda, the daughter of Beatrix and her first husband, Boniface of Tuscany.<sup>36</sup>

The county of Verdun, Bouillon and its dependent territories, and the allods of Stenay and Mouzay formed the three principal domains which constituted the inheritance of Godfrey of Bouillon in 1076. Concentrated in central Lotharingia, on the frontiers of the Empire, these lands had a strategic position. The strongpoints of Bouillon, Stenay and Montfaucon-en-Argonne controlled communications along a considerable section of the Meuse valley and lay across two important trade-routes; one running from Liège via Sedan to the Ile-de-France and another from Flanders via Huy and Verdun to Basel and the Upper Rhine.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to these three main blocs the existence of smaller allodial domains further to the north is revealed by the documents recording sales of property to raise money for the crusade in 1095-96. These formed two groups. One lay in Brabant, and included the allods of Baisy-Thy and Genappe.<sup>38</sup> The other lay on the east bank of the Meuse in Limburg, around the town of Maastricht, the Ardennes-Verdun family having land in the villages of Brekhout, Herderen, Riemst, Rijkhoven, Reek, Leten, Martenslinde, Asserbeek, Bilzen, Wilre, Gellik, Repen, Eigenbilzen, Guigoven, Langerlo, Rotem and Amelsdorp.<sup>39</sup> This group of lands appears to have belonged principally to Godfrey IV's mother Ida, although he also may have held land in the area himself.<sup>40</sup> A donation made by Ida to the abbey of Afflighem throws some light on the pattern of holding in the Brabant group:

*'Filius quoque meus dux Godefridus in eadem villa Genapia quinque mansos terrae donavit iisdem fratribus, ad quos postea in augmentum concessi quasdam partes circumiacentes!'*<sup>41</sup>

This formulation suggests that the properties were divided between Godfrey and his mother. However both the Brabant and Limburg properties seem to have been regarded as part of the inheritance of Ida's second son, since they lay within the imperium and since the documents of sale or donation usually include the consent of Godfrey, rather than that of the eldest son Eustace.<sup>42</sup>



II

It is difficult to ascertain with certainty to what extent Godfrey was in actual control of his inheritance during the twenty years between his succession in 1076 and his departure for the crusade in 1096. He had been designated heir by his uncle but was by no means the only claimant. Mathilda of Tuscany claimed the inheritance of her mother Beatrix of Bar: Stenay and Mouzay and parts of the Bouillon territory (e.g. Longlier).<sup>43</sup> The remainder of the Ardennes-Verdun lands were claimed by Albert III, Count of Namur, who was the son of Regelindis, a daughter of Gozelo I.<sup>44</sup> In addition to his hereditary county of Namur Albert had acquired extensive lands to the north-east of Bouillon on his marriage to Ida, widow of Frederick of Luxembourg. These territories, which later formed the county of Laroche, constituted an especial threat to the neighbouring lands of St Hubert, of which Godfrey was advocate.<sup>45</sup> Further claims on the territory of Bouillon were raised by Theoderic Flamens, count of Veluwe on the lower Rhine, who also held lands at Graide, to the north of Bouillon.<sup>46</sup> These claimants were joined by other local dynasts keen to share in the spoils: Waleran, Count of Arlon and Limburg, and Arnulf II of Chiny, whose county of Chiny and domains of Warcq and Givet lay adjacent to the territory of Bouillon.<sup>47</sup> The crucial link in this hostile coalition was provided by Bishop Theoderic of Verdun, to whom it offered an opportunity to end the hereditary succession in the county of Verdun. Instead he now bestowed it on Mathilda of Tuscany, who in turn granted it to Albert of Namur as guardian of her interests in Lotharingia. Mathilda's influence with Pope Gregory VII further persuaded Manasses, Archbishop of Rheims, to grant Albert the '*beneficium quod Remensis ecclesie ab antiquo esse dinoscitur*'.<sup>48</sup> Thus at this point the constellations emerging as a result of the war of Bouillon succession corresponded with those in the Investiture Contest. Theoderic and Albert mounted an expedition which laid siege to Bouillon; the castle was only relieved after the arrival of Baldwin and Eustace with reinforcements.<sup>49</sup> Fighting evidently continued at least until 1081-82 when Theoderic of Veluwe was taken prisoner, dying in captivity at Bouillon six months later.<sup>50</sup> During this period Godfrey seems to have been unable to gain a foothold in the

county of Verdun. Most of the Verdun barons including his own kinsmen Rainald of Toul and Peter of Dampierre served in the episcopal army. This explains why Godfrey prevailed upon one of his captives, Count Henry of Grandpré, to change sides, sending him 'as an enemy to the territory of Verdun'.<sup>51</sup>

Godfrey's main support came from the imperialist bishop of Liège, Henry of Verdun. He purchased the stronghold of Mirwart from the Countess Richilda of Hainault to prevent it being used as a base against Bouillon and St Hubert by Albert of Namur, whose lands lay at the centre of the episcopal temporal possessions.<sup>52</sup> By 1082 Henry had succeeded in establishing a truce in his diocese.<sup>53</sup> Conditions were different in the diocese of Verdun. Henry IV felt it necessary to take action against Mathilda because of her support for Gregory VII; after several years of fence-sitting Theoderic of Verdun was persuaded to join the imperial camp. On 1 June 1085 he was granted Stenay and Mouzay, confiscated from the countess.<sup>54</sup> However hostilities seem to have continued after this date.<sup>55</sup> The confirmation of the grant of the priory of St Dagobert near Stenay made by Godfrey to the abbey of Gorze states that after the death of his uncle (i.e. Godfrey III) the church was pillaged and laid waste by his enemies. Now that it has been recovered he makes provision for the monks. The document survives in two versions, dating from 1093 and 1096, which suggests Godfrey's possession of Stenay was only consolidated by a relatively late date.<sup>56</sup> The earlier charter names Count Arnulf, that is to say of Chiny, as the usurper of Stenay, and lays great stress on the legality of Godfrey's title to it. Further evidence for a continuation of hostilities into the 1090s can be found in the Annals of Mouzon, which mention an incensio Mosomi et devastatio in the year 1092.<sup>57</sup> The destruction of the castle of Mouzon midway between Bouillon and Stenay was evidently still a bone of contention between Godfrey and Arnulf in 1095.<sup>58</sup>

Godfrey's position in the county of Verdun appears to have been even less favorable. Unlike his predecessors he is not known to have issued any documents as count.<sup>59</sup> A final settlement with the bishop was not reached until his departure for the Holy Land. Its terms throw considerable light on the respective positions of bishop and count at this stage. Stenay and Mouzay were purchased by Bishop Richer 'for many



pounds of gold or silver'; however for surrendering his rights to the county Godfrey received nothing. In fact, as part of the general settlement he was obliged to raze the fortifications of Montfaucon. This suggests that Godfrey's only foothold in the county was the march of Argonne which lay outwith the diocese.<sup>60</sup>

### III

Godfrey's uncle, like many previous members of the family, had been duke of Lower Lotharingia. However in 1076 Godfrey did not succeed him as duke. Instead Henry IV installed as duke his own infant son Conrad, whose capacity was thus purely nominal. Albert III of Namur, Godfrey's enemy, was made vice-duke. Not until the coronation of Conrad in 1087 does Godfrey appear with the ducal function.<sup>61</sup> In the intervening years he acted as margrave of Antwerp; this office appears to have been specially created out of certain ducal powers exercisable within a limited area, and was evidently meant as a consolation prize.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless there is little evidence of any activity of Godfrey as margrave, which is hardly surprising in view of the struggles over the Ardennes-Verdun inheritance which raged throughout this period. There was therefore a clear distinction between the hereditary lands in which Godfrey succeeded in 1076 (although his title to these was of course contested) and the ducal office which he assumed only eleven years later.

What were the powers and functions of the duke of Lower Lotharingia? In the German kingdom much depended on the character of each individual duchy. In these duchies with a pronounced tribal, or ethnic identity, such as Swabia or Saxony, there existed at least a latent right of the nobility as representatives of the populus to appoint or install the duke, who was regarded as leader of the tribe.<sup>63</sup> Lotharingia however had no separate ethnic identity; its origins were political. The regnum Lotharii was originally the portion of the Frankish empire assigned to Lothar II.<sup>64</sup> Its inhabitants were considered to be part of the Frankish tribe; nevertheless they were culturally diverse, being divided among speakers of French, Frisian and various High and Low German dialects.<sup>65</sup>



This diversity was exacerbated by the administrative division of Lotharingia into two duchies, Upper (Mosellan) and Lower, corresponding to the ecclesiastical provinces of Trier and Cologne, after its incorporation into the East Frankish kingdom in the tenth century.<sup>66</sup>

While both of these duchies were held by various members of the Ardennes-Verdun family, the duke was regularly appointed and installed by the king.<sup>67</sup> Equally, the king could depose the duke (as in the case of Godfrey II) or keep the ducal function in effective abeyance by appointing an absentee (as in the case of the infant Conrad). The two Lotharingian duchies, then, were not hereditary principalities, but offices bestowed by the monarchy. The ducatus which was the office bestowed, and which it would perhaps be better to translate as 'ducal authority', was not the territory itself, but rather a fief consisting of delegated powers and functions which were exercised within the limits of that territory.<sup>68</sup>

The original function, implicit in the title dux and its vernacular equivalent Herzog, was a military one. In time of war the duke was leader of the troops of the duchy, the magister militiae Lotharingiae.<sup>69</sup> The duke was obliged to maintain the peace, defend the frontiers and police the highways. He also had certain powers of jurisdiction, although these seem only to have existed where the duke also possessed comital authority.<sup>70</sup> However by the time of Godfrey of Bouillon ducal power in Lower Lotharingia had decreased considerably to the advantage of other sources of public authority. This process had begun a century before. In 980 Otto II confirmed to Bishop Notger of Liège all previous donations to his church with the important additional concession that no-one except the bishop might exercise jurisdiction or raise taxes within the temporal possessions of the bishopric.<sup>71</sup> These may have been fairly modest in extent at this stage, but with this general immunity they formed the nucleus of the future ecclesiastical principality.<sup>72</sup> Soon after this Notger received a complete county, Huy, and in the course of the eleventh century the monarchy added the counties of Brugeron and Haspinga as well as numerous other territories.<sup>73</sup> The defence of this territorial structure was consolidated by a policy of construction and acquisition of strongholds, which received a new impetus in 1090s as a result of the Investiture Contest and the

departure of important lords on the crusade.<sup>74</sup> The growth of the power of the prince-bishops was reflected in the military forces of Liège. Notger had been expected to provide Otto II with 60 armed horsemen; in 1071 Bishop Theoduin pledged himself to aid the countess of Hainault with 500 milites should they be required.<sup>75</sup> In addition to the knights the bishop could also call on various urban militias.<sup>76</sup>

In a parallel development the church of Utrecht acquired the counties of Teisterbant, Groningen, Drenthe, Hamaland, Oostergo and Westergo as well as the comitatus Agridiogensis on the eastern shore of the IJsselmeer.<sup>77</sup> The county of Fivelgo in Friesland had been granted to the church of Hamburg.<sup>78</sup> The imperial policy of creating ecclesiastical principalities by the grants of comital powers and immunities to the bishops thus effectively excluded ducal authority from well over half of Lower Lotharingia. Even then it is difficult to establish to what extent this existed in the remainder. It would be wrong to regard the duke as suzerain of Lower Lotharingia; we have evidence for such a relationship only in one case. In 1071 the Countess Richilda of Hainault sought imperial protection from the encroachments of the count of Flanders. In return for this she surrendered Hainault, Valenciennes and all her allodial possessions which she received back as fiefs. They were held by Richilda in the first instance of Duke Godfrey III, who in turn held them from the bishop of Liège. The status of Hainault as vassal of the duke, which was clearly an exceptional relationship, lapsed on the death of Godfrey III without direct male heirs, as specified in the treaty.<sup>79</sup> The only area where Godfrey of Bouillon had a legal right to exercise jurisdiction was in the march of Antwerp; otherwise he did not possess a single county within the borders of his ducatus.<sup>80</sup>

The diminution of the public authority of the duke was accompanied by inroads into the traditional military functions of the magister militiae Lotharingiae. In the first half of the eleventh century the duke often acted to defend the frontier and maintain the peace on royal orders.<sup>81</sup> Yet during the revolt of Godfrey II in 1044-46 the main resistance came not from the Dukes Gerard of Alsace and Frederick of Luxembourg, but from the Bishops Theoduin of Liège, Bernold of Utrecht and Adalbero of Metz.<sup>82</sup> Godfrey III is known to have led the troops of the duchy during the Saxon campaigns of Henry IV, although the episcopal



contingents had long been excluded from ducal command. There is no evidence of any similar activity by Godfrey IV. In this respect two twelfth century writers have given a misleading picture of Godfrey's activities as duke. William of Tyre claims that he fought on the side of Henry IV at the battle of the Elster (Grüna) in Saxony (15 October 1080) against the anti-king Rudolf of Swabia, while Albert of Aachen mentions his presence on the Italian campaign of 1081-84.<sup>83</sup> Yet it must be remembered that at this time Godfrey was not yet duke; he had little incentive to participate in distant expeditions considering that he still engaged in the war of succession over the Ardennes-Verdun inheritance. On the contrary local sources attest to his activity in Lotharingia during this period.<sup>84</sup>

One of these was his participation in the movement known as the Peace of God. In addition to numerous feuds and acts of brigandage Lower Lotharingia was increasingly ravaged by the struggle over Godfrey's inheritance and by the Investiture Contest, especially after the election of Hermann of Salm as anti-king in 1081 in succession to Rudolf of Swabia. Significantly it was Henry of Verdun, Bishop of Liège, who proclaimed the peace in March of that year. Both Albert of Namur as vice-duke and later Godfrey remained content to leave the initiative to the bishop who exercised both the direction and the jurisdiction of the peace.<sup>85</sup> This tendency contrasted sharply with neighbouring Flanders where the peace rapidly developed into a comital institution.<sup>86</sup>

The administration of the peace can hardly be considered a surprising phenomenon considering the military strength of the bishop. Theoretically the duke could command the king's vassals in order to maintain the peace; this was clearly an impossibility where they were his personal enemies. An illuminating passage in the Chronicle of St Hubert, referring to Godfrey III, suggests that the militia sui ducaminis consisted of the knights of Bouillon: the only reliable force available to the duke was his own Hausmacht.<sup>87</sup>

The Peace of God is merely one illustration of the impotence of ducal authority by the end of the eleventh century. Another is the policy of the monarchy in appointing dukes. Whereas the tribal duchies with their separatist tendencies were normally given to men from outside the duchy, frequently relatives of the royal family, in Lotharingia the



monarchy was content to appoint natives.<sup>89</sup> From the mid eleventh century the ecclesiastical principalities were more than a counterweight to ducal power. Thus there is clearly little justification to speak of a 'sovereign as duke of Lotharingia' or an 'effective feudal lordship of Lower Lorraine' as some historians of the crusades have done.<sup>90</sup>

Even Godfrey of Bouillon's possession of his hereditary lands was insecure for much of the period 1076-96. The crusade in fact was the occasion for the dissolution of the entire Ardennes-Verdun domains. The financing of the crusade was thus combined with a general settlement with Godfrey's opponents. The bishop of Verdun still claimed the right to dispose of the county of Verdun. After the confiscation of the Countess Mathilda's German lands by the monarchy he was therefore the legal successor to her claims on Stenay and Mouzay.<sup>91</sup> Godfrey surrendered his rights to the county and sold Stenay and Mouzay to the bishop for an unspecified sum.<sup>92</sup> The allods of Baisy and Genappe were sold to the abbey of St Gertrude at Nivelles.<sup>93</sup> The smaller properties around Maastricht were either sold or given to the Church as pious donations.<sup>94</sup> The crucial event, however, was the mortgage of the castle of Bouillon, along with its allodial territory and the fief of Rheims, to the episcopal church of Liège.<sup>95</sup> Theoretically Godfrey and his brothers Eustace and Baldwin had the right to redeem the mortgage. However the disposal of each parcel of property, often as a gift to the church, at a time when Godfrey was resorting to desperate measures to raise finance, is an indication that he had little intention of returning. As in the case of Verdun, the transactions in Lower Lotharingia probably incorporated a settlement in the question of the Bouillon succession. Three of the witnesses to the sale of Baisy and Genappe, named immediately after Godfrey and Baldwin, were Gerardus lantgrave, Henricus frater eius and Gozuinus de Hinseberg. The first two were also present at the donation of the church at Genappe to the abbey of Afflighem, and can be identified as Gerard, Count of Geldern, and Henry of Kriekenbeek, sons of the Theoderic Flamens who had claimed part of Godfrey's lands and died in the castle of Bouillon in 1082. The third, Gosuin of Heinsberg, was their uncle; it is significant that he received a share, namely 50 silver marks, of the sum paid by Bishop Otbert for Bouillon.<sup>96</sup>

The decision to join the crusade and the financial preparations for it thus led directly to the dissolution of the landed structure of the House of Ardennes-Verdun. The landed properties were dispersed. Godfrey seems to have remained duke; at least no successor was appointed by Henry IV until late 1101.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless in Lotharingian terms the office of duke had neither authority nor power without the support of a Hausmacht. Godfrey's departure and decision to remain in the east thus represented the wholesale transfer of the family tradition which had abandoned its Lotharingian roots.

#### IV

The House of Boulogne originated as a cadet branch of the House of Flanders. The first count, Adelolf, was a younger son of Baldwin II (the Bald) whose possession of the Boulonnais and Ternois had been confirmed by Charles the Simple shortly after his accession in 898.<sup>97</sup> The counts were thus descended from Charlemagne through Baldwin's mother Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. More Carolingian blood was acquired on the marriage of Eustace I (died ca. 1049) with Mathilda, daughter of Lambert I of Louvain, herself descended from Charlemagne on both sides. This connection was evidently of great importance to the Boulognes: a son of this marriage was named after his maternal grandfather, while a daughter was given the Carolingian name Gerberga.<sup>98</sup> The consciousness of the particular quality of the Boulogne ancestry was expressed in one of the earliest surviving genealogies of a comital family. The earliest versions, composed in the closing years of the eleventh century, trace the dynasty's descent from Merovingian times through Charlemagne down to the three sons of Eustace II and Ida of Ardennes-Verdun.<sup>99</sup> The life of St Ida, written in the Boulonnais in the 1130s refers to Eustace as 'heros quidam genere nobilissimus, Carolo etiam regi consanguinitate proximus'.<sup>100</sup> The fact that the author of neither work thought it necessary or advantageous to mention Ida's own Carolingian ancestry is itself a silent but eloquent testimony to the well-developed dynastic consciousnesses of the House of Boulogne.



The principal possession of the dynasty was the county of Boulogne, which was held from the count of Flanders and was thus a rear-fief of the king of France. It occupied the greater part of the former pagus Bononiensis. The detached territorium Mercatii to the north, consisting of Marck, Calais and their dependencies, was separated from the main body of the county by the neighbouring county of Guînes whose lords were related to the Boulognes and like them vassals of Flanders.<sup>101</sup> To the south lay the county of Saint-Pol in the Ternois, whose lords were vassals of the count of Boulogne.<sup>102</sup>

This core possession was greatly augmented in the course of the eleventh century. Around 1028 Eustace I acquired the comitatus Scribiu or county of Lens, and with it the advocacy of the fisc of Harnes which was a domain of the Abbey of St Peter at Ghent. These lands passed to a younger son, Lambert, but on his death in battle in 1056 reverted to his elder brother Eustace II.<sup>103</sup>

The prospects of landward expansion were severely restricted by the wealthy and well-run domains of the count of Flanders. On the other hand Boulogne's position on the English Channel indicated England as a potential sphere of interest. Eustace II's first marriage to Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor, was probably the expression of this policy and his presence in England as an envied favourite of the king is attested in the period before 1066.<sup>104</sup> However it was his participation in the Norman Conquest which brought the most significant gains. Eustace fought at Hastings, not as a vassal of William the Conqueror but as an ally on a free enterprise basis and was rewarded with a vast fief, made up of numerous non-contiguous holdings, which came to be known as the Honour of Boulogne. This consisted of lands in Essex, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Somerset, Kent, Surrey, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Oxfordshire and Hampshire. In Essex and Hertfordshire Eustace was the greatest lay landholder. This fief received the service of 120 knights, most of whom seem to have originated in the Boulonnais. In addition Eustace's wife Ida had English holdings of her own.<sup>105</sup>

Thus at one stroke Eustace II was transformed into one of the greatest landholders and tenants-in-chief in England. The Conquest furthermore acted as a catalyst to the natural potential inherent in

Boulogne's geographical situation. In this period Calais, Dunkirk and Oostende had not yet been developed as ports. Thus the comital harbours of Boulogne and Wissant came to handle most of the cross-Channel traffic, including a large proportion of the lucrative English wool trade on its way to the cloth industry of Flanders. Thus the strategic position of the county gave it a political and economic importance out of all proportion to its size. In contrast to the apanage mentality which had previously threatened to split the inheritance (as in the case of Lambert of Lens) the Boulogne possessions on both sides of the channel were regarded as a whole, and passed in their entirety to Eustace's eldest son Eustace III. The younger Eustace contracted a marriage with Mary of Scotland, daughter of Malcolm III and Margaret of Hungary. As well as being a king's daughter, Mary was also a representative of the old Anglo-Saxon royal house. This alliance reflected both the insular interests and the new prestige of the House of Boulogne. Despite his status as rear-vassal of the king of France, Eustace III was probably wealthier than his brother Godfrey. Unlike him there are no indications that Eustace was obliged to sell or mortgage property in order to finance the crusade.<sup>106</sup>

V

We have seen that the two inheritances, those of Boulogne and Ardennes-Verdun, were kept separate in the hands of Eustace and Godfrey respectively. The youngest son, Baldwin, was apparently intended to receive no part of either paternal or maternal inheritance. To make provision for him the family resorted to a practice common among the nobility of western Europe. According to William of Tyre Baldwin studied the liberal arts and then trained for the priesthood, obtaining prebends in the episcopal churches of Cambrai, Rheims and Liège.<sup>107</sup> To judge from the locations of these benefices their acquisition was probably the result of family influence. It would certainly have been understandable for Godfrey to exercise influence on the bishop of Liège, at that time his kinsmen and ally Henry of Verdun. The provision of a benefice for



his younger brother may have been a quid pro quo for such acts as the donation of Tellin to the abbey of St Hubert in 1076.<sup>109</sup>

At some point before the crusade Baldwin left the church in order to become a knight.<sup>109</sup> This decision may have been made as early as the 1080s. During the siege of Stenay, dated by Laurence of Liège to the fortieth year of the episcopate of Theoderic of Verdun (1086) he and Eustace organized military support for Godfrey, an activity more appropriate to the lifestyle of a knight than that of a cleric.<sup>110</sup> Another factor in Baldwin's changed status may have been the Archbishop of Rheims, who supported Theoderic of Verdun. After leaving the church Baldwin contracted a marriage to Godechilde, or Godivere, daughter of Ralph II of Tosny.<sup>111</sup> This was a brilliant alliance for a younger son. The origins of the House of Tosny date back to the tenth century when a certain Hugh, a Frenchman rather than a Norman by origin, became Archbishop of Rouen around 942 and made over to his brother Ralph I the domain of Tosny in Normandy, previously part of the estates of the Church. Ralph's son Roger fought the Muslims in Spain and founded the abbey of Conches. His son Ralph II was banner-bearer of Normandy and lord of Tosny and Conches, an honour in eastern Normandy comprising 50 knights' fiefs. Although deprived of his lands and banished by Duke William they were restored in 1063. Three years later Ralph fought at Hastings and was awarded lands in Berkshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Norfolk and Worcestershire. The caput baroniae of this holding was Hampstead in Hertfordshire. By his wife Isabelle, daughter of Simon of Montfort-l'Amaury, Ralph had three children: Roger, who died young; Ralph III, who inherited his lands; and Godechilde. Baldwin's wife was therefore not an heiress. However, the marriage offered prospects of advancement both in Normandy itself, but even more so in England where Eustace III and Ida were already important landholders. Robert of Stafford, a younger brother of Roger I, and a cousin of theirs also called Robert had both obtained English lands after the conquests. With Baldwin's connections he probably could have looked forward to a successful career.<sup>112</sup> The importance of the English holdings of the Tosny family explains William of Tyre's description of Baldwin's wife: 'Uxorem ex Anglia duxit illustrem et nobilem dominam Gutueram nomine'.<sup>113</sup> Baldwin's marriage therefore was not merely an

alliance between two dynasties in Flanders and Normandy, but between two of the greatest landed interests in England. The alliance was consolidated in 1103, when Godechilde's brother Ralph III married Alice, the daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, and his wife Judith, herself a daughter of Lambert of Lens (brother of Eustace II) and Alice, sister or half sister of William the Conqueror.<sup>114</sup>

This alliance was thus consistent with the policy of the House of Boulogne, which looked towards England as its most profitable sphere of interest. Certainly for most of the period prior to the crusade Baldwin appears to have been associated mostly with Boulogne and Normandy. Orderic Vitalis mentions his frequent presence at the castle of Conches before 1090; his marriage may therefore have dated from around this time. Significantly, his one appearance in Lotharingia during this time was in the company of Eustace.<sup>115</sup> However, in the period immediately preceding the crusade his presence in Lotharingia becomes more frequent. He and Eustace, in that order, appear as witnesses to a charter of Godfrey recording the donation of the church at Baisy to the abbey of St Hubert. However, neither the date, 1084, nor the indiction which suggests 1094 make much sense; the phrase 'sed quia Jherusalem ire disposui' could only have been used after the Council of Clermont in November 1095. The most likely explanation of this inconsistency is that the charter was recreated at some point after the great fire which destroyed the cartulary of the monastery in 1130. Kurth has suggested that the scribe responsible confused the order of the brothers' birth as a result of their subsequent importance, and therefore placed Baldwin's name before that of Eustace on the witness list.<sup>116</sup>

We can compare this charter with the other documents of Godfrey's recording the disposal of the Ardennes-Verdun properties. The donation of the church of Stenay to the monastery of Gorze twice uses the formula 'ego ... et frater meus Balduinus'. Baldwin also sealed the document immediately after his brother.<sup>117</sup> The charter which originally recorded the sale of allods to the Abbey of St Gertrude at Nivelles in 1096 has been lost; however the text was later incorporated wholesale into a royal diploma issued at Aachen in February 1098. In the original text the formula 'dux Godefridus et frater eius Balduinus' appears both in the subscription and at the head of the witness list.<sup>118</sup> Eustace was not



present at either transaction. It seems that here we have confirmation of the order which placed Baldwin before Eustace on the charter for St Hubert. How can we explain Baldwin's presence in Lotharingia and the prominence accorded him in Godfrey's documents?

Godfrey had come to Lotharingia as a young man and spent most of his time before the Council of Clermont fighting to secure his inheritance. He never married. Despite the ruthlessness he showed towards the established church on occasions, Godfrey displayed a personal piety which seemed to characterise the entire Ardennes-Boulogne family with, rather ironically, the exception of Baldwin. On crusade Godfrey's knights complained of his devotion to prayer which they considered excessive.<sup>119</sup> Eustace III later resigned his county and entered a Cluniac house; their mother Ida was renowned for her saintly life and was later canonized.<sup>120</sup> It may therefore have been for religious reasons that Godfrey remained unmarried. What is important is that he had no direct heir. Eustace was already a rear-vassal of the king of France and was therefore probably unacceptable as heir to the Ardennes-Verdun lands which lay within the Empire. For the German monarchy there already existed the unhappy precedent of Baldwin VI of Flanders who had for a time also ruled Hainault after his marriage to Richilda, widow of Count Herman. Henry IV had taken considerable pains to break up this concentration of power which sprawled across the frontier.<sup>121</sup>

A last piece of evidence suggests that Baldwin's shift of interests may have been connected with a change in his status. When Godfrey decided to go on crusade in 1095 or 1096 he surrendered his rights to the county of Verdun as part of a general settlement with Bishop Richer. The bishop thereupon conferred the comitatum urbis on Baldwin, who however after a short time decided to accompany his brother and also gave up the county.<sup>122</sup> There may therefore have been an agreement between the two brothers that on the departure of Godfrey Baldwin was to inherit his Lotharingian possessions. From Baldwin's perspective this may have seemed attractive. Eustace was already married; Baldwin's chances of inheriting any of the family lands must therefore have been greater in Lotharingia than in Boulogne. Also, there is no indication that the English prospects originally raised by his marriage to Godechilde of Tosny had been realised by this date. If these

suppositions are correct, why then did Baldwin change his mind so quickly and go on crusade?

The simple answer may be that by the time of departure, the autumn of 1096, there was little left to inherit. Godfrey had sold or mortgaged every possession. Without the core territory of Bouillon, now in the hands of the bishop of Liège, Baldwin probably regarded the position of episcopal count of Verdun as untenable. If he was ever to make use of the right of repurchase of Bouillon it was more likely that he would obtain the necessary funds through conquest and booty in the east.

The discussion of the role of Baldwin yields two important conclusions. Firstly, while the Boulogne and Ardennes-Verdun inheritances had been kept as separate blocs, Baldwin formed an important link between the two; to put it another way, he personified a joint Ardennes-Boulogne tradition, a role which continued throughout the crusade. He and Godechilde went east in the army of Godfrey. However it is likely that he was personally acquainted with many of the men in the armies of Robert II of Flanders and Robert of Normandy. Baldwin's own company, with which he later carved out the county of Edessa, was created in the course of the crusade. In September 1097 Baldwin and his men were holding the port of Tarsus in Cilicia, when a fleet of pirates and mercenaries from Flanders, Denmark and Frisia arrived commanded by one Winemar of Boulogne. To their surprise the pirates were understood by the garrison who spoke their language. This incident suggests that at least part of Baldwin's company was drawn from Boulogne and Flanders where Flemish was the vernacular tongue.<sup>123</sup>

Secondly, Baldwin's move to Lotharingia and the status accorded him by Godfrey indicates that he was already recognised as his brother's heir before the departure of the crusade. On the journey east he acted as deputy commander. He was left in charge of the army at Bruck an der Leitha while Godfrey negotiated with the king of Hungary, and again at Constantinople.<sup>124</sup> This status explains why on Godfrey's death in 1100 the domus Godefridi under the leadership of the Lotharingian Warner of Grez summoned Baldwin rather than his elder brother Eustace to come and rule in Jerusalem.<sup>125</sup>

Thus we have seen that the first ruling house of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem derived from two distinct traditions: a Lotharingian



tradition based on the house of Ardennes-Verdun, and its possessions in the Empire; and a Flemish-Artesian tradition based on the counts of Boulogne, vassals of the king of France. The first was represented primarily by Godfrey of Bouillon, the second by Eustace of Boulogne, while the third brother, Baldwin, acted both in Europe and on the course of the crusade as a link between the two. These two component traditions were vastly different. The Boulogne tradition was in an ascendant on the eve of the crusade. Despite their relatively lowly status as rear-vassals of the French monarchy, the counts had expanded their possessions on the continent and greatly augmented these by profiting from the Norman Conquest of England, which had brought Boulogne a new political and economic importance. The Lotharingian tradition, on the other hand, was in a descendant; the power of the Ardennes-Verdun dynasty had entered a rapid decline in the mid-eleventh century. Godfrey of Bouillon spent most of his time in Lotharingia trying to keep the inheritance together, and as a result of continual warfare was unable to assert ducal authority during his tenure of that office. Lastly, and what is most significant for the early history of the kingdom of Jerusalem, we must bear in mind that the Lotharingian possessions of its ruling house had ceased to exist by the time the kingdom was established; only Boulogne remained as a European point of contact for the Jerusalem monarchy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. L. Vanderkindere, La formation territoriale des principautés belges au moyen âge (Brussels, 1902), I, 333-34; J. C. Andressohn, The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey de Bouillon (Bloomington, 1947), p. 21.

2. WT pp. 370-72.

3. Genealogia comitum Buloniensium, MGH SS IX, 300-1; Vita Beatae Idae, PL CLV, 439.

4. W. Mohr, Geschichte des Herzogtums Lothringen (Saarbrücken, 1976), I, 51-60. Godfrey's surname derived from a lengthy period of imprisonment in the West Frankish kingdom after his capture by King Lothar at Verdun in 984.

5. H. Renn, Das erste Luxemburger Grafenhaus (Berlin, 1941), pp 23ff; G. Tellenbach, 'From the Carolingian Imperial Nobility to the German Estate of Imperial Princes', in T. Reuter, The Mediaeval Nobility (Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, 1979), p. 211.

6. In historiography the Godfrey-Gozelo dynasty has been referred to by the names Ardennes, Bouillon, Verdun and various permutations thereof. For the sake of consistency it is called here 'Ardennes-Verdun', while 'Ardennes-Boulogne' refers to the three sons of Eustace II of Boulogne and Ida of Ardennes-Verdun. The numbering of the various Godfreys and Gozelos follows the most common convention, being used only of those who held ducal office, irrespective of whether this applied to Upper or Lower Lotharingia. Godfrey the Captive's eldest son is thus Godfrey I.

7. Mohr, II, 41-63; Andressohn, pp. 9-18.

8. LL p. 495; Cant. pp. 90-92.

9. MGH DD Heinrich III, No. 408; J. Bertholet, Histoire ecclesiastique et civile du duché du Luxembourg et du comté de Chiny (Luxembourg, 1743), III, preuves, xxviii.

10. M. Van Rey, Die Lütticher Gaue Condroz und Ardenne im Frühmittelalter (Bonn, 1977), p. 291.

11. Adam of Bremen, Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum ed. W. Trillmich (Darmstadt, 1961), pp. 334, 384.

12. MGH DD Heinrich III, No. 152. On the evidence of DD Heinrich II, No. 504 and Konrad II, No. 43 it would seem that the county had previously been granted to the church of Utrecht although it was in Gozelo's possession by the 1040s.

13. Hermann of Reichenau, Chronicon, MGH SS V, 125.



14. F. Weigle, Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims, MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit II (Berlin, Dublin, Zürich, 1966), No. 129.

15. E. Poncelet, 'Les droits souverains de la principauté de Liège sur le duché de Bouillon' BCRH 108 (1943), 257-258. Andressohn (p. 31) mistakenly refers to a county of Bouillon.

16. Cant. pp. 64-65; Giselbert of Mons, Chronicon Hanoniense, ed. L. Vanderkindere (Brussels, 1904), p. 43; Van Rey, pp. 709-10, 716-17, 720-30. MGH DD Heinrich III, No. 51 (1040) shows that for a time Paliseul was held illegally by Hermann of Eename, brother of Godfrey I and Gozelo I.

17. Cant. p. 59.

18. Cant. pp. 64-65.

19. H. Müller-Kehlen, Die Ardennen im Frühmittelalter (Göttingen, 1973), pp. 50-54.

20. Cant. pp. 11-15, 91-93.

21. S. Bormans and E. Schoolmeesters, Cartulaire de l'église de Saint-Lambert de Liège (Brussels, 1893-1933), I, No. 35; Cant. pp. 244-45

22. C. Zoller-Devroey, 'Feodalité et économie dans les Ardennes médiévales: le fief de Bouillon en Sedanais', in Centenaire du Séminaire d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles (Brussels, 1977), pp. 21-57.

23. Abbé Clouët, Histoire de Verdun et du pays verdunois (Verdun, 1868), I, 402; M. Parisse, La noblesse lorraine XIe-XIIIe siècle (Lille, Paris, 1976), pp. 14-15.

24. MGH DD Friedrich I, No. 149.

25. Clouët, II, 26; Parisse, Noblesse lorraine, p. 15.

26. LL p. 492: 'hunc idem imperator inter multa alia comitatum huius urbis, quem a praedecessoribus suis tenebat, iam in curia sua exheredavit, ipsumque comitatum Richardo urbis episcopo manu dederat, ut alteri, quem idoneum iudicasset, illum traderet'.

27. LL pp. 492-93.

28. J. P. Evrard, 'Les actes des évêques de Verdun' (unpublished dissertation, University of Nancy, 1973), Nos. 15, 22, 23, 24, 37, 45. No. 46 is an exception to this rule, although the Count Godfrey II is named in the dating formula immediately after Duke Frederick.

29. Evrard, Nos. 55-88 inclusive.

30. A. Cauchie, La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai (Louvain, 1890), viii-x; A. Danzer, 'La querelle des

investitures dans les évêchés de Metz, Toul et Verdun de 1075 à 1122', Annales de l'Est 16 (1902), 85-100.

31. A. Calmet, Histoire de la Lorraine (Nancy, 1728), I, 466-67.

32. Evrard, Nos. 67, 69; LL pp. 494-97.

33. H. Bloch, 'Die älteren Urkunden des Klosters S. Vanne zu Verdun', JGLGA 14 (1902), No. 54.

34. Clouët, I, 167.

35. R. Parisot, Les origines de la Haute-Lorraine et sa première maison ducale 959-1033 (Paris, 1909), pp. 177-79.

36. The claim of Mathilda is mentioned in MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 373 (1085).

37. Cant. pp. 106-8, 217-18; J. L. Charles, La ville de Saint-Trond en moyen âge (Paris, 1965), pp. 242-43.

38. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 459.

39. S. P. Ernst, Histoire du Limbourg (Liège, 1837-52), VI, 113-15.

40. In 1096 Bishop Otbert of Liège disposed of two mills near Maastricht formerly in the possession of Godfrey (A. Wauters, Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes imprimés concernant l'histoire de la Belgique I (Brussels, 1866), 601).

41. MF I, 77. Godfrey's donation may be same as that mentioned in the Chronicon Afflighemense (MGH SS IX, 415) which also comprised five mansi.

42. In the three documents in question Eustace is mentioned in only one, that for Afflighem, where his consent is given after that of Godfrey.

43. Parisot, 177-79; Mohr, II, 63.

44. Considerable confusion exists concerning Regelindis and the Namur claim. Mohr (II, 65) following Breysig ('Gottfried von Bouillon vor dem Kreuzzuge', Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst 17 (1898), 103) claims that Albert III married an elder sister of Godfrey IV's mother Ida. This would of course mean that his claim was better than Godfrey's. However both the Fundatio ecclesiae S. Albani Namucensis (MGH SS XV, 962) and the Genealogia ex stirpe S. Arnulfi (MGH SS XXV, 384) are clear that it was his father Albert II who married a daughter of Gozelo I. Thus the marriage connection was two generations removed from Godfrey of Bouillon. Andressohn (p. 34) confuses the two Alberts and mistakenly identifies Regelindis with Ida of Saxony, widow of Frederick of Luxembourg and wife of Albert III. According to Bernold of St Blasien (Chronicon, MGH SS V, 457) Ida of Ardennes-Verdun did have a sister,



Wiltrudis, who married Count Adalbert of Calw in Swabia, although there is no evidence of any claim from this quarter.

45. F. Rousseau, Actes des comtes de Namur de la première race 946-1196 (Brussels, 1937), xciv-xcvi.

46. P. C. Boeren, 'Overzicht der dynastie van Wassenburg-Gelre en verwante geslachten gedurende de elfde eeuw', Bijdragen en Mededelingen van de Vereeniging Gelre 41 (1938), 1-23; De oorsprong van Limburg en Gelre en enkele naburige heerschappijen (Maastricht, 1938), pp. 71-86.

47. Mohr, II, 64; H. Goffinet, 'Les comtes de Chiny', Annales de l'Institut Archéologique de Luxembourg 9 (1877), 317-42.

48. Evrard, No. 73; Rousseau, lxxxv.

49. LL p. 494.

50. Cant. pp. 104-6.

51. LL pp. 494-97.

52. Cant. pp. 106-8.

53. H. Vanderlinden, 'Le tribunal de paix de Henri de Verdun (1082)', in Mélanges Henri Pirenne (Brussels, 1926), II, 589-96.

54. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 373.

55. LL p. 494; C. Aimond, 'La nécrologe de la cathédrale de Verdun', JGLGA 21 (1910), 313.

56. MF I, 390, 395. For dating see Wauters, I, 581.

57. Annales Mosomagenses, MGH SS III, 162.

58. Cant. p. 192.

59. Wauters (I, 591) and Breysig (p. 196) mention a donation of property at Varnencourt to the abbey of St Ageric (Saint-Airy) issued by Godfrey in 1095. The text, given in F. de Rosières, Stemmata Lotharingiae ac Barri ducum (Paris, 1580) raises suspicions about its authenticity, describing the issuer as: 'Godefridus filius Domini Eustachii Comitiss Bollonei, ac Dominae Idae filiae Domini Godefridi Barbatii Ducis Lotharingiae, Dux Lotharingiae superioris ac Mosellanae, ac Marchio Brabantiae, Hasbaniae, Buillon, sacri Imperii Marchio et Virdunensis'. Godfrey was never duke of Upper, or Mosellan Lotharingiae. Brabant was held by the count of Louvain who became duke of Lower Lotharingia in 1106 while the Haspengau was part of the ecclesiastical principality of Liège. As the text also incorrectly names Godfrey as founder of the abbey this document can only be a most primitive forgery.

60. LL p. 498: 'Ipse Godefridus sanctum iter meditans arma quae in nos moverat abiuravit, pacem cum episcopo Richero composuit, Mosacum et

Sathanacum cum castro quod in nos firmaverat, cum omnibus appenditiis sanctae Mariae in perpetuum tradidit. Unde episcopus auri et argenti pondera plurima ... ei in sumptum sacrae expeditionis contulit ... idem dux castrum Falconii-montis, quod in episcopio firmaverat ... abiens fecit everti'. Andressohn (p. 51) misinterprets this key passage, claiming that the castle of Montfaucon, which he calls 'Falkenstein' was sold by Godfrey to the bishop.

61. H. Vanderlinden, 'La date de la nomination de Godefroid de Bouillon comme duc de Lotharingie', BCRH 90 (1925), 189-92; G. Despy, 'La date de l'accession de Godefroid de Bouillon au duché de Basse-Lotharingie', RBPhH 36 (1958), 1275-84.

62. E. Boshoff, 'Lothringen, Frankreich und das Reich in der Regierungszeit Heirichs III', Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter 42 (1978), 79-84.

63. B. S. Schlotterose, Die Besetzung der deutschen Herzogtümer bis zum Jahre 1125 (Halle, 1912), pp. 16-17; H. Maurer, Der Herzog von Schwaben (Sigmaringen, 1978), pp. 133-35.

64. Mohr, I, 7-9.

65. J. Ficker, Vom Reichsfürstenstande II/3 (Graz, 1911), 5-9; G. Lāwen, Stammesherzog und Stammesherzogtum. Beiträge zur Frage der Rechtstellung von Herzog und Stamm im Mittelalter (Berlin, 1935), pp. 18ff; Tellenbach, p. 215.

66. Mohr, I, 51ff.

67. Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium MGH SS VII, 468; Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronica, MGH SS VI, 355, 357, 359; Annales Altahenses maiores, MGH SS XX, 799, 802, 821; Hermann of Reichenau, pp. 126, 128; Lambert of Hersfeld, Annales, MGH SS V, 243; Annales S. Iacobi Leodiensis, MGH SS XVI, 639.

68. G. Despy, 'La fonction ducale en Lotharingie, puis en Basse-Lotharingie de 900 à 1100', Revue du Nord 48 (1966), 107-9; M. Parisse, 'Les ducs et la duché de Lorraine au XIIe siècle 1048-1206', Blätter für deutsche Landeskunde 111 (1975), 86-102.

69. Triumphus S. Remacii de Malmundariensi coenobio, MGH SS XI, 443.

70. Ficker, *ibid.*; Lāwen, pp. 28-53.

71. MGH DD Otto II, No. 210.

72. Vanderkindere, II, 187; J. L. Kupper, Liège et l'église imperiale XIe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1981), pp. 421-26, 440-41.

73. MGH DD Otto III, No. 16; Kupper, pp. 425-26.

74. R. Deprez, 'La politique castrale dans la principauté de Liège du Xe au XVe siècle', Le Moyen Age 65 (1959), 501-38.



75. Indiculus loricatorum, MGH Constitutiones I (Hannover, 1893), 633; Giselbert of Mons, p. 14.
76. A. Joris, La ville de Huy en moyen âge (Paris, 1959), pp. 110, 124, 450-52; 'Remarques sur les clauses militaires des privilèges urbains liégeois', RBPhH 37 (1959), 297-316.
77. MGH DD Konrad II, No. 64; Heinrich III, Nos. 45, 99, 152, 164; Heinrich IV, No. 402.
78. Adam of Bremen, p. 384.
79. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 242; Infeodatio comitatus Hanoniae, MGH Constitutiones I, No. 441; A. Hansay, 'L'inféodation du comté de Hainault à l'église de Liège en 1071', Bulletin de la Société de l'Art et l'Histoire du Diocèse de Liège 13 (1902), 45-58.
80. Lâwen, pp. 36-41. The county of Verdun, in the ecclesiastical province of Trier, lay in Upper Lotharingia.
81. Anselm, Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium, MGH SS VII, 207; Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, p. 471.
82. E. Dupréel, Histoire critique de Godefroid le Barbu (Uccle, 1904), p. 52.
83. WT pp. 374-75; AA p. 440.
84. H. Dorchy, 'Godefroid de Bouillon duc de Basse-Lotharingie', RBPhH 26 (1948), 970-77.
85. Vanderlinden, 'Tribunal', pp. 589-96; Kupper, pp. 458-60.
86. R. Monier, Les institutions centrales du comté de Flandre de la fin de XIe siècle à 1384 (Paris, 1943), pp. 18-19.
87. Cant. pp. 64-65.
88. Tellenbach, pp. 214-15.
89. Prawer, Crusader Institutions, p. 8; Cowdrey, p. 230.
90. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 373.
91. LL p. 498.
92. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 459 (1098).
93. Ernst, VI, 113-15; MF I, 77.
94. Cant. 203-8; Triumphus S. Lamberti de castro Bullonia, MGH SS XX, 498-500; Renier of St Laurence, Triumphale Bulonicum, MGH SS XX, 584-85; Giselbert of Mons, p. 43.

95. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 459; MF I, 77; Boeren, 'Overzicht', pp. 12-13.

96. Mohr, II, 74.

97. Vanderkindere, I, 333-34; P. Héliot, Histoire de Boulogne et du Boulonnais (Lille, 1937), p. 68; J. Lestocquoy, Histoire des territoires ayant formé le département du Pas-de-Calais (Arras, 1946), p. 41.

98. Vanderkindere, *ibid.*

99. Genealogia comitum Buloniensium, pp. 300-1.

100. Vita Beatae Idae, p. 439.

101. A. Longnon, Etudes sur les pagi de la Gaule (Paris, 1869-72), I, 25-38.

102. Lestocquoy, p. 51; P. Feuchère, 'Les origines du comté de Saint-Pol', Revue du Nord 35 (1953), 125-49.

103. Vanderkindere, I, 326; Lestocquoy, pp. 53ff. Orderic Vitalis (II, 206) makes the puzzling remark that Eustace II was ruler of three counties: Boulogne, Guînes and Théroutanne. However Guînes was never held by him. The northern half of the Ternois, including Théroutanne, Fauquembergues and Saint-Omer, was held directly by the count of Flanders, while the southern half formed the county of Saint-Pol. Therefore the three counties of Eustace are more likely to have been Boulogne, Lens and Saint-Pol.

104. Vanderkindere, I, 333; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Rolls Series, XXIII/1, 313ff; 2, 144ff.

105. J. H. Round, 'The Counts of Boulogne as English Lords', in Studies in Peerage and Family History (Westminster, 1901), pp. 147-64.

106. Héliot, pp. 73ff.

107. WT p. 401. AA (p. 547) says that he was a 'vir litteris eruditus' which presumably refers to his clerical training.

108. Cant. pp. 91-93.

109. WT p. 401: 'Tandem ex causis nobis occultis arma capescens militaria, deposito clerici habitu miles effectus est'.

110. LL p. 494.

111. WT pp. 401-2; Ord. III, 128.

112. L. Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du Xe au XIII siècle', Francia 5 (1977), 55-80.

113. WT p. 401.



114. D. C. Douglas, William the Conqueror (London, 1964), p. 380 and Genealogical Table 2.

115. Ord. IV, 216-218; LL p. 494.

116. G. Kurth, Chartes de l'abbaye de St Hubert en Ardenne (Brussels, 1903- ), I, No. 48.

117. MF I, 365.

118. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 459.

119. WT pp. 366-67. See also AA pp. 521-22.

120. Wauters, II, 132; Vita Beatae Idaae, passim.

121. Hansay, *ibid.*

122. LL p. 498.

123. AA p. 358; WT p. 401.

124. AA pp. 301-2, 307-8.

125. AA pp. 522-26.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE CRUSADING ARMY OF GODFREY OF BOUILLON

#### I

The crusading army led by Godfrey of Bouillon departed for Jerusalem about the middle of August 1096 and marched up the Rhine, down the Danube and through the Balkans to Constantinople. Only at this point did it encounter the other groups which had arrived by routes which took them through Illyria or over the Adriatic. Each of these contingents, called exercitus by the writers who described the crusade, retained its separate identity in the combined crusading army.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from Godfrey himself, his brother Baldwin and Baldwin's wife Godechilde, a central element in Godfrey's exercitus comprised knights who had been in his service prior to the summer of 1096. These included the household officers Ruthard the Butler, Stabelo the Chamberlain and Baldric the Seneschal.<sup>2</sup> Others can be identified by their surnames as Bullonienses, that is vassals holding fiefs in the territory of Bouillon. The most prominent of these were Heribrand, Castellan of Bouillon and his relative Walter of Bouillon.<sup>3</sup> We also know of a Folbertus de castello Bullon and a Philippus de Bulon on crusade, or from so early a time in Palestine that they must have been on crusade.<sup>4</sup>

However we cannot simply assume that Godfrey's household accompanied him in toto to the east. An examination of this body as it existed at the time of his death in July 1100 suggest that the domus Godefridi only evolved gradually in the course of the crusade. One aulic officer, Winrich the Butler, was a Fleming; the household also included three Normans and a Provençal.<sup>5</sup> We therefore cannot equate the domus Godefridi of the crusade and the first year of the Frankish settlement with the household maintained by Godfrey as lord of Bouillon and duke of Lower Lotharingia.



A clue to a possible reason for this is provided by a diploma of Lothar III confirming the sale of Baisy and Genappes by Ida, Godfrey and Baldwin to the abbey at Nivelles in 1096. One clause states:

Genapia ... Basias, quas villas Ida Boloniensis venerabilis comitissa assensu filii sui Godefridi gloriossimi ducis ... cum omnibus appendiciis et cum omni familia ecclesie S. Gertrudis tradidit in perpetuum'.<sup>6</sup>

That is to say, the ministeriales or members of the household attached to these domains were transferred to the service of the new owners. Similarly we must bear in mind that by August 1096 the territory of Bouillon where most of Godfrey's vassals must have held their fiefs was in the possession of the bishop of Liège. Although the three Ardennes-Boulogne brothers had the formal right to redeem the property neither Godfrey nor Baldwin ever returned from Palestine while Eustace apparently gave up his right of repurchase.<sup>7</sup> It is likely that those knights who wished to retain their fiefs became vassals of the prince-bishop. We cannot exclude the possibility that those knights who wished to make the pilgrimage may have been given a leave of absence by their new lord like other lords from the territory of Liège; however the sale of Bouillon must have changed the legal status of most of Godfrey's vassals.

On the other hand we will discover that numerous knights entered Godfrey's service in the course of the crusade. For this reason we cannot be certain whether the chamberlains Adelolf and Geoffrey and the seneschal Matthew had previously been vassals of Godfrey or whether they had come to him from other contingents.<sup>8</sup>

Various lords came from the areas of Lower Lotharingia which surrounded the Ardennes-Verdun territories. Warner, Count of Grez, later became the most prominent of Godfrey's vassals in Jerusalem. He was a kinsman of Godfrey and Baldwin and is mentioned immediately after them in the list of departing crusaders given by Albert of Aachen.<sup>9</sup> The small county of Grez lay sandwiched between the lands of the bishop of Liège and those of the bishop's traditional rivals the counts of Louvain, while both Warner and his brother Henry held lands within the episcopal territory proper.

The crusader Henry de Ascha,<sup>10</sup> who was accompanied by his brother Godfrey,<sup>11</sup> is described as 'filius Fredelonis, unus de collateralibus

ducis Godefridi'. Their father can be identified with a certain Frithelo, described by monkish chronicles at the end of the eleventh century as advocate and despoiler of the abbeys of Malmedy and Echternach. Henry and Godfrey came from the castle of Esch-sur-la-Sûre (Esch-Sauer) in the Ardennes, and were probably vassals of the count of Luxembourg.<sup>12</sup> With them on crusade were kinsmen of theirs from further north, the brothers Franco and Sigemar of Maasmechelen.<sup>13</sup> As in the case of Warner of Grez it is impossible to determine the degree of kinship between these four crusaders and the Ardennes-Boulogne brothers.

Cuno, Count of Montaigu, who was accompanied on crusade by his sons Gozelo and Lambert, was the eldest son of Gozelo, Count of Behogne.<sup>14</sup> Montaigu, the Mons Acutus which was the focal point of his domains, was a castle on the left bank of the River Ourthe near Marcourt in the Ardennes. Cuno was one of the major vassals of the church of Liège. As well as being advocate of Dinant he was episcopal count of Huy, the fortress which lay at the centre of the bishop's dominions and which was his place of refuge in times of danger. His brother, the Archdeacon Henry of Montaigu, was dean at the church of St Lambert, while one of his sons, another Henry, was also an archdeacon and provost of the church of Fosses.<sup>15</sup>

The claim of Orderic Vitalis that Cuno was married to a sister of Godfrey has no basis in fact. Eustace and Ida are not known to have had any daughters, while the Cantatorium states that Cuno's only known wife, Ida, was a daughter of Lambert the Old, a nobleman of the territory of Liège, who was buried at St Hubert.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless the name Gozelo, borne by Cuno's father as well as his eldest son, clearly points to some kind of relationship with the Ardennes-Verdun dynasty which used it as a leading-name.

As the younger Gozelo died on the crusade, Cuno was succeeded by his younger son Lambert, who also became count of Clermont. The acquisition of this fortress on the right bank of the Meuse between Huy and Liège throws light on the identification of another crusader in Godfrey's army who has escaped the attention of historians.

Lambert did not become count of Clermont until after the crusade.<sup>17</sup> The previous count was called Giselbert. A document of 1083 relates how the church of St Paul at Liège possessed a domain at Nandrin near the



castle of Clermont. The Count Giselbert and his accomplice Fredelo continually committed depredations on this land, so that the inhabitants dared not gather wood or till the soil. The prince-bishop of Liège (Henry of Verdun) gave the advocacy of this domain to Count Cuno, in whose county the land was situated, and forced Giselbert and Fredelo to restore what they had usurped.<sup>19</sup> This information provides a revealing personal constellation. Cuno was of course the count of Montaigu; Fredelo was in all probability the same despoiler of Malmédy and Echternach, father of the crusaders Henry and Godfrey of Esch. In 1091 Giselbert of Clermont again appears with his wife Longarde and brother Herman when they gave the church of Saint-Symphorien to the abbey of Cluny.<sup>19</sup> By 1095 the castle of Clermont had become such a menace to shipping on the Meuse that Otbert, the new bishop, organised an expedition to besiege it as part of the campaign to enforce the Peace of God in his diocese. The siege lasted from 29 June to 9 August 1095, ending unsuccessfully, partly because Godfrey of Bouillon and other nobles in the army refused to attack the castle owing to an unresolved dispute concerning the deposed abbot of St Hubert.<sup>20</sup>

In his study of the counts of Behogne and Rochefort Roland was unable to explain how Lambert of Montaigu acquired the county of Clermont. He assumed that after the death of Giselbert his castle was occupied by brigands, leading to the siege of 1095, and that his daughter later married Lambert. However a different interpretation of the facts provides a more plausible explanation of events. The activities of the anonymous occupants of Clermont in 1095 are entirely consistent with those of Count Giselbert and his accomplice Fredelo in 1083; what a monkish chronicler regarded as brigandage was no doubt perceived by the noblemen as the legitimate levying of tolls on river traffic. Nevertheless this noble way of life was becoming increasingly redundant in the face of an energetic bishop determined to pacify his diocese. A terse entry in the chronicle of Giles of Orval for the year 1095 reveals that what Otbert failed to achieve by force was now accomplished by purchase.<sup>21</sup> The acquisition of Clermont and its subsequent enfeoffment to the episcopal vassal Lambert of Montaigu can be seen as part of a consistent policy of purchase which also brought to the prince-bishop the important fortresses of Mirwart, Couvin and

Bouillon. For Count Giselbert the obvious avenue of opportunity and escape was the crusade. Far from having died in 1095 he departed with Godfrey, appearing as Giselbertus de Claro Monte as a member of the household of Baldwin in Cilicia in the winter of 1097. Milo of Clermont, later in Godfrey's household, was probably a relative or follower of Giselbert.<sup>22</sup>

All of the crusaders discussed so far either came from the lands of Godfrey of Bouillon or from the surrounding areas of the Ardennes. The charter recording the sale of Baisy and Genappe in 1095 indicates that no fewer than eight crusaders were present at this transaction: Godfrey, Baldwin, Cuno of Montaigu, Warner of Grez, Henry and Godfrey of Esch and Heribrand and Walter of Bouillon.<sup>23</sup> It is possible that this meeting and others like it presented an opportunity to formulate and discuss plans for the journey to Jerusalem. Geographically removed from this close-knit group was Baldwin II of Mons, Count of Hainault.<sup>24</sup> His preference for the company of Godfrey rather than that of his neighbour Robert II of Flanders can probably be explained in terms of dynastic politics. He was the second son of Richilda of Hainault and Baldwin VI of Flanders who jointly ruled both counties. However on his father's death his uncle Robert I usurped Flanders in a revolt in which his brother Arnulf III was killed. Baldwin and Richilda were left with Hainault, guaranteed to them by Henry IV in a settlement at the diet of Liège in 1071, by which they became vassals of Godfrey III of Lower Lotharingia and rear-vassals of Liège. On the death of Godfrey in 1076 Baldwin became a direct vassal of the prince-bishop.<sup>25</sup> As ruler of a large county he was probably accompanied in the crusade by vassals of his own, of whom we can identify at least two: Gerard of Avesnes and Giselbert of Couvin.<sup>26</sup>

A third element in the exercitus of Godfrey consisted of lords and knights from the neighbouring duchy of Upper Lotharingia and adjacent areas of the French kingdom. The decision of these crusaders to join Godfrey was probably influenced by the fact that their own duke, Theoderic I, Count of Bar and Montbéliard, had been released from his crusading vows because of illness and did not make the pilgrimage.<sup>27</sup> He was, however, represented by his eldest son Louis of Mousson and another lord, Ralph of Mousson.<sup>28</sup>



The Dudo de Cons mentioned twice as a member of Godfrey's army has been repeatedly identified in crusading scholarship as originating from Konz at the confluence of the Moselle and the Saar above Trier.<sup>29</sup> He was in fact lord of Cons-la-Grandville on the River Chiers in the Ardennes, and was a benefactor of the abbey of St Hubert to which he donated the priory of St Michael at Cons.<sup>30</sup> His father was Adelo of Dun, a castle on the Meuse which had been given to the church of Verdun by Henry IV. On his death Adelo's lands were divided between his sons Walter who received Dun, and Dudo who received Cons. Dudo was accompanied on crusade by his wife Hadwida, daughter of Arnulf II of Chiny.<sup>31</sup>

Similar problems of identification have arisen in the case of the crusader Petrus de Stadeneis, whom historians have almost unanimously referred to as 'Peter of Stenay'.<sup>32</sup> This issue is an important one. The identification with Stenay suggests Peter was a vassal of Godfrey of Bouillon who was lord of this domain on the Meuse between Bouillon and Verdun. Peter was however count of the pagus Stadunensis or Astenois, a district on the plains of Champagne in the extreme east of the French kingdom. He was also known as Petrus de Dupperrun after his principal stronghold of Dampierre-le-Château.<sup>33</sup> With Peter on crusade was his elder brother Rainald III, episcopal count of Toul in Upper Lotharingia.<sup>34</sup> They were sons of Frederick I, Count of Astenois, and Gertrude, daughter of Count Rainald II of Toul, and were also kinsmen of Godfrey of Bouillon. Several writers allude to a relationship between Frederick's brother Henry of Verdun and Godfrey III, at whose suggestion Henry was installed as bishop of Liège by the Emperor in 1075. It is likely that Baldwin, father of Henry and Frederick, had married a daughter of the Ardennes-Verdun dynasty.<sup>35</sup> According to Laurence of Liège Frederick was a carus et fidelis of both Godfrey of Bouillon and Theoderic of Verdun; it is likely that he and Peter as counts of Astenois held lands in the neighbouring county of Verdun and were thus vassals of both count and bishop, although it is a significant indication of the relative strengths of the two institutions that Peter served as one of the commanders of the episcopal army along Theoderic's campaigns against Godfrey.<sup>36</sup> Rainald of Toul was accompanied on crusade by at least one cleric of the diocese, the Archdeacon Louis, and six

lords: Rambert, son of Fraimer of Lironville; Bencelin; Aldo of Fontenoy and the family group of Lanfroi, his son Olri and brother Hugh.<sup>37</sup>

The last known member of this group was the crusader known to contemporary sources as Baldwinus de Burgo, later count of Edessa, and second king of Jerusalem.<sup>38</sup> Although normally referred to by historians as 'Baldwin of Le Bourg' his name in fact derives from Bourcq in the valley of the Aisne.<sup>39</sup> He was a son, probably a younger son of Count Hugh I of Rethel and Melisende of Monthl  ry and was also a kinsman of the Ardennes-Boulogne brothers.<sup>40</sup> The county of Rethel, which had as its nucleus the territory of Omont, a fief of the Church of Rheims, was situated both in regno and in imperio. The counts were consequently involved in the politics of Lotharingia just as much as those of the French kingdom. Baldwin's grandfather Manasses II was an ally of Godfrey of Bouillon during the struggle over the Ardennes-succession and invaded the bishopric of Verdun although his castle of Sainte-Menehould was captured by episcopal forces.<sup>41</sup>

Apart from Lotharingians and Frenchmen Godfrey's army included Germans from other parts of the Empire. Admittedly it is likely that most of the German crusaders had already gone with the various expeditions which had left prior to the official departure date under the leadership of Peter the Hermit, Walter Sans-Avoir, Emicho, Gottschalk and Volkmar. However a royal diploma of 26 July 1097 reveals how a noblewoman called Cunihild sold her estate of Obermeiser to the abbey of Helmarshausen, for which her son Reinhold received '36 marks to go to Jerusalem with Duke Godfrey'. Since he came from a fairly distant part of Franconia, it is unlikely that Reinhold was a unique case.<sup>42</sup>

The other crusading armies, notably the Proven  al contingent of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, included large numbers of clerics, both secular and regular, some of whom held fairly senior positions in the church. It was these men who tended to obtain the ecclesiastical positions created by the crusaders in Syria. Thus the Proven  al Peter of Narbonne became bishop of Albara while his compatriot Bernard of Valence became bishop of Artah and then patriarch of Antioch. The Norman Robert of Rouen obtained the see of Lydda while the Flemings Arnulf of Chocques and Achard of Arrouaise became patriarch of Jerusalem and prior of the Templum Domini respectively.<sup>43</sup>



Senior clerics of this calibre were conspicuously absent from Godfrey's army, a phenomenon which can be explained by the effects of the Investiture Contest. No Lotharingian or German bishops were present at the Council of Clermont; only Richer of Verdun sent legates and presents.<sup>44</sup> Indeed the first news of the crusade to reach the western parts of the Empire may have been brought by Peter the Hermit and his followers. This would explain why many German chroniclers depict Peter rather than Pope Urban as the initiator of the crusade.<sup>45</sup> It is also probable that the Lotharingian bishops and abbots were too heavily involved in the struggle between Empire and Papacy to consider leaving their charges at this critical time.

It is therefore not surprising that the only named clerics known to have departed in Godfrey's company were the aforementioned Louis of Toul and Adalbero of Luxembourg, Archdeacon of Metz.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand William of Tyre relates that Godfrey took with him a group of monks who celebrated the divine offices for him during the crusade. After the capture of Jerusalem he settled them at their own request in the abbey of St Mary in the valley of Josaphat.<sup>47</sup>

Where did these monks come from? The chronicle of St Hubert agrees that Godfrey took regular clergy with him, and it is likely that they were at least in part originally members of that community.<sup>48</sup> On the death of Henry of Verdun in 1091, Henry IV installed the royal chaplain Otbert as bishop of Liège. The passionate imperialist Otbert removed Berengar, the reformist abbot of St Laurence at Liège, who fled with his supporters to St Hubert, whose own abbot Theoderic was in turn deposed for offering his protection to the reformers. Eventually the two abbots and many loyal monks fled to properties in the diocese of Rheims where they enjoyed the support of Godfrey of Bouillon and Dudo of Cons.<sup>49</sup> The dispute was not finally resolved until the autumn of 1096 and it therefore seems that in August of that year there were numbers of displaced monks, supporters of Berengar and Theoderic, who may well have been attracted by the prospects of a pilgrimage in the company of Godfrey who was advocate of St Hubert.

So far the examination of the composition of Godfrey's exercitus has yielded the names of thirty-nine individuals who must have been with him from the beginning of the expedition.<sup>50</sup> Two of these were clerics and

two were women. Undoubtedly the army included many more unnamed knights and their families as well as clerics, peasants and townspeople. Within the known group of thirty-nine individuals we can discern certain relationships and bonds which operated in the course of the expedition, and which give insights into the structure and hierarchy of the Lotharingian army.

Next in importance to Godfrey himself was his brother Baldwin of Boulogne. He was left in charge of the army at Bruck an der Leitha during negotiations with King Coloman of Hungary and later acted as hostage to him. At Constantinople he commanded a detachment of 500 men and guarded the hostage John Comnenus.<sup>51</sup> Apart from Baldwin we find important military and diplomatic tasks being repeatedly carried out by the same people. The initial embassy to Coloman was entrusted to Godfrey of Esch who had previous experience of Hungary; on the second approach he was accompanied by Warner of Grez, Rainald of Toul and Peter of Dampierre.<sup>52</sup> Godfrey of Esch, Cuno of Montaigu and Baldwin of Bourcq acted as envoys to the Emperor Alexius; the latter two subsequently received the imperial representative John Comnenus.<sup>53</sup> Godfrey of Bouillon was then accompanied to his meeting with Alexius by Warner of Grez and Peter of Dampierre.<sup>54</sup> We later find Warner in charge of a force sent to secure the port of St Simeon on the coast of northern Syria, and Rainald of Toul as commander of a reserve division at the Great Battle of Antioch.<sup>55</sup>

It is significant that such tasks were not entrusted to Godfrey's household officers or others of the Bullonienses; this suggests Godfrey's own vassals did not possess the necessary status. On the other hand the men who did carry out these deputed tasks formed an inner group within the Lotharingian army and probably functioned as a council. It is improbable that the bonds which held this group together were of a feudal nature. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Lower Lotharingia could not be considered to be a territorial principality. The lords from this circumscription probably conceded to Godfrey the leadership of the army as this was the traditional military function of the duke. However there is no evidence to suggest they were his vassals; in fact two of the Lower Lotharingians, Baldwin of Hainault and Henry of Esch, went so far as to break military discipline by leaving the army in



Thrace in order to hurry on to Constantinople in an attempt to share in the alleged munificence of the Emperor.<sup>56</sup> Baldwin of Bourcq, Peter of Dampierre and Rainald of Toul all came from France and Upper Lotharingia, areas where Godfrey had no ducal authority. The most significant ties within the core group seem to have been derived from kinship: each member was related in some way to Godfrey and Baldwin, a fact repeatedly reflected in the descriptions given by Albert of Aachen. The most important of Godfrey's kinsmen (apart from Baldwin) was Warner of Grez, who assumed the leadership of the domus Godefridi on Godfrey's death in July 1100. In Albert's list of departing crusaders Warner is the only individual explicitly described as a kinsman of Godfrey and Baldwin, although many of the others are subsequently marked as such elsewhere in his history. Strangely enough, in the corresponding passage of William of Tyre, who used Albert as a source, only Baldwin of Bourcq is distinguished as a relative of Godfrey. This would appear to be a retrospective editorial decision influenced by Baldwin's subsequent importance as king of Jerusalem.<sup>57</sup> This, and the various military and diplomatic tasks suggest that Warner was near the top of the hierarchy of the core group and Baldwin somewhere near the bottom.

Another important factor may have been the bonds of alliance forged during the wars fought by Godfrey to defend his inheritance in the period before the crusade. Cuno, Gozelo and Lambert of Montaigu as well as Warner of Grez (and, we may add, Baldwin of Hainault) were all vassals of his principal ally, the bishop of Liège. Baldwin of Bourcq's family had fought on Godfrey's side against the bishop of Verdun. Admittedly Peter of Dampierre and Rainald of Toul had fought on the episcopal side in this conflict; however as far as the crusade was concerned this appears to have been outweighed by their particularly strong kinship ties to Godfrey and Baldwin. Conversely, the continued importance of kinship and alliance would explain the lack of prominence accorded to Dudo of Cons, a son-in-law of Godfrey's rival Arnulf II of Chiny, and to Louis of Mousson, cousin of the Countess Mathilda who was a rival claimant to the Ardennes-Verdun inheritance.

Considering Lower Lotharingia's peripheral position within the Empire and its accessibility to France and the preaching of the crusade Godfrey's army included relatively few of the major nobles of the area,

especially those of comital rank. The nobles of Lower Lotharingia were not vassals of the duke and were consequently under no obligation to follow him. In many cases the phenomenon of non-participation was also influenced by the political constellations obtaining on the eve of the crusade. These resulted from two major conflicts, namely the Investiture Contest and the war of the Ardennes-Verdun succession, which reacted with each other and traditional local rivalries to produce oppositions and alliances which undoubtedly exerted influence and pressure on either in favour of participation or against it. Notable absentees were Albert of Namur, Arnulf of Chiny, Henry of Arlon and Limburg as well as the three heirs of Theoderic Flamens: Gerard of Geldern, Henry of Kriekenbeek and Gosuin of Heinsberg. These were all members (or their successors) of the coalition which had waged war on Godfrey and his main ally the church of Liège. A similar case was that of the count of Louvain, traditionally a rival of the Ardennes-Verdun family and an adversary of the ecclesiastical principality of Liège on which their lands bordered.<sup>58</sup> In 1095-96, far from taking the cross Count Godfrey of Louvain embarked on a new conflict with Liège over the county of Brugeron.<sup>59</sup> Other important absentees were the count of Holland and the count of Luxembourg. We know of no crusaders at all from Lower Lotharingia north of Antwerp. It has been argued that the high degree of non-participation in Lotharingia was because most of the vassals of Henry IV were reluctant to become involved in what was essentially a papal enterprise.<sup>60</sup> In fact it would appear that if anything, precisely the converse was the case. Under the bishops Henry of Verdun and Otbert the diocese of Liège was one of the areas which consistently offered the greatest support to the monarchy during the investiture contest.<sup>61</sup> Many non-participants were traditional enemies of the ecclesiastical principality; Baldwin of Hainault, Warner of Grez and the Montaigu family on the other hand were all fideles sancti Lamberti. Pope Urban had proclaimed that the property of crusaders should be placed under church protection until their return. In the case of vassals of the powerful church of Liège this undoubtedly meant effective protection. On the other hand it is probable that many other lords were unwilling to leave home at a time when Lotharingia was being ravaged by the



Investiture Contest and the various dynastic feuds which accompanied it.<sup>62</sup>

## II

From its departure in August 1096 until the arrival at Constantinople in December the army led by Godfrey was therefore essentially Lotharingian in character, although it was by no means representative of the whole of Lotharingia. After the crossing to Asia Minor in the spring of 1097 the crusaders encountered the defeated remnants of the expeditions led by Peter the Hermit and Walter Sans-Avoir. In the course of the next stage of the march these attached themselves to the various contingents which had arrived by different routes and now combined to form a unified Frankish army. Albert of Aachen described Godfrey's army at the battle of Nicaea as 'Godefridus dux Lotharingiae ... cum universo comitatu Lotharingiorum constitutus est.'<sup>63</sup> However, in narrating the Great Battle of Antioch (February 1098) he gives fuller descriptions: 'Godefridus, dux .... cum innumeris milibus Lotharingiis, Saxonibus, Alemannis, Bawariis' and 'Godefridus cum Theutonicis, Alemannis, Bavariis, Saxonibus, Lotharingiis' and again 'cum Alemannis, Bavariis, Saxonibus, Lotharingiis, Theutonicis et Romanis'.<sup>64</sup> Theutonici was probably used here in the sense of Franconians, as the term Franci had come to be applied to the crusaders as a collective description. Thus by the time it arrived in Antioch, Godfrey's contingent which fought as a division of the army at this battle and clearly retained a separate identity, now included members of all the German tribes as well as Romani. This term probably referred to French-speakers from outside the Empire in contrast to the Lotharingians, many of whom also spoke French dialects.

A section of the chronicle of Zimmern dealing with the First Crusade has long been regarded as the principal source for these new additions.<sup>65</sup> The chronicle, now known to be the sole work of Count Froben Christoph of Zimmern (now Herrenzimmern near Rottweil) was completed around 1566 and survives in two original MSS written in the Swabian dialect of Early New High German.<sup>66</sup> The first historian of the

crusades to draw attention to this source was Hagenmayer, who originally intended to use it to clarify the role played by Peter the Hermit in the crusade.<sup>67</sup> Yet on account of its unique and detailed information it was accepted by Hagenmayer, Röhricht, Runciman and later by Riley-Smith as a genuine prosopographical source for German participation in the crusade.<sup>68</sup>

As its own main source for the crusade the chronicle claims 'ain alt geschriben buoch' in the Black Forest monastery of Alpirsbach which was founded during the First Crusade by members of the Zimmern family among others. Other sources claimed are a tapestry also preserved in Alpirsbach, as well as the works of William of Tyre, Robert the Monk and the unknown Guido Remensis. The proclaimed intention of this section of the chronicle is to highlight the role of the High Germans in contrast to that of the Low Germans and the French who had been amply treated by other writers.<sup>69</sup> After describing Pope Urban's appeal at Clermont, the chronicle goes on to give a detailed list of those Germans who departed for Jerusalem:

'Als nu die fürsten aus Gallia und aus andern nationen das eerlich, christenlich fürnemen vernamen, die auch zuvor durch den bapst Urbanum zu Clermant in Auergne darzu bewegt, erwelten sie herzog Godfriden ainhelliglich zu irem obristen über den ganzen haufen. Sollichs möcht so baldt in deutschen landen nit kont werden, es namen etlich bischof das creuz an sich, als nemlich bischof Conradt von Chur und bishof Otho von Straßburg, herzog Friderrichs von Schwaben brüeder. Zu disen und andern bischofen mer verfüegte sich bischof Thiemo von Salzburg, dessgleichen herzog Egkhardt von Bayern, ain sun grave Ottos von Scheyrn, und herzog Walther von Tegk. Dessgleichen so zogent mit dise nachvolgende graven und freiherren; grave Hainrich von Schwarzenberg, pfalzgrafe Hugo von Tübingen, grave Rudolf und grave Huldreich von Sarwerden, grave Hartman von Dillingen und Kiburg, grave Thiemo von Eschenloch, grave Hainrich von Helfenstain, grave Adelprecht von Kirchberg, grave Hainrich von Hailigenberg, ain grave vom Fanen, herr Arnolt freiherr von Busnang, ain freiherr von Fridow, herr Ruodolf freiherr von Brandis, ain freiherr von Westerburg, grave Berchtoldt von Neifen, herr Albrecht freiherr von Stöffeln, item ain grave von Salm, ain grave von Viernenberg, ain herr von Bolanden; item grave Emmich von Lyningen, ain grave von Rötteln und ain grave von Zwaibrücken, darzu ein merkliche anzal von der ritterschaft, die alle zu errettung des christenlichen glaubens mit denen ungleübigen zu streiten begerten'.<sup>70</sup>

This list comprises twenty-seven named individuals; to these can be added 'ain edelman von Embs und ainer von Fridingen' as well as the brothers Conrad, Albert and Frederick of Zimmern who are all mentioned later.<sup>71</sup> Thus this single source gives a grand total of thirty-two



names, an amazingly high prosopographical yield for a relatively short account in a source written over four and a half centuries after the event it describes. This total is even more remarkable if we compare it with the thirty-nine names for the original Lotharingian contingent arrived at by the examination of all other sources combined, including the full-length account of Albert of Aachen.<sup>72</sup>

It is however, difficult to accept unquestioningly the evidence of this list. Ten names are given only with the formula 'a lord of X' with no Christian name, and are thus valueless in prosopographical terms since none of these ten can be confirmed from any other source. Of the remaining twenty-two names, three are bishops, those of Chur, Strasbourg and Salzburg. At the time of the Council of Clermont the bishop of Chur was Ulrich II of Tarasp. He died on 30 July 1096 and was succeeded by Guy who reigned until 1122. The first bishop of this see to bear the name of Conrad was not elected until 1123.<sup>73</sup> Otto, brother of Duke Frederick of Swabia, was installed as bishop of Strasbourg by Henry IV before 1084. His participation on the crusade is extremely problematic. As he was still in Strasbourg on 12 July 1097 he could not have left with Peter the Hermit and Walter Sans-Avoir, nor even with Godfrey as suggested by Scherer.<sup>74</sup> Although he is attested as having made a pilgrimage he was back in Germany by 9 November 1099, which hardly lends much support to the testimony of the chronicle of Zimmern.<sup>75</sup> Similar confusion seemed to have led to inclusion in the list of Thiemo Archbishop of Salzburg, who did not depart for Palestine until 1101.<sup>76</sup> Thus none of these three could have taken part in the so-called people's expedition whose German component is described in the chronicle.

The name 'herzog Egkhard von Bayern, ain sun grave Ottons von Scheyrn' raises further problems. The duchy of Bavaria was held personally by Henry IV from 1077 until the summer of 1096; it was then returned to Welf IV who was succeeded by his son Welf V in 1098.<sup>77</sup> Bavaria did not pass to the Scheyern line until Otto of Wittelsbach was created duke by Frederick Barbarossa in 1180. Count Otto I. of Scheyern, who died before 1078, is known to have had a son called Ekkehard; however as Ekkehard died before 1091 he could not have been on crusade. The Wittelsbachs (as the Scheyern line became known) were later involved in crusading and were keen patrons of crusading literature. One of the

main sources of their family tradition were the tablets known as the Tabula Perantiqua which were preserved in the abbey of Scheyern. One of these tells how Ekkehard forced King Henry II of Germany to make him duke of Bavaria, whereupon both led an army to the east which captured Jerusalem. The historical core of this fantastic legend was probably a pilgrimage made by Ekkehard, possibly the great German pilgrimage of 1064-65, which was later conflated with accounts of the First Crusade and other crusading activities of the Wittelsbachs by Froben Christoph of Zimmern, or more likely, one of his sources.<sup>78</sup>

Hagenmeyer, realising the difficulties posed by the inclusion of the three bishops and Egkhard, claimed that these names could therefore not have been found in the principal source, the codex of Alpertsbach.<sup>79</sup> This argumentation presupposes that the 'alt geschriben buoch', if it ever existed, was itself an accurate account. To reject these four names but accept the rest is surely a case of altering the evidence to justify excluding these names.

On the other hand even many of the other names accepted as genuine by Hagenmeyer raise numerous difficulties. The first known duke of Teck was Adalbert, son of Conrad, Duke of Zähringen, appearing with the title in 1187.<sup>80</sup> The duchy of Teck (near Kirchheim in Württemberg) was probably created as a result of a division of the Zähringen inheritance between Berthold V of Zähringen and his uncles Adalbert of Teck and Hugh of Ulmberg after the death of their elder brother Berthold IV in 1186. The division also explains the adoption of the ducal title by all three heirs.<sup>81</sup> The Christian name Walter was unknown in the Teck family, and of course the inclusion of a duke of Teck among the crusaders of 1096 is quite anachronistic.

The counts of Tübingen are known to have used the Christian name Hugh in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However this line did not receive the dignity of Count Palatine until the extinction of the counts of Dillingen in 1146.<sup>82</sup> The claim that the Count Palatine Hugh acted as 'obrist' or commander of the Germans along with Walter of Teck and died in battle at Nicaea cannot be confirmed from any other source. In view of the anachronistic title it is possible that the inclusion of Hugh as a crusader actually derived from crusading activity of this family in the years 1190-1215.<sup>83</sup>



The two brothers listed as counts of Saarwerden are also dubious. The first documented count is known only from 1111, and the names Rudolf and Ulrich are unheard of in this family.<sup>84</sup> Neither can the grave von Zwaibrücken be accepted as a crusader. The founder of the comital family named after Zweibrücken was Henry I, second son of Simon I, Count of Saarbrücken (died 1182). The names Ulrich and Rudolf are equally unknown in this descendance so that we may exclude any confusion between Saarbrücken and Saarwerden on the part of the chronicle of Zimmern. These three purported crusaders must be therefore regarded as pure fiction.<sup>85</sup>

The first documented lord of Bussnang in Thurgau was Albert I who appears between 1150 and 1180. The name Arnold is unknown in this family.<sup>86</sup> A Henry of Heiligenberg in the Linzgau north of Konstanz is known as advocate and despoiler of the monastery of St George of Petershausen in the period 1101-3. However nothing is known of any crusading activity prior to this; although the chronicle of Zimmern calls him count a county named after the Mons Sanctus did not appear until after 1135.<sup>87</sup>

At first sight the name 'grave Emmich von Lyningen' appears to hold more promise. Contemporary sources relate that a crusader called Emicho raised an army which persecuted the Jews of Speyer, Worms, Mainz and Cologne before departing for the east.<sup>88</sup> On the evidence of the chronicle of Zimmern he has been identified by historians as count of Leiningen.<sup>89</sup> However the first definite mention of an Emicho of Leiningen dates from 1128.<sup>90</sup> Albert of Aachen and Ekkehard of Aura do not make this identification, merely stating that Emicho was a nobleman with lands in the area of Mainz and that he returned home after his army was defeated by King Coloman of Hungary in 1096. Furthermore a recent examination of the Hebrew sources reveals that the would-be crusader's surname was written VLNHJM, which would exclude any place-name with the ending -ingen. A more probable identification would be Flonheim, northwest of Alzey on the middle Rhine. A witness list of the year 1096 names comes Emicho de Vlanheim.<sup>91</sup> This evidence would tally with Albert's information that Emicho returned home in the summer of 1096. The lack of prominence accorded him in the Zimmern account is another point against this source. According to Ekkehard and Albert Emicho was

leader of an important contingent. In the chronicle of Zimmern this role is given to the fictitious Walter of Teck and the doubtful Hugh of Tübingen, while Emicho is only mentioned towards the end of the list.

Even the participation of the three Zimmern brothers, Frederick, Albert and Conrad is open to considerable doubt. The chronicle claims that their brother Godfrey married Elisabeth, daughter of Frederick of Teck.<sup>92</sup> Count William Werner of Zimmern recorded the following information, probably drawn from a lost necrology of the monastery of Alpirsbach:

'Obiit Gotfridus de Zimbarn liber dominus, sepultus in monasterio Alpirsbach una cum uxore Elisabete ducisse de Deck'.<sup>93</sup>

We have already seen that the first known duke of Teck is attested only from 1187. Assuming that this marriage connection did exist (and the only evidence derives from the two Zimmern sources) then it and the supposed crusading generation must be placed at least a century after the First Crusade, and most probably in the thirteenth century when we first find a member of the Teck family with the name Frederick.<sup>94</sup> However the persistence with which the chronicle glorifies the Teck family could well be explained by such a marriage connection.<sup>95</sup>

In fact the sole name in the Zimmern list which can be confirmed from other sources is that of 'grave Hartmann von Dillingen und Kiburg'. Hartmann was the son of Hupold III, count of Dillingen in Swabia. He married Adelheid, daughter of Adalbert of Winterthur-Kyburg, and succeeded to her vast estates in the Thurgau.<sup>96</sup> In 1095 he founded the monastery of Neresheim on his allodial possessions near Nördlingen. Since Ernest the first abbot is known to have been on crusade it is likely that his benefactor was identical with the Hartmannus comes Alemanniae mentioned on three occasions by Albert of Aachen. He is recorded as having died in 1121.<sup>97</sup> It is likely that in this case Froben Christoph discovered his name in the history of William of Tyre, where it is one of the few marked explicitly as a German, and that William in turn derived his information from Albert or from a source common to both.<sup>98</sup> With this single exception, the jumble of anachronistic or non-existent names as well as those of whom we know nothing, and above all the complete lack of external confirmation make it extremely doubtful whether the chronicle of Zimmern, composed over four and a half



centuries after the First Crusade, can be considered a reliable prosopographical source for the Germans who joined Godfrey's army after Constantinople.

A similar case is that of the sixteenth-century chronicle of Occo Scarlensis which gives an account of numerous Frisians with Peter the Hermit,<sup>99</sup> and which was held to be accurate by Dirks and Röhricht.<sup>100</sup> Among the Frisians according to Occo were the nobles Tjepke Forteman, Jarig Ludingaman, Feike Botnia, Eelke Lyauckama, Sikke Lyauckama, Epe Hartman, Ige Galama and Obboke Hermanna, most of whom later joined the main expedition. However a recent study has questioned the reliability of this account. It is unlikely that Frisians around 1100 could have had the surnames and Christian names given by Occo. Eelke Lyauckama was supposedly installed as commander of Nicaea after its capture. As the city was returned to the Byzantine Emperor by the crusaders then Eelke, if he existed, was probably a Varangian and not a crusader. That he was the leader of 9000 knights in the Frankish army is even more incredible. Thus while Frisians were undoubtedly present in Godfrey's army we cannot accept Occo's names as trustworthy.<sup>101</sup>

An examination of the contemporary sources throws up the names of crusaders from the Empire and others who probably joined Godfrey after Constantinople. Apart from Hartmann of Dillingen they included Wicher the Swabian, Gunter and Reinhard of Hammersbach.<sup>102</sup> Others can be identified with the help of eastern sources. Geoffrey the Monk, later Lord of Marash and Regent of Edessa in the late 1120s, is called Gufra Almuin in the anonymous Syriac Chronicle; the name seems to be a corruption of Alemannus or Aleman.<sup>103</sup> William, later lord of Dülük, is called Sancawel by Matthew of Edessa. This may be an Armenian rendering of a French name. He was probably identical with William, brother of the crusading leader called Walter de Pexeia or Walter Senzavohir or Sine Habere. It is likely that this family came from Boissy-Sans-Avoir, about forty kilometres west of Paris.<sup>104</sup> Another Frenchman who joined Godfrey was Drogo of Nesle, who had been released from Byzantine captivity at his intervention.<sup>105</sup> Men like these were probably the Romani referred to by Albert.

Such lords, it must be remembered, were in straitened circumstances. They were leaderless, and they had lost baggage, arms, mounts and

followers in the debacle at Nicaea. Their adhesion to the newly-arrived contingents is thus hardly surprising. Yet other lords and knights from the other armies were also joining Godfrey about this time. Godfrey's brother Eustace III of Boulogne had left Europe in the company of his lord, Robert II of Flanders, and Robert of Normandy, arriving with them at Constantinople some time after Godfrey.<sup>106</sup> From this point he seems to have associated more with his brothers than with the two Roberts. He and his men were included in Godfrey's division of the crusading army at the Great Battle of Antioch and again at the siege of Jerusalem where he fought in the same siege-tower as his brother.<sup>107</sup>

From the beginning of the crusade Baldwin and his wife Godehilde were accompanied by their familia or household.<sup>108</sup> During the march he attempted to establish himself as an independent prince, first in Cilicia, then at Edessa. With the help of his brothers he now created the comitatus Baldewini, a description which suggests a more substantial force, a war-band. At the beginning of 1098 this comprised seventy knights, but had grown to two hundred after his move to Edessa.<sup>109</sup> Baldwin drew troops from the contingents of both his brothers: Giselbert of Clermont, Baldwin of Bourcq, William Sans-Avoir, Geoffrey the Monk and Drogo of Nesle came from Godfrey's army and Udelrard and Pisellus of Wissant from Eustace's. Others such as Peter of Dampierre and Rainald of Toul joined him on a temporary basis. From the contingent of Stephen of Blois, who deserted from the army at Antioch, came Fulcher of Chartres, later lord of Saruj, and his namesake the historian.<sup>110</sup> The number of men from Flanders and Artois who first appear in Jerusalem after Baldwin's accession in 1100 suggests that he drew support not only from his brother Eustace but also from Robert of Flanders and others of his vassals.<sup>111</sup> Several factors could have accounted for this development. One is the lethargy of Robert. In his study of the count during the crusade Knappen concluded that he showed initiative on only one occasion (in Italy).<sup>112</sup> Baldwin had also maintained his connections with Flanders, Artois and Normandy far longer than his brother Godfrey. It would be understandable for the more enterprising of Robert's followers to be attracted to the service of Baldwin who was the first leader to carve out a principality of his own. A passage in the history of Albert



of Aachen also reveals that the resources of many knights had been eaten up in the course of the long march and the siege of Antioch:

'Erant enim summa necessitate gravati, et longa expeditione rebus exhausti necesariis. Affluebant et accrescebant singulis diebus in numero et virtute, dum fere tota civitas a Gallis obsessa, et eorum hospitalitate occupata est. Baldewinus singulis, de die in diem, in bisantiis auri, in talentis et vasis argenteis dona plurima conferebat'.<sup>113</sup>

While the main army remained bogged down at Antioch Baldwin as count of Edessa was in a position to provide patronage and opportunities for advancement for those who joined him; however his followers had clearly become feudal dependents receiving a salary from him.

### III

From around this time, the winter of 1097-98, we can discern a parallel growth of ties of dependence within Godfrey's exercitus. During the march across Anatolia numerous horses and draught animals died of thirst. The loss of horses was especially telling for the knights in the army as it reduced their military effectiveness, and consequently, their status.<sup>114</sup> These losses were compounded by the privation suffered during the nine-month siege of Antioch. By this time, for example, Hartmann of Dillingen had been obliged to sell his horse and armour in order to buy food and could scarcely live by begging. He was reduced to riding an ass and fighting with a captured Turkish sword and shield. Godfrey took pity on Hartmann, allotting him a dole of bread and a piece of meat or fish. Albert's description of him as dives et nobilissimus et unus de praepotentibus in terra Alemannie contrasts sharply with the circumstances to which he had now been reduced. They can be partly explained by the fact that Hartmann must have lost most of his baggage at the rout of Nicaea in 1096. Yet we find precisely the same dependence on the duke's charity in the case of Henry of Esch. This example is particularly ironic as Henry had actually left Godfrey's army in Thrace in order to share in the presumed bounty of Alexius Comnenus.<sup>115</sup>

It is evident that from the time of the siege of Antioch ever-increasing numbers of knights were penniless and had nothing to bargain

with except their service. Despite the scarcity of food and the inflationary prices commanded by what meagre supplies became available the duke apparently possessed the means to provide for such men who offered him their service. At this point we must examine in some detail the financial resources available to Godfrey, going back to the winter of 1095-96.

The duke's financial preparations for the crusade seem to have been haphazard and unsystematic, evolving as needs arose and were perceived. One of his first actions was to dissolve the priory of St Peter at Bouillon, a house belonging to St Hubert, and to confiscate its possessions. Only at the urging of his mother Ida who travelled to Bouillon did Godfrey make restitution; his price for this seems to have been Ida's consent to the sale of allods where she retained the right of ownership, such as Baisy and Genappe.<sup>116</sup> As we have seen in the previous chapter these, as well as Stenay and Mouzay, were among the first properties to be disposed of. Godfrey, it must be remembered, had spent most of his adult life before the crusade in fighting to defend his inheritance. It was therefore unlikely that he had had much opportunity to accumulate significant financial reserves. He was forced to proceed to the alienation by mortgage of the allodial territory of Bouillon along with the adjacent fief of the church of Rheims. The sources agree that the sum realised by the sale was well in excess of 1300 silver marks.<sup>117</sup> The cash was raised by Bishop Otbert of Liège by the ransacking of churches and abbeys of the diocese for jewels, plate and precious metals.<sup>118</sup> It is doubtful whether the amount realised by the lesser sales was greater than that brought by the strategically important territory of Bouillon. The exact amount raised by all the alienations can only be conjectured. What is clear is that Godfrey had a considerable sum at his disposal on the eve of his departure, and probably took a large part of it with him in the form of coin. Two of his deniers, similar in form to coinage of Liège struck in the episcopate of Otbert, have turned up in hoards in Russia. They bear an inscription which should be read as GODEFRIDUS IEROSOLIMITANUS in the sense of peregrinus and must therefore have been coined between November 1095 and August 1096, probably in one of the Liège mints.<sup>119</sup>



These initial resources were greatly augmented in the course of the expedition. During his progress up the Rhine Godfrey took advantage of the anti-Semitic frenzy engendered by popular preachers to exact protection money from the Jewish communities of the middle Rhineland. The Hebrew chronicles relate that Godfrey, 'may his bones be ground to dust', received 500 zekukim of silver from the Jews of Cologne and another 500 from Mainz, despite the fact that as duke Godfrey had specifically been ordered by Henry IV to prevent persecution. The value of the zakuk is placed variously at either eight or twelve ounces of silver. The total amount received in bribes by Godfrey must therefore have been somewhere between 8000 and 12,000 ounces of silver, that is between 1000 and 1500 marks. The profit of this short campaign of extortion thus compares favourably with the sum realised by the mortgage of Bouillon.<sup>120</sup>

At Constantinople we first gain an insight into the way in which Godfrey's financial resources began to tighten the bonds of dependence in his contingent. Like other leaders he received from the Emperor both gifts and money and continued to receive an Imperial subsidy as long as he was encamped on Byzantine territory. The duke distributed this money among his army according to the needs of each individual; most of it seems to have been immediately spent on food supplies by the recipients.<sup>121</sup> Godfrey thus played a key role as the channel through which funds passed; it is likely that a similar system operated in the distribution of booty and forage, as the fighting divisions of the army corresponded to the various contingents. We must also mention one final source of income before the capture of the Holy Land. Once Baldwin's position in Edessa was secure he repaid the loan of knights and footsoldiers with plurima talenti auri et argenti, sent at the hands of his secretary Gerard. This sum was later put at 50,000 bezants in addition to large quantities of corn, barley, wine and oil.<sup>122</sup> This massive support from Baldwin must have given Godfrey and Eustace a certain edge over the other leaders.

Thus by the time of the siege of Antioch, a time when many in his exercitus were in serious financial difficulties, Godfrey had access to new sources of income in addition to whatever reserves had remained from earlier. The growth of ties of dependence may also have been expedited

by the disappearance of intermediate levels in the structure of the army. It is surely no coincidence that Gerard of Avesnes and Giselbert of Couvin, both later found in the service of Godfrey and Baldwin in Jerusalem, were originally vassals of Baldwin of Hainault who disappeared in Asia Minor while on an embassy to Alexius Comnenus.<sup>123</sup> The two Fulchers of Chartres, the future lord of Saruj and the historian, were originally in the Champagne contingent which was left leaderless after the desertion of Stephen of Blois.<sup>124</sup> In these instances the removal of their immediate lord appears to have brought about a closer bond to Godfrey and Baldwin.

If the arrival at Constantinople marked the beginning of the second stage in the development of Godfrey's exercitus, the third stage was signalled by the capture of Jerusalem in July 1099 and the establishment of the Frankish state. Godfrey was now in a position to provide patronage in the form of fiefs of land and money. Although the territory controlled by Godfrey was small, he could also draw on tribute paid by the Muslim cities of the coast. Thus the revenues of the port of Arsuf were assigned to the knight Robert of Anzi, which appears to be the first instance of the money fief which developed into one of the most lasting feudal institutions of the Latin Kingdom.<sup>125</sup> It is also significant that the recipient was a Norman from Southern Italy. The original Lotharingian element of the army had been considerably depleted by this stage as a result of death in battle, capture and disease. Among the known casualties among the lords and knights were Gozelo of Montaigu, Henry of Esch, Folbert of Bouillon, Baldwin of Hainault, Louis of Toul and Adalbero of Metz.<sup>126</sup> Others were with Baldwin, now count of Edessa. Now, after the liberation of the Holy City from infidel domination, large numbers of crusaders, probably the majority of the Frankish army, regarded their vows of pilgrimage as having been fulfilled and returned to Europe in the course of the following year. They included a large number of Lotharingians; Peter of Dampierre, Rainald of Toul, Dudo of Cons, Cuno and Lambert of Montaigu and Louis of Mousson.<sup>127</sup> At the same time other knights whose own lords were returning to Europe now entered Godfrey's service. The situation in the year following Godfrey's accession is confused owing to the numerous departures and casualties. However a clear picture of his vassals begins



to emerge by the end of his reign. If we examine the group described explicitly as milites de domo ducis Godefridi in July 1100, as well as others known to be fief-holders, we find that only six belonged to the original Lotharingian group: Warner of Grez (143), Ralph of Mousson (112), Milo of Clermont (92), Gerard of Avesnes (43) and Stabelo the Chamberlain (130). Two more, Wicher (144) and Gunter (56), were Germans who had probably joined Godfrey at Constantinople or Nicaea. There were also three Normans, Robert of Anzi (117), Robert FitzGerard (120) and Ralph of Montpinçon (111), the Fleming Winrich the Butler (150) and the Provençal Waldemar Carpinel (134). The origins of Matthew the Seneschal (91) and Geoffrey the Chamberlain (36) are unknown. When Godfrey's army departed for Jerusalem it was almost entirely Lotharingian in composition. A year after the capture of the Holy City the Lotharingian element amounted to only approximately half of his vassals. We have seen how Godfrey's army changed in its composition between August 1096 and July 1100. By the latter date a significant number of Lotharingians, including most of the prominent lords closest to Godfrey, had returned to Europe. Men from other contingents were now in his service or that of Baldwin, soon to come to Jerusalem bringing most of his vassals with him. It would thus be wrong to assume a continuity of membership between Godfrey's army as it existed on its departure from Europe and the nobility of the early Latin kingdom.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. AA p. 299.
2. AA pp. 300, 317, 440; App. No. 130.
3. Cant. pp. 38, 53, 64-65; App. No. 137. Heribrand was probably son of the Heribrandus senior who was noted for having killed Ricuin, a cousin of Count Arnulf II of Chiny. Hanquet (Cant. p. 53 n. 1) takes senior to mean 'seigneur' which is unconvincing as the castle was an allodial possession of Godfrey. Heribrand could therefore not have been 'seigneur' in the sense of lord of Bouillon.
4. AA pp. 435-36, 593.
3. See below, pp. 61-62.
6. MGH DD Lothar III, No. 79 (1136).
7. Renier of St Laurence, Triumphale Bulonicum, MGH SS XX, 584.
8. Adelolf: AA p. 481; Geoffrey: App. No. 36; Matthew: App. No. 91.
9. AA p. 299; App. No. 143.
10. AA pp. 305, 328, 413, 427, 435.
11. AA pp. 299, 300, 306, 307, 366.
12. Triumphus S. Remacii, MGH SS XI, 447-48; Thiofrid of Echternach, Vita S. Willibrordi, MGH SS XXIII, 26; J. Vannerus, 'Les anciens dynastes d'Esch-sur-la-Sûre', Ons Hémecht 11 (1905), 308-90, 432-42, 485-93, 532-40; 12 (1906), 18-23, 51-56.
13. AA pp. 413, 509.
14. AA pp. 306, 310, 317, 359, 366, 422, 464, 495, 504; Alberic of Troisfontaines, Chronicon, MGH SS XXIII, 804, 815; Ant. lines 1397, 2511-44.
15. C. G. Roland, 'Les seigneurs et comtes de Rochefort', Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur 20 (1893), 63-141; A. Joris, La ville de Huy au moyen âge (Paris, 1959); J. L. Kupper, Liège et l'église impériale XIe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1981), pp. 396-403, 146-54.
16. Ord. V, 166; Cant. p. 181.
17. Roland, p. 113.
18. J. Daris, Notices historiques sur les églises du diocèse de Liège XII (Liège, 1885), No. 41 (pp. 131-33).



19. MF II, p. 812.
20. Cant. pp. 194-97. The siege provides another instance of peace-keeping activities passing from the control of the duke to the prince-bishop.
21. Giles of Orval, Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium, MGH SS XXV, 84: 'Item Clarimontis castellum beato Lamberto multo precio acquisivit'.
22. AA p. 350; WT pp. 136, 148; App. No. 92.
23. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 459.
24. AA pp. 305, 315, 434-35; Alberic of Troisfontaines, p. 805; Giselbert of Mons, p. 45; Ant. lines 1163, 8986.
25. MGH Heinrich IV, No. 242; Hansay, pp. 45-58; Mohr, II, 49.
26. App. Nos. 43, 49.
27. J. Choux, Recherches sur le diocèse de Toul au temps de la réforme Grégorienne (Nancy, 1972), pp. 102-5.
28. AA pp. 317, 526, 531; Alberic of Troisfontaines, p. 804; Ant. line 8975.
29. AA pp. 299, 574; S. Runciman, A History of the Crusades (Cambridge, 1952), I, 147; P. Knoch, Studien zu Adalbert von Aachen (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 114, 157; R. Röhricht, Die Deutschen im heiligen Lande (Innsbruck, 1894), p. 17, Andressohn, p. 52, and Duparc-Quioç (Ant. p. 73) all mistakenly give Saarbrücken as a place of origin.
30. Cant. pp. 150, 164; Kurth, I, No. 63; R. Pagny, 'Les seigneurs et la seigneurie de Cons-la-Grandville', Bulletin de l'Association 'Les Amis du Vieux Longwy' 5 (1962), 3-9, 74-78.
31. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 162; Kurth, *ibid.*: 'commemoratio Hawidis filiae comitis Arnulphi de Chisnei, quae cum viro suo Dudone Cunensi ab Hierosolymis reversa'.
32. R. Röhricht, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges (Innsbruck, 1901), p. 62; R. Grousset, Histoire des croisades I (Paris, 1934), 12; Runciman, History of the Crusades, I, 147; F. Chalandon, Histoire de la première croisade, p. 112; H. Hardenberg, De Nederlanden en de kruistochten (Amsterdam, 1944), pp. 57-58; M. Lobet, Godefroid de Bouillon: Essai de biographie antilégendaire (Brussels, 1943), p. 71; Knoch, pp. 167-69; K. M. Setton, A History of the Crusades (Philadelphia, 1955- ), I, 296.
33. AA pp. 299, 310, 317, 365-66, 422, 424; LL p. 494; Ant. lines 2260, 8188, 8205; A. de Barthelemy, 'Le comté d'Astenois et les comtes de Dampierre-le-Château', Revue de Champagne et de Brie 16 (1888), 410-16.

34. AA pp. 299, 301, 317, 343, 365, 366, 398, 398, 422; LL p. 494; BD p. 77.
35. C. Aimond, 'La nécrologe de la cathédrale de Verdun', JGLGA 21 (1909), 185; LL p. 495; Giles of Orval, p. 88; Lambert of Hersfeld, p. 225; Gesta Treverorum, MGH SS VIII, 126.
36. LL pp. 494-97.
37. AA pp. 375-76; Choux, pp. 102-5 and Reg. Nos. 82, 124.
38. AA p. 299.
39. Richard, Royaume latin, p. 19.
40. AA p. 527: 'vir nobilis sui generis'; WT pp. 45, 71. Hugh's son Manasses appears with his parents on a charter of 1097 (G. Saige and H. Lacaille, Trésor des chartes du comté de Rethel I (Monaco, 1902), No. 2). Since Manasses was the traditional Leitname of the counts of Rethel it is likely that he, and not Baldwin, was the eldest son. The precise relationship between the Ardennes-Boulogne and Rethel families is discussed in Chapter 5.
41. LL p. 494; M. Bur, La formation du comté de Champagne 950-1150 (Nancy, 1977), pp. 133-34, 412ff. Hugh of Bourcq (App. No. 68) was probably with Baldwin on crusade.
42. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 457.
43. B. Hamilton, The Latin Church in the Crusader States (London, 1980), pp. 11, 17, 23; Moeller, 'Les flamands', pp. 189-202.
44. LL p.497; Annales S. Vitoni Verdunenses, MGH SS X, 526.
45. Knoch, pp. 109-11.
46. AA pp. 370-71. He was of royal blood, a proximus of the Emperor Henry and a son of Conrad I, Count of Luxembourg. The name Adalbero, rare among laymen, was borne by 26 members of the higher clergy in France and Germany in the period 887-1148. After the time of Adalbero, Bishop of Augsburg (d. 907) it was considered to be an especially auspicious name for bishops and was popular in the Ardennes-Verdun, Luxembourg and Bar families for younger sons destined for the church. Adalbero III, bishop of Metz from 1047 to 1072, was an uncle of this Adalbero. These facts and the anecdotal vignette relating to his death told by Albert suggests that he was a fairly worldly career churchman for whom the crusade offered a welcome diversion in the wait to secure one of the sees to which his family had traditional claims (Renn, Luxemburger Grafenhaus, p. 9; K. F. Werner, 'Liens de parenté et noms de person', in Famille et parenté dans l'occident médiéval, ed. G. Duby and J. Le Goff (Rome, 1977), pp. 31-31).



47. WT pp. 376-77.

48. Cant. p. 208: 'Nec multo post dux Hierosolimam vadens ... multos secum nobiles et religiosos abduxit'.

49. Ralph of Sint-Truiden, Gesta abbatum Trudonensium, MGH SS X, 236ff; Cant. pp. 153ff. It was on account of Otbert's refusal to restore Theoderic that Godfrey abandoned the siege of Clermont in 1095.

50. Baldwin of Boulogne, Godechide of Tosny, Ruthard the Butler, Stabelo the Chamberlain, Baldric the Seneschal, Heribrand, Walter, Folbert and Philip, all of Bouillon, Warner of Grez, Godfrey and Henry of Esch, Franco and Siegmarr of Maasmechelen, Cuno, Gozelo and Lambert, all of Montaigu, Gislebert and Milo of Clermont, Baldwin of Mons, Gerard of Avesnes, Giselbert of Couvin, Louis and Ralph of Mousson, Dudo and Hawida of Cons, Peter of Dampierre, Rainald of Toul, Louis of Toul, Rambert of Lironville, Bencelin, Aldo of Fontenoy, Lanfroi, Olric, Hugh, Baldwin and Hugh of Bourcq, Reinhold, and Adalbero of Luxembourg.

51. AA pp. 301-2, 307-8.

52. AA pp. 300-301.

53. AA pp. 306-307, 310.

54. AA p. 310.

55. AA pp. 383, 424; BD p. 77; Ord. V, 108-10.

56. AA p. 305.

57. AA p. 299; WT pp. 71-72.

58. Vita Balderici episcopi Leodiensis, MGH SS IV, 727-29, 733-34; Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, pp. 467-69; Annales Laubienses, MGH SS IV, 18.

59. Giles of Orval, pp. 91-92.

60. C. D. J. Brandt, Kruisvaarders naar Jeruzalem. Geschiedenis van de eerste kruistocht, (Utrecht, 1950), p. 103.

61. Kupper, pp. 387-94.

62. A case in point was Henry-Hezelin II, Count of Grandpré, who had been Godfrey's principal partisan in the county of Verdun. Even after Godfrey reached a settlement with Bishop Richer he continued to wage war on the bishopric until he took the cross sometime after 1099 although he died before he could leave (LL p. 497).

63. AA p. 315.

64. AA pp. 366, 422, 425. See also Ord. V, 108-110.
65. First published as the Zimmersche Chronik, ed. K. A. Barak, 4 vols (Stuttgart, 1866-69), 2nd edn Freiburg im Breisgau, Tübingen, 1881-82. References are henceforth given to the best modern edition, Die Chronik der Grafen von Zimmern, ed. H. Decker-Hauff, (Darmstadt, 1964- ).
66. H. Baumgart, 'Studien zur Zimmerschen Chronik des Grafen Froben Christoph und zur Mainzer Bistumschronik des Grafen Wilhelm Werner von Zimmern' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Freiburg, 1923), pp. 9-30.
67. H. Hagenmeyer, 'Etude sur la chronique de Zimmern', Archives de l'Orient Latin 2 (1884), 17-88.
68. Röhrich, Die Deutschen, pp. 9-21; Runciman, History of the Crusades, I, 121-22, 131-32, 332; Riley-Smith, 'The motives', p. 725.
69. Chronik von Zimmern, I, 73-75.
70. Chronik von Zimmern, I, 75.
71. Chronik von Zimmern, I, 79.
72. The entire account of the crusade takes up eight folio pages in the second and final MS version (B 59-66).
73. A. Bruckner, Helvetia sacra I/1 (Bern, 1972), 474-75.
74. P. Wentzcke, Regesten der Bischöfe von Straßburg bis zum Jahre 1202 (Innsbruck, 1908), pp. 290, 295; E. Scherer, Die Straßburger Bischöfe im Investiturstreit (Bonn, 1923), pp. 111-20.
75. Saxo Annalista, MGH SS VI, 730; Berthold of St Blasien, p. 466; Wentzcke, pp. 295-98.
76. Gesta archiepiscoporum Saliburgensium, MGH SS XI, 58.
77. M. Spindler, Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte, 2nd edn (Munich, 1981), I, 328-31.
78. A. Siegmann and F. Genzinger, 'Zur Scheyerner Tabula Perantiqua', in Wittelsbach und Bayern. Beiträge zur bayerischen Geschichte und Kunst, ed. H. Glaser (Munich, Zürich, 1980), I/1, 154-63; Röhrich, Die Deutschen, p. 7. On the Wittelsbachs as patrons of crusading literature, see A. V. Murray, 'Reinbot von Durne's Der heilige Georg as Crusading Literature', Forum for Modern Language Studies 22 (1986), 172-83.
79. Hagenmeyer, 'Etude', pp. 39-45.



80. I. Gründer, Studien zur Geschichte der Herrschaft Teck (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 3.

81. E. Heyck, Geschichte der Herzöge von Zähringen (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1891), p. 418.

82. J. Förderer, 'Die Erbbegräbnisse und Stammgüter der Tübinger Pfalzgrafen', Tübinger Blätter 36 (1948-49), 12-18; 'Wie die Tübinger Grafen zur Pfalzgrafenwürde gekommen sind', Tübinger Blätter 49 (1962), 4-12.

83. Chronik von Zimmern, I, 79; Förderer, 'Die Tübinger Grafen und Pfalzgrafen als Reichsfürsten', Tübinger Blätter 40 (1953), 16-20.

84. H. W. Herrmann, Geschichte der Grafschaft Saarwerden bis zum Jahre 1527 (Saarbrücken, 1957), I, 73.

85. C. Pöhlmann, Regesten der Grafen von Zweibrücken (Speyer, 1962), p. 42; Parisse, Noblesse lorraine II, 858-59.

86. F. Stucki, 'Die Freiherren von Bussnang und von Griesenberg', Genealogisches Handbuch zur Schweizer Geschichte IV (Zürich, 1980), 51-96.

87. Casus monasterii Petrishusensis, MGH SS XX, 656; E. Graf zu Lynar, Schloss Heiligenberg (Munich, Zürich, 1981), pp. 4-5.

88. AA pp. 292-95; Ekkehard of Aura, Hierosolymitana, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Tübingen, 1877), pp. 126-28; 'Chronicle of Solomon Bar Simson', in S. Eidelberg, The Jews and the Crusaders. The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades (Wisconsin, 1977), pp. 28, 44, 70-71; 'Narrative of the Old Persecutions', in Eidelberg, pp. 107-15.

89. A. Waas, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1956), I, 120; Runciman, History of the Crusades I, 137; Setton, I, 263.

90. P. Acht, Mainzer Urkundenbuch (Darmstadt, 1968-71), I, No. 554.

91. I. Toussaint, Die Grafen von Leiningen (Sigmaringen, 1982), pp. 25-28; Acht, I, No. 395.

92. Chronik von Zimmern, I, 71.

93. F. J. Mone, Quellensammlung der badischen Geschichte II (Karlsruhe, 1854), 134.

94. Gründer, pp. 21-23.

95. The Chronik von Zimmern (ibid.) also gives the fabulous story of how a pre-crusade duke of Teck was supposedly elected king in opposition to Conrad of Swabia on the death of the Emperor Lothar II!

96. See N. von Salis-Soglio, 'Das Dillinger Grafenhaus und seine Stiftung Neresheim', Benediktinische Monatschrift 3 (1921), 197-214, 169-89, although he does not address the question of Hartmann's participation on the crusade.

97. Annales Neresheimenses, MGH SS X, 20-21; AA pp. 290, 322, 427 (Alemannia is probably used here in the sense of 'Swabia'); Necrologii Neresheimensis, MGH Necrologii Germaniae I, 95-98.

98. WT pp. 66, 118-19, 272-73.

99. Occo Scarlensis, Chronyke van Vriesland (Leeuwarden, 1597), pp. 24ff.

100. J. Dirks, 'Noord-Nederland en de kruistogten', De Vrije Eries 2 (1842), 135-52; Röhrich, Die Deutschen pp. 10, 13-14.

101. H. Brassat, Die Teilnahme der Eriesen an den Kreuzzügen ultra mare vornehmlich im 12. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1970), pp. 17-32.

102. App. Nos. 56, 144; AA p. 435.

103. Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, ed. A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 92 (1973), 91-92, 94; Matthew of Edessa, Chronicle, ed. A. E. Dostourian (Ann Arbor, 1972), p. 419. He appears on RRH No. 102c as Gaufridus cognomento Monachus.

104. Matthew of Edessa, p. 335; Ord. V, 28; AA pp. 274, 286; BD p. 20.

105. AA pp. 299, 304-5.

106. AA p. 314; Andressohn, p. 53.

107. Ord. V, 108-10, 168, 176; BD p. 102; AA pp. 472, 477, 495; WT p. 263; Guibert of Nogent, Gesta Dei per Francos, RHC Occ. IV, 234.

108. AA p. 302.

109. AA pp. 350, 358, 366; RC p. 632 .

110. Rainald of Toul, Peter of Dampierre, Baldwin of Bourcq: AA p. 366; Udelard and Pisellus: AA pp. 358, 446; Gisbert of Clermont: AA p. 350; Drogo of Nesle: AA p. 442; William Sans-Avoir: as above, note 104; Geoffrey the Monk: as above, note 103; Fulcher of Chartres (knight): AA pp. 357, 442, 446; Fulcher of Chartres (historian): FC pp. 163-64, 206-8. Neither of these two Fulchers should be confused with a third namesake who was killed in Asia Minor (AA p. 288).

111. AA p. 358; App. Nos. 18, 25, 28, 30, 33, 45, 47, 70, 71, 77, 105.



112. M. M. Knappen, 'Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade', in The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro (New York, 1928), p. 86.

113. AA pp. 441-42.

114. AA pp. 339-41.

115. AA p. 427.

116. Cant. pp. 203-6.

117. Renier of St Laurence, (p. 584) and Giles of Orval (p. 91) both give the sum of 1300 marks of silver and three marks of gold which would equate with the sum of 1300 marks of silver and one pound of gold given by LL (p. 498). The Chronicle of St Hubert (Cant. p. 206) gives 1500 pounds of silver, and Alberic of Troisfontaines (p. 804) 1500 marks of silver. The Triumphus S Lamberti de castro Bullonia (p. 499) and the Gesta abbatum Trudonensium continuatoris tertii auctorum, MGH SS X, 387, both give the smaller figure of 1300 silver marks.

118. Giles of Orval, *ibid.*; Cant. pp. 207-8, 249-50; Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium, MGH SS XXI, 318.

119. N. Bauer, 'Der Fund von Spanko bei St Petersburg', Zeitschrift für Numismatik 36 (1926), 75-94 identifies the first coin as a denier of Godfrey II (the Bearded). However it bears a strong resemblance, especially in the inscription, to that described by V. Tourneur, 'Un denier de Godefroid de Bouillon frappé en 1096', Revue Belge de Numismatique 83 (1931), 27-30.

120. 'Chronicle of Solomon bar Simson', pp. 24-25; Eidelberg, p. 147; E. Täubler, 'Spuren von Urkunden in den hebräischen Kreuzzugsberichten', Mitteilungen des Gesamtarchivs der deutschen Juden 5 (1914), 143-46.

121. AA pp. 310-11; WT pp. 88-89; Anna Comnena, Alexiade, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols (Paris, 1937-45), II, 220-26.

122. AA pp. 395-96.

123. AA pp. 434-35; App. Nos. 43, 49.

124. AA pp. 347, 442, 446; FC pp. 206-7.

125. AA pp. 514-15.

126. Gozelo: AA p. 359; Henry: AA p. 435; Folbert: p. 436; Baldwin of Hainault: AA pp. 424-35; Louis: AA p. 375; Adalbero: AA pp. 370-71.

127. Peter: Barthelemy, pp. 401-406; Rainald: Choux, Reg. Nos. 81, 84, 86, 89; Dudo: Kurth, I, No. 63; Cuno and Lambert: Alberic of Troisfontaines, p. 815; Louis: Grosdidier de Matons, No. 35.



### CHAPTER 3

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JERUSALEM MONARCHY

##### I

On 22 July 1099 the leaders of the victorious crusading army met to choose a ruler for Jerusalem, eventually electing Godfrey of Bouillon.<sup>1</sup> What was the nature of the state that was in the process of being established? Most historians of the crusades have accepted that on his election Godfrey declined the title of king, preferring that of 'Advocate' or Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. According to this theory the Advocate recognised the suzerainty of the Church, being merely charged with the defence of the holy places on its behalf.<sup>2</sup> Recently this model of an ecclesiastical state has been challenged by Riley-Smith who has questioned some of the assumptions on which it has been based. He argues that the only firm evidence for the title of advocate is to be found in a letter written in Laodicea in September or October 1099.<sup>3</sup> This letter was addressed to the new Pope, the successor to Urban II who had died on 29 July of that year, and ran in the names of the leaders of the commanding army in Palestine:

'ego Pisanus archiepiscopus et alii episcopi et Godefridus dux, gratia Dei ecclesiae S. Sepulchri nunc advocatus et Raimundus comes S. Aegidii et universus Dei exercitus qui est in terra Israel'.<sup>4</sup>

Hagenmeyer showed that of these senders Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa, had just arrived in Syria; in Laodicea he met Raymond of Saint-Gilles and other princes, not named in the letter, who were on their way back to Europe from Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> There was, however, one significant absentee, namely Godfrey himself, who was still in Jerusalem. Thus while there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the letter itself it can by no means be regarded as an official document; we cannot therefore assume that the formula 'ecclesiae S. Sepulchri ... advocatus' was approved by Godfrey himself. Riley-Smith has assessed evidence from both narrative and documentary sources to argue that the designation most commonly applied to Godfrey was in fact princeps. 'This terminology', he

concludes, 'suggests that he was thought of as a ruler in a real sense rather than a church official'.<sup>6</sup>

The question of Godfrey's title is especially complicated because of the lack of agreement among the various contemporary sources. Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Dol, Robert the Monk and Orderic Vitalis all refer to Godfrey as rex.<sup>7</sup> However, it is important that all of these authors were writing in Western Europe and that none of them had been to Palestine. It is therefore doubtful whether they were aware of all the issues involved in the election of a ruler in 1099. By the time they came to write their accounts of the crusade the adoption of the royal title by Baldwin I was an accomplished fact; it is likely that they rationalized Godfrey's title in line with subsequent developments. This would explain why Godfrey is also referred to as king by John of Ibelin and the Lignages d'Outremer.<sup>8</sup>

A second group of writers comprises those who had themselves accompanied the crusade: Fulcher of Chartres, Peter Tudebode, and the anonymous author of the Gesta Francorum. To these we can add Albert of Aachen, who had not been to Palestine but had well-informed sources of information who had themselves probably been on crusade. These authors all prefer the title princeps or princeps regni.<sup>9</sup> They nevertheless agree that there existed a regnum in Palestine, as Riley-Smith has shown.<sup>10</sup> This important terminological distinction made between the regnum and its ruler the princeps suggest an awareness of a specific reason for this. Why then did Godfrey not call himself king?

The traditional explanation is that Godfrey in his piety refused to wear a crown in the city where Christ had worn a crown of thorns.<sup>11</sup> Yet even if we accept that Godfrey was never crowned it does not necessarily mean that he was not a king. In the western monarchies at this time coronation was merely one element in king-making ceremonies which could also include election, enthronement and consecration by unction. Of these attributes Godfrey was certainly regarded as possessing a throne.<sup>12</sup> The writer known as Tudebodus imitatus gives the story of the crown of thorns, but the awareness of this does not prevent him from referring to Godfrey as rex for the remainder of the work.<sup>13</sup> Similarly the Lignages explicitly relate that Godfrey 'was elected king but refused to wear a crown'.<sup>14</sup> Not only does Orderic Vitalis see no



contradiction between the two ideas but actually regards them as interdependent, stating that Godfrey was 'compelled by ecclesiastical election to wear a crown and be called King of Jerusalem to the honour of him who deigned to wear a crown of thorns'.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore Albert, Fulcher and Guibert all refer to the crown of thorns not in connection with Godfrey's election, but as an objection raised by the clerical party of the Patriarch Daimbert against the proposed coronation and unction of Godfrey's brother Baldwin I at Christmas 1100.<sup>16</sup> Fulcher, who was Baldwin's chaplain and a historian enjoying royal patronage, felt especially obliged to counter the argument that it was sacriligious for a king to be crowned in Jerusalem, the scene of Christ's passion, and it seems that the decision to transfer the ceremony to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem was an attempt to sidestep this objection. The implications of this evidence are that the crown of thorns argument was produced specifically as a reply by the clerical party to the royal pretensions of Baldwin, a situation which had not previously arisen, and that in 1099 there was never any question of Godfrey becoming king.<sup>17</sup>

Whether or not historians accept the crown of thorns theory, a much more serious argument is that Godfrey refused the title of king because he recognised the Pope's claim to Jerusalem as a state belonging to the Church. This issue was discussed most extensively by the Luxembourger Joseph Hansen. Originally a doctoral thesis for the University of Fribourg, Hansen's monograph appeared in 1928 with the imprimatur of the Bishop of Luxembourg, and its findings have never been seriously questioned by historians.<sup>18</sup>

Hansen argues that there were three possible models for the government of the state established by the crusaders. The first of these, a strong centralized monarchy, proves to be something of a red herring; it is no sooner put forward than immediately dismissed as 'Die Gemüter am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts waren jedoch auf ein zentralisiertes Regiment noch nicht vorbereitet'.<sup>19</sup> This effectively leaves two possible models: either a monarchy with a loose feudal structure, or an ecclesiastical state with the Patriarch at its head, along the pattern of the Papal States in Italy or the episcopal principalities in Germany. Hansen claims that the idea of a theocratic state was approved by the Papacy and originally propounded in Palestine by the first Latin

Patriarch, Arnulf of Chocques. Yet this view can hardly be upheld considering Arnulf's loyal, co-operative and at times submissive attitude towards Godfrey and Baldwin I during his two periods as Patriarch.<sup>20</sup> However it is the second Patriarch, Daimbert of Pisa, whom Hansen regards as the right hand of Urban II and the main proponent of the theocratic idea.

We must presume that the man who was most conversant with Urban's plans for Palestine after the completion of the crusade was the bishop appointed by him as legate at the Council of Clermont, Adhemar of Le Puy. After Adhemar's death at Antioch on 1 August 1098 the leadership of the crusade devolved on the temporal princes and the senior prelates as a group. Daimbert was not one of these leaders, only arriving in Palestine along with a Pisan fleet after the capture of Jerusalem.

It has long been assumed that Daimbert had been appointed legate by the Pope, yet the evidence for this is extremely scanty. As the Pisan fleet departed in the late summer of 1098 and wintered in the eastern Mediterranean it is probable that Daimbert left Italy before news of Adhemar's death reached Urban.<sup>21</sup> It is unlikely that at this point the Pope would have appointed a second legate, and it is significant that Daimbert is nowhere described as such. In the Laodicea letter he is referred to merely as 'Pisanus archiepiscopus' although, unlike Godfrey, he was undoubtedly present when the letter was written and thus had every opportunity as well as motive to insist on the correct use of his titles. Both of the Pisan sources cited by Hansen merely make reference to the fleet 'quorum rector et ductor Daibertus Pisane urbis archiepiscopo excitito'.<sup>22</sup> Recently Hamilton has drawn attention to a document of Tancred for the Church of Mount Tabor.<sup>23</sup> As this is the only concrete evidence advanced as proof of Daimbert's legatine status it is worth examining the relevant section of the charter in detail:

'In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis anno ab incarnatione sempiterni principis MCI, indictione VIII, presidente in Jerosolymis donno Dei gratia Patriarcha Dalberto, qui a Deo per apostolicam sedem in orientales regiones directus Latinorum primus sanctam eandem rexit ecclesiam, cum gloriosus Francorum exercitus sanctam Jerusalem, Sarracenorum diu prophanis conculcatam ritibus et eliminata omni spurcitia cultibus iterum instaurasset divinis, Tancredus, vir nobilis, armis strenuus, sed non minus morum honestate ac religione perspicuus et circa Ecclesias Dei earumque ministros devotus a duce Godefrido, totius orientis serenissimo principe constituto, Tyberiada cum tota Galilea



ejusque pertinentiis accepta sub manu et obidientia donni prefati Jeroslymitanorum, presulis ecclesias Salvatoris, antiquitas quidem in eadem terra celebres, sed tunc sarracenorum infestatione, adnichilatas restaurare proposuit ...'<sup>24</sup>

The formula applied here to Daimbert merely implies that he was sent by the Papacy; it does not necessarily mean that he was a legate. The document itself is of somewhat questionable value. It is most unlikely that Tancred would have described himself as 'vir nobilis, armis strenuus, sed non minus morum honestate ac religione perspicuus et circa Ecclesias Dei earumque ministris devotus'. The grand formulations describing Daimbert, Tancred and Godfrey, and the fact that the verb of donation is in the past tense (reddidit) suggest that what we are actually dealing with is the recreation of a charter which had been lost or destroyed.

On the other hand it is likely that Arnulf of Chocques had been made an ancillary legate along with Alexander, the chaplain of Stephen of Blois. Alexander returned to Europe after Stephen deserted from the army at Antioch. Thus the death of Adhemar left Arnulf the ranking ecclesiastic in the crusading army and as such the obvious candidate for the patriarchate.<sup>25</sup> This suggests that the Pope's vision of the patriarchate corresponded more closely to Arnulf's policy of co-operation with the monarchy than to Daimbert's antagonism towards it.

Hansen sees the first proof of Godfrey's acceptance of an ecclesiastical state in an oath to protect the Holy Sepulchre sworn after his election.<sup>26</sup> Yet the principal source cited by him, a passage in the Hierosolymitana of Ekkehard of Aura, refers not to Godfrey but to the accession of his brother Baldwin I a year later! Similarly Chapter 33 of Book VI of Albert of Aachen, also cited by Hansen, relates to the election of Godfrey, described as 'ductor, princeps atque praeceptor christiani exercitus', but has no reference to an oath or even to the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>27</sup> We cannot exclude the possibility that Godfrey did swear an oath of some kind, but we can be certain that it was not an oath of homage to the patriarch, who had not yet been elected. A faction within the army had demanded that a patriarch be elected before any secular ruler, yet considering that the princes simply ignored these demands and proceeded to elect Godfrey as ruler it is most unlikely that

at this point either he or they would have been willing to fall in with proposals for a theocratic state.<sup>28</sup>

Godfrey's initial position of strength changed after the departure of large numbers of crusaders in the summer and autumn of 1099. He was left with only 300 knights and 2000 foot-soldiers with which to defend the Frankish-held territory between Jaffa and Jerusalem and to enlarge it to a size which would make its survival feasible.<sup>29</sup> Soon after the arrival of Daimbert and Bohemund of Antioch in Jerusalem in December Godfrey agreed to the deposition of the Patriarch Arnulf and his replacement by the Pisan archbishop. At Christmas 1099 both Godfrey and Bohemund were invested with their lands by the new patriarch.<sup>30</sup>

The significance of this act is extremely problematic. While Hansen interprets it as an acceptance of Daimbert's theocratic ideas it must be borne in mind that at this point Godfrey had little choice.<sup>31</sup> The reduction of the Muslim-held cities of the coast, vital for the survival of the Frankish state, depended on the co-operation of Bohemund's Norman army and even more so on Daimbert's fleet of 120 Pisan ships. Each party could naturally place a different interpretation on the ceremony. Godfrey may have regarded the 'investiture' as William of Tyre calls it, as merely analogous to ceremonies in which western monarchs were crowned or anointed by the senior ecclesiastics of their realm. Another possibility is that Godfrey may have been willing to concede a theoretical suzerainty of the Church as the price of temporary support while retaining practical authority in the state. Unfortunately, Hansen fails to take the element of expediency into account. He sees Godfrey acting as a 'military advocate of the Holy Sepulchre' and loyal vassal of the Patriarch Arnulf during the first six months of his rule; only after the advent of Daimbert did he supposedly wish to rule as an independent prince. This interpretation completely ignores the changing relative strengths of Godfrey and the patriarchate. Hansen fails to explain convincingly why Godfrey should suddenly wish to increase his authority vis-à-vis the patriarch at a time when his position was considerably weaker than in the summer of 1099.<sup>32</sup>

It is probable then, that any concessions made by Godfrey up to this point were made as a matter of expediency and remained vague enough that he could hope to recover the lost constitutional ground at a later date.



It is therefore the remaining concessions and agreements of the year 1100 which are the crux of the debate. Historians have never doubted that at Candlemas (2 February) Godfrey ceded to the Patriarch a quarter of the city of Jaffa and at Easter (1 April) the remainder of Jaffa as well as Jerusalem in its entirety; a rider to the second agreement specified that Godfrey was to retain possession of both Jaffa and Jerusalem until he should conquer two comparable cities, although should he die without heirs in the meantime they were to pass immediately to the patriarch.<sup>33</sup>

None of this information, however, is mentioned in any contemporary source; the sole authority for Godfrey's concessions is William of Tyre, writing over seventy years later. Moreover, all of the relevant details given by him can be seen to be derived from a letter sent by Daimbert to Bohemund of Antioch and quoted in its entirety as Chapter 4 of Book IX of his history.<sup>34</sup> This letter gives details of the concessions of Candlemas and Easter, adding that they were confirmed by Godfrey on his death bed. It goes on to describe how after the duke's death his household knights led by Warner of Grez seized the Tower of David and summoned Baldwin to Edessa to take up the inheritance; the letter ends with an instruction to Bohemund to prevent Baldwin coming to Jerusalem.

While William accepts this letter as a historical source he is nevertheless obviously uncomfortable with the information it provides. He expresses astonishment at the audacity of Daimbert's claims which he was unable to reconcile with the results of his own independent research which revealed that the Patriarch was merely entitled to a quarter of Jerusalem. This was of course the former Christian quarter of the city in Turkish times, which continued to be held as a temporal fief by the Holy Sepulchre in the first Latin Kingdom. In view of these apparent contradictions we must assume that William had no good reason to question the authenticity of the letter. If he had any doubt on this score he would hardly have felt obliged to take account of it. According to Albert of Aachen a letter carried by Daimbert's secretary Morellus was intercepted by Raymond's men at Laodicea.<sup>35</sup> It is therefore probable that the letter was sent, and that William discovered a copy in the archives of the Holy Sepulchre. Although its contents contradicted his

own research he was probably too conscientious a historian to suppress it.

Confining ourselves for the moment to the internal evidence of the letter itself we find that the only concrete concession of power Godfrey was willing to make was the confirmation of the possessions of the patriarch held under Turkish rule. These were nothing other than the former Christian Quarter, which confirms William's independent research. All other concessions are either on a theoretical level (the investiture at Easter) or to be put into effect at some future date (the transfer of Jerusalem and Jaffa). If any agreements were ever made between Godfrey and Daimbert what we have in Daimbert's letter is merely a unilateral interpretation of them. In the confused situation following Godfrey's death Daimbert had every incentive to overstate his case. His depiction of Warner of Grez's appeal to Baldwin as an attempt to destroy the church suggests he was also capable at least of blatant exaggeration if not of fabrication.<sup>36</sup> Had the Patriarch been able to secure the help of Bohemund and Tancred in defeating Godfrey's knights no force would have remained in Palestine in a position to dispute his constitutional claims.

The value of the Patriarch's letter is further diminished by comparison with external evidence, namely those sources which are more contemporary with the events than William of Tyre was. The letter describes a deathbed scene in which Godfrey confirmed his previous concessions to Daimbert:

*'Haec omnia cum in praesentia totius cleri ac populi, in die solenni Paschae, ante sacrosanctum Sepulchrum confirmasset, etiam in lecto aegritudinis de qua mortuus est, coram multis et probatis testibus ipse constituit'.*

Yet Albert of Aachen states that both Daimbert and Tancred had in fact sworn an oath to Godfrey that in the event of his death the regnum Ierusalem should pass to no-one but his brothers or to another blood relative, and that the letter to Bohemund was written in blatant disregard of this agreement.<sup>37</sup> We have already established that before the crusade Baldwin was recognized as Godfrey's principal and Eustace as his secondary heir.<sup>38</sup> The existence of an agreement confirming Baldwin's status would help to explain the tenacity of Godfrey's men in attempting to carry out his will by summoning Baldwin to assume the inheritance.<sup>39</sup>



Albert's statement that Daimbert urged Bohemund to come to Jerusalem before another heir (i.e. Baldwin) could occupy Godfrey's throne also suggests it was he rather than Warner of Grez who was disregarding the terms of any agreement.<sup>40</sup> This is supported by Radulph of Caen, who contradicts the deathbed scene of the Daimbert letter, stating that before his death and in the presence of Daimbert, Arnulf of Chocques and his own vassals, Godfrey nominated Baldwin to rule in Jerusalem in his place.<sup>41</sup>

Thus we have established that the sole evidence for a theocratic state allegedly planned by Urban II and accepted by the leaders of the crusade derives from a letter of Daimbert whose contents are contradicted by the contemporary evidence of Albert of Aachen and Radulph of Caen, and whose accuracy was doubted by William of Tyre. This questionable piece of evidence, detailing the claims of a patriarch who did not possess legatine powers and who had not been present at the capture of Jerusalem tells us absolutely nothing about the nature of the state envisaged either by the Pope or the leaders of the crusading army.

## II

It is certain that the regnum which Godfrey bequeathed to his brother in July 1100 was already in existence when the temporal princes and leading prelates met in Jerusalem to elect a ruler the year before.<sup>42</sup> In doing so the electors must have had a clear conception of what this regnum was. The Franks were well aware of Jerusalem's royal past as the capital of the Jewish kings and regarded Christ as king of this land not only as their successor but also because it was the scene of his suffering and triumph, the focal point of which was the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>43</sup> Thus Palestine is frequently referred to by contemporary writers as the Kingdom of David, the Kingdom of Judaea, the Kingdom of God and the Patrimony of Christ.<sup>44</sup> At the Council of Clermont Urban II described how the Turks had 'devastated the Kingdom of God', while Baldric of Dol makes him quote Psalm 78:1, 'Deus, venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam: polluerunt templum sanctuum tuum'.<sup>45</sup> In the atmosphere of religious fervour generated in the course of the crusade

and culminating in the capture of the Holy City this kingdom was probably regarded as belonging to Christ in a real sense, especially as the crusading army believed itself to be under divine protection and guidance.<sup>46</sup> Thus in letters to the West the leaders frequently refer to the army as exercitus Dei.<sup>47</sup>

This idea of divine direction extended to the government of the regnum, for it was believed that God, by means of an inspired election, was choosing a representative to rule in his place.<sup>48</sup> Previous explanations of Godfrey's lack of a royal title have stressed his piety, his diminished authority and his acceptance of the practical suzerainty of the Church, but while he may not have been king in name, a man chosen by God to be his regent in Jerusalem was clearly in a strong constitutional position. Thus Albert describes Godfrey as the highest earthly authority in Jerusalem: 'summus princeps Iherusalem', 'summus post Deum dominator Iherusalem'.<sup>49</sup> We can see a clear continuity of this idea in the usage of Godfrey's successors. From the time of Charlemagne most western monarchs had used the formula Dei gratia in their documents. A striking feature of the charters of Baldwin I and Baldwin II is the additional usage of detailed formulation going beyond this simple formula, stressing that the regnum had been given to them by God.<sup>50</sup>

What powers did the electors envisage for the princeps? We can attempt to establish their perception of his constitutional role in the new state by examining the accounts of the election given by writers who had been in the East, and that of Albert of Aachen who had access to eyewitness sources:

a) 'Godefridus quoque princeps Christianorum in throno Iherusalem exaltatus ad protegendam urbem ejusque habitores'.<sup>51</sup>

b) '... a Deo electum et constitutum ductorem ac principem atque praeceptorem christiani exercitus ...'.<sup>52</sup>

c) 'Quem ob nobilitatis excellentiam, et militae probitatem ... in urbe sancta regni principem omnis populus dominici exercitus, ad illud conservandum atque regendum, eligit'.<sup>53</sup>



d) 'Alia autem die fecerunt concilium ante templum Domini, dicentes ni unusquisque faciat orationes et elemosynas atque jejunium, ut Deus eligeret sibi quempiam placuisset qui regnaret super alios, et civitatem regeret, et paganos exspoliaret'.<sup>54</sup>

e) 'Octava vero die quod civitas fuit capta, celebraverunt festum ... in quo elegerunt ducem Godefredum principem civitatis, qui proeliaretur paganos et custodiret Christianos'.<sup>55</sup>

f) 'Octava autem die quo civitas fuit capta, elegerunt ducem Godefridum principem civitatis, qui proeliaretur paganos et custodiret Christianos'.<sup>56</sup>

Apart from the element of a divinely inspired election, discussed above, these accounts consistently express two ideas: the government of the realm (princeps, civitatem regere, super alios regnare, princeps civitatis etc.) and the defence of the Christian community against the pagans (protegere, conservare, Christianos custodire, paganos debellare, paganos expoliare etc.).

The protection of the Eastern Church had been one of Pope Urban's main themes at Clermont, included in every account of his speech.<sup>57</sup> During the long march to Jerusalem the crusaders had come to see themselves as a Christian community under arms, surrounded by a sea of pagans; they were the exercitus Dei, the peregrina ecclesia Francorum, or even God's chosen people, as the Israelites had been.<sup>58</sup> Urban had stated at Clermont that the flight of the Israelites across the Red Sea was a prefiguration of the Crusade.<sup>59</sup> At the First Battle of Ramla Arnulf of Chocques addressed the Frankish army with the words of Romans 8:17, 'vos estis populus Christi haereditas'.<sup>60</sup> In the newly captured city now devoid of native Christians the Franks could regard themselves as the Church of Jerusalem restored and reconstituted, and it is possible that they should wish to stress the importance of the continuing defence of Eastern Christendom in the title of their ruler.<sup>61</sup>

The ample evidence in support of a princeps title used by Godfrey does not necessarily exclude the possibility of another title or titles being used in conjunction with it. The two ideas of the government of the realm and the defence of the Christian community are frequently linked elsewhere in the history of Albert of Aachen, who describes Godfrey's authority as the dominium urbis et custodia Domini

Sepulchri.<sup>62</sup> He relates that when Baldwin I was dying he named his brother Eustace as successor. In the event of Eustace refusing the crown he urged the notables of the kingdom to choose Baldwin of Bourcq, Count of Edessa, aut talis qui populum Christianum regat, ecclesias defendat.<sup>63</sup> It is probable that another of Albert's formulations, rex et defensor, actually reflects royal usage; a privilege of Baldwin I for the Genoese in 1104 uses the titles Balduinus rex Iudee et Iherusalem ac defensor sanctissimi Sepulchri domini nostri Ihesu Christi.<sup>64</sup> Anselm of Canterbury urged Baldwin to behave towards the Church as an advocatus et defensor, while even as late as the 1170s William of Tyre refers to Amalric I as locorum venerabilium Dominicae passionis et resurrectionis defensor et advocatus.<sup>65</sup>

Further evidence for the use of a similar title by Godfrey can be found in the Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium of Laurence of Liège, writing in the 1140s. Although he had no personal experience of Palestine Laurence was evidently well-informed. He gives one of the most detailed accounts of the preparations made by Godfrey and Baldwin for the crusade; he probably had access to information from crusaders who had returned to Lotharingia, and describes Godfrey's accession as follows:

'Porro dux Godefridus ... pro Lothariorum ducata regnum Sanctae Urbis a Deo promeruit, quamvis ipse numquam se regem sed advocatum eius passus sit appellari'.<sup>66</sup>

The fullness of information contained in this relatively short account evidently displays an awareness of the issues involved: the concept of divine direction, and the declining of the royal title. He also links the title advocatus with the regnum Sanctae Urbis, i.e. the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In this context it is worth noting that Ekkehard of Aura gives the dating for the year 1100 as 'A.D. incarnationis MC sub Godefrido duce Jerosolymitanam ecclesiam defensante'.<sup>67</sup> It would thus appear entirely possible that Godfrey bore a title, probably including the term advocatus, defensor, or protector, or a vernacular word given different renderings into Latin, in conjunction with that of princeps regni or princeps civitatis.



III

The meaning of princeps is clear; what were the implications of the other title? Previously this has been seen as analogous to contemporary French and German usage of the word advocatus which was frequently applied to a member of the laity, usually a nobleman, who represented an ecclesiastical institution in exercising certain public functions.<sup>68</sup> On the authority of St Paul, 'nemo militans Deo ingerit se negotiis saecularibus' (II Timothy 4), it was considered to be against the dignity of clerics and the respect they were due for them to participate in worldly affairs. Therefore dealings in temporal matters, especially those involving secular justice and the acquisition and disposal of property, were often entrusted to an advocatus who was normally a vassal of the abbot or bishop concerned, holding fiefs from, and owing homage to him.<sup>69</sup> The main difficulty in accepting the idea that Godfrey of Bouillon could have used two titles in conjunction is that this interpretation of the advocatus-defensor title, implying subordination to ecclesiastical authority, is completely at variance with that of princeps as established by Riley-Smith.

It is questionable whether we are justified in comparing the newly reconquered regnum Iherusalem to a bishopric or a monastery. By the time of the First Crusade the Church of Jerusalem was in western eyes, second only to Rome itself in importance. It was also the centre of a vast ecclesia Orientalis whose liberation was the main aim of the Papacy in launching the crusade.<sup>70</sup> Yet after the capture of Jerusalem large numbers of native Christians, probably amounting to several millions, remained under Muslim rule: Copts and Melkites in Egypt and Jacobites, Armenians and Nestorians in Syria and Iraq.<sup>71</sup> The possession of the Holy City therefore brought with it the duty of the conquest of Egypt and nearer Asia as the consummation of the goals of the crusade. This arduous task seems to have been regarded as a real prospect in the euphoric period immediately following the capture of Jerusalem. In 1104 Baldwin I 'vero rege inclito et Christianissimo regnum Babilonie atque Asie disponente' granted to the Genoese a third of Cairo and three good casalia in anticipation of the conquest of Egypt.<sup>72</sup> Thus the concept of the Frankish regnum involved the passive and active defence of the

Orientalis ecclesia which consisted of two elements: the Franks in Jerusalem and the native Christians outwith the frontiers of the Frankish-held territory.

We can find another parallel reflecting this duty, which is more appropriate to the ruler of such a state than that of a church official. All Christian kings were charged with the defence of the church, but the protection of the Roman Church, which could be regarded as embracing the whole of Christendom in Western Europe, was a particular duty of the Emperor. As part of his coronation ritual the Emperor promised to God and St Peter to be a defender and protector of the Roman Church.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, the imperialist writer Benzo of Alba addresses Henry IV as 'dominus noster ... sanctae Romanae aecclesia protector et amicus'.<sup>74</sup> The designations defensor and advocatus were frequently used in conjunction with the titles imperator, rex and also that of princeps which had been taken over from Roman legal usage.<sup>75</sup>

From the eleventh century onwards theorists on the Papal side saw a danger in this title being used to justify imperial interference in Church affairs and attempted to develop a clerical interpretation of the defender not as the lord but as the servant of the Church. At some point a new coronation ritual was introduced, changing the Emperor's promise into an oath, and adding the name of the reigning Pope to the formula. Despite these changes it is clear that the imperial perception of this role remained constant. Henry III, who deposed three Popes and raised up a fourth, and his like-minded son Henry IV, saw themselves as subordinate to God and St Peter, but not to the Pope.<sup>76</sup> One of the coronation ordines, the tenth century Ottonian pontifical from Mainz, also links the idea of the defence of the Church with the duty of fighting the pagans:

'Tribue ei, omnipotens Deus, ut sit fortissimus protector patriae et consolator ecclesiarum, atque coenobiorum sanctorum, maxima pietate regalis munificentiae; atque ut sit fortissimus regum, triumphat hostium ad opprimendas rebelles et paganos nationes'.<sup>77</sup>

It would be appropriate for the first ruler of the regnum Ierusalem to adopt a title reflecting the duty to protect the Christian community against the pagans in the same way that the Emperor claimed to be the protector of the Roman Church. The Laodicea letter calls Godfrey not merely Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, but 'Advocatus ecclesiae Sancti



Sepulchri' which should perhaps be taken as referring not to the shrine, but to the Church of Jerusalem in its widest sense of ecclesia orientalis. The Empire was the obvious constitutional model for the Frankish regnum. In fact there hardly were any serious alternatives. The prestige of the Capetian monarchy had sunk to an all-time low under Philip I (1060-1108). The king's blatant adultery scandalized the whole of western Europe; his effective authority did not extend beyond the Ile-de-France.<sup>79</sup> The election of the first ruler in Jerusalem further suggests an imperial precedent. The normal practice followed the principle of hereditary succession confirmed by acclamation, but when no designated candidate was available, as was the case on the extinction of the Ottonian and Salian dynasties, a ruler was elected in theory by the the army ('Den Kaiser macht das Heer') and in practice by the princes.<sup>80</sup> This was precisely the procedure followed by the crusaders in July 1099. Like his uncle and grandfather Godfrey had been duke of Lower Lotharingia and must have been familiar with imperial usages, as must many of the men close to him in the Lotharingian-German contingent. Warner of Grez and Cuno and Lambert of Montaigu were all vassals of the church of Liège, which under the imperialist bishops Henry of Verdun and Otbert was one of the main supports of the German monarchy during the Investiture contest. Rainald of Toul and Peter of Dampierre were nephews of Henry of Verdun. None of these men had yet departed from Palestine. They had all exercised important functions in Godfrey's exercitus and were probably his principal advisors in July 1099. Their viewpoints and counsel must have had a bearing on the title adopted by Godfrey.<sup>80</sup> It therefore seems likely that in disregarding the claims for an ecclesiastical state the majority of the electors established a secular monarchy to administer the regnum Ierusalem and defend the Christian community, and that both of the titles adopted by Godfrey, princeps and advocatus or defensor, implied a sovereignty derived directly from God.

#### IV

In the light of these conclusions it remains to clarify the adoption of the royal title by Godfrey's brother and successor Baldwin I who was

crowned king in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem on Christmas day 1100. At first it seems that Baldwin continued to use those titles adopted by Godfrey. On his entry into Jerusalem on 11 November Baldwin was met by his vassals, that is the group originally led by Warner of Grez which had seized the Tower of David after Godfrey's death on 18 July, and was conducted to the Holy Sepulchre which he swore to protect.<sup>81</sup> It would be completely wrong to interpret this oath as an act of homage to the Patriarch; on Baldwin's entry into the city Daimbert withdrew to Mount Zion and was not present at the ceremony.<sup>82</sup> For the knights of the domus Godefridi to have permitted such an act would have gone against the constitutional principle of hereditary monarchy which they had been tenaciously defending for the previous four months. On the other hand if this was a ceremony in which Godfrey had also participated on his election, before the election of a patriarch, they would have had every incentive to follow precedent. While Albert of Aachen makes it clear that Baldwin had come to assume the regnum Iherusalem, the regnum Godefridi ducis or the thronum regni eius<sup>83</sup> he nevertheless tends to refer to him as princeps during this period.<sup>84</sup> The fact that a second, different ceremony was held seven weeks later suggests that the coronation was Baldwin's considered response to the constitutional position he found on his arrival.

Why should he wish to replace Godfrey's title of princeps with that of rex? Daimbert had been absent at the first ceremony, but his presence at the coronation amounted to a public recognition of the king's position and the abandonment of his own theocratic claims. As senior ecclesiastic of the realm he crowned and anointed Baldwin.<sup>85</sup> The rite of unction was just as important as the royal diadem; it gave the king a mystical, quasi-Divine power and was a formal public demonstration of the idea that royal authority derived from God. As Baldwin himself had trained for the priesthood he must have been especially aware of the significance of this act.<sup>86</sup>

Another pressing reason was the devaluation of the princeps title owing to its adoption by Tancred. The principality of Galilee which had been created by him was easily the largest fief of the regnum. The acquisition of Haifa in defiance of Godfrey who had assigned it to his follower Waldemar Carpinel extended Tancred's domains to the coast,



making the creation of an independent principality a practical possibility. Haifa was recovered in November, but this was by no means final. Tancred and his forces remained the major focus of Frankish opposition to the new monarch until his departure for Antioch in March 1101. Tancred's title of prince was in fact a declaration of independence paralleled by his refusals to answer Baldwin's feudal summons. Clearly in this situation it was impossible for the princeps in Jerusalem to have a vassal who was also a princeps.<sup>87</sup> Baldwin's adoption of the royal title thus expressed his position as overlord of Galilee as well as his unique status as ruler of Jerusalem.

We have seen how the adoption of the royal title had been forestalled in July 1099 by the atmosphere of religious fervour and euphoria which regarded the regnum as belonging to Christ. However political and religious susceptibilities must have changed considerably in the course of the following year. The majority of the pilgrims, their crusading vows fulfilled, had returned to Europe. Those who remained were of necessity practical men who had to buckle down to the immediate task of ensuring the survival of the Frankish community. The regnum Iherusalem they knew was, to put it simply, their home, and no longer a goal of pilgrimage with overtones of the Heavenly City of the Book of Revelation. Daimbert and his supporters had at first objected to the coronation of Baldwin, as Fulcher relates, but once the highest ecclesiastical authority in the kingdom had conceded this point there could have been few Franks who still considered it sacrilegious for their ruler to be called king.<sup>88</sup> Previously Christ had been regarded as the successor of the Jewish kings, but now writers close to the royal household began to depict Baldwin in this tradition. The Fleming Achard of Arrouaise, first prior of the Templum Domini, was the author of a poem which an acrostic reveals was dedicated to King Baldwin. He compares Baldwin to the ancient Jewish kings, appealing to him to complete the cycle of the autumn of Solomon, the spring of Heshdras and the winter of Judas Maccabaeus, in restoring possessions of the Temple taken after the capture of Jerusalem. The clergy's new view of the king becomes especially clear in lines 24-27:

Ad te regem successorem David regis incliti  
Clamat gens et suspirat prior Templum Domini  
Audi preces supplicantis et devoti famuli  
Rex invicte, propugnator christiani populi.<sup>89</sup>

The title propugnator christiani populi corresponds to those used by Godfrey to express the idea of the defence of the Christian community; here it is not only linked with the idea of kingship but placed in the frame of reference of the ancient Jewish kings. Similarly Fulcher of Chartres, the king's chaplain, calls him 'dux validis patriae, consimilis Iosue'.<sup>90</sup> One last piece of evidence comes from Baldwin's tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Although it did not survive the Muslim occupation it is likely that it bore the inscription:

'Rex Baldwinus, Iudas alter Machabaeus,  
spes patriae, vigor ecclesiae, virtus utriusque.'<sup>91</sup>

This evidence indicates that the monarchy's adoption of the royal title and the appropriation of the royal Jewish tradition were no longer regarded as sacriligious but on the contrary, had received the highest ecclesiastical sanction.

It is probable, then, that in July 1099 the crusaders regarded the territory conquered from the pagans, the regnum Ierusalem, as belonging to Christ in a real sense. There is no evidence that it was claimed by the Papacy as a state of the Church; what the electors proceeded to establish was a secular monarchy. Urban II had charged the departing crusaders with the defence of the Church in the East, which, after the capture of Jerusalem, was perceived as a twofold task: the continuing protection of the Holy Places and the Franks who occupied them, and the liberation of the native Christians still under Muslim rule. The territory of the ecclesia Orientalis, and thus the potential extent of the Frankish state, covered the whole of the Middle East and Egypt. The position of its ruler was regarded as being analagous to that of the western Emperor, and his duties and powers were reflected in his titles: princeps regni and defender of Eastern Christendom, whose authority derived directly from God.



NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. GF p. 92; PT pp. 110-11
2. J. Hansen, Das Problem eines Kirchenstaates in Jerusalem (Luxembourg, 1928), pp. 11-20; A. Fliche, La chrétienté médiévale (Paris, 1929), xiv; J. L. La Monte, Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Cambridge, Massachussets, 1932), pp. 4-5; R. Grousset, Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem (Paris, 1934-36), I, 166-71; Runciman, History of the Crusades, I, 292-93; A. Waas, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1956), I, 157; P. E. Schramm, Herrschaftszeichen und Staatsymbolik (Stuttgart, 1956), III, 917; J. G. Rowe, 'Pascal II and the relations between the spiritual and temporal powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', Speculum 32 (1957), 470-501; Prawer, Royaume latin, I, 237-38, Latin Kingdom, p.37; W. Zöllner, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge (Berlin, 1977), p.85; Richard, 'The Political and Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Crusader States', in Setton, V, 197.
3. J. Riley-Smith, 'The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon', pp. 83-86.
4. HEp No. 16.
5. H. Hagenmeyer, 'Der Brief der Kreuzfahrer an den Pabst und die abendländische Kirche im Jahre 1099 nach der Schlacht bei Askalon', Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte 13 (1873), 400-12.
6. Riley-Smith, 'The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon', p. 86. We must of course exclude the title dux which Godfrey used before the crusade and which writers continued to apply to him.
7. Guibert of Nogent, pp. 229, 231; BD pp. 103-104; Robert the Monk, pp. 869-70; Ord. V, 174, 178, 184.
8. John of Ibelin, Livre, RHC Lois, I, 21-22; Lignages, p. 441.
9. FC pp. 308, 321-22; PT pp. 110-11; GF p. 92; AA pp. 488-95. For Albert's sources see Knoch, pp. 29-63. The author of the Annales S. Iacobi Leodiensis (MGH SS XVI, 639) which give the information dux noster Godefridus sumit principatum also presumably received this from returning crusaders and recorded it the same year.
10. Riley-Smith, 'The Title', p. 83.
11. Ibid.
12. AA pp. 489, 524, 526.
13. RHC Occ. III, 225-26.

14. Lignages, p. 441: 'Li baron et li pelerin esleurent à roy et à seigneur Godeffroy de Bouillon, duc de Lorraine, lequel ne se vost coroner, ne porter corone, car il dit que en la cité où nostre Sauveour porta corone d'espines le jour de la passion, ne porteroit corone d'or'.

15. Ord. V, 340: 'ibi ad laudem eius qui spinea gestare sertā pro salutae hominum dignatus est, diadema ferre et rex Ierusalem pro terrore gentilium cognominari aecclesiastica electione compulsus est'.

16. AA pp. 536-37; FC pp. 385-90; Guibert of Nogent, p. 245. Raymond of Aguilers, Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem, RHC Occ. III, 295-96, refers in passing to the crown of thorns in the discussion about the nature of the future state which took place in the Frankish army before the capture of Jerusalem. When discussing the election itself he merely states that Raymond of Saint-Gilles was first asked 'ut acciperet regnum' but declined, replying that 'at ille nomen regium se perhorrescere fatebatur in illa civitate' (p. 301).

17. A different explanation is put forward by G. Laskin, 'Počemu Gotfrid Bul'onskij ne chotel nadet' korony', Soobščennija imperatorskago pravoslavnago palestinskago obščestva 9 (1898). This article was unavailable in the United Kingdom and in West Germany; however its conclusions were summarized by La Monte in Feudal Monarchy (p. 4). Laskin argues that Godfrey was following a precedent set by the Emperor Heraclius when he restored the True Cross to Jerusalem after his Persian campaign. Heraclius did not wear his crown, and the Patriarch celebrated mass without his mitre out of reverence for the occasion. It is doubtful whether a precedent set by a seventh-century Byzantine emperor had much, if any significance for the Franks, especially the laity. Furthermore such a precedent would only make sense if the relic of the cross had actually been present. Both Fulcher (pp. 309-10) and Raymond (p. 302) make it clear that the fragments of the cross were only discovered after the election of Godfrey, on the initiative of the Patriarch Arnulf of Chocques.

18. Hansen, passim; La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, p. 4; Prawer Latin Kingdom p. 37.

19. Hansen, p. 13.

20. Hansen, pp. 13-18; For Arnulf of Chocques as Patriarch see Hamilton, Latin Church, pp. 61-62.

21. A. Krey, 'Urban's Crusade - Success or Failure?', AHR 53 (1948), 235-50.

22. Bernard Maragone, Annales Pisani, MGH SS XIX, 239; Gesta triumphalia per Pisanos facta, in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ed. L. A. Muratori, VI/ 2, 89; Hansen, p. 33.

23. Hamilton, Latin Church, pp. 15-16.



24. 'Cartulaire de Mont Thabor', No. 1, in C. Hosp. II, 897-98 (RRH No. 36)
25. Hamilton, Latin Church, pp. 13-14.
26. Hansen, p. 21; this is also the argumentation followed by C. Moeller, 'Godefroid de Bouillon et l'avouerie de Saint-Sépulchre', in Mélanges Godefroid Kurth (Liège, 1908), I, 73-83.
27. Ekkehard of Aura, p. 216; AA pp. 485-86.
28. Raymond, p. 301; WT p. 362.
29. WT p. 393.
30. FC pp. 741-42: 'In Hierusalem quoque dux Godefridus et dominus Boamundus acceperunt terram suam a patriarcha Daiberto propter amore Dei'; WT p. 387: 'Praedicto ego viro Dei in sede collocato, tam dominus dux Godefridus, quam princeps Boamundus, hic regni, ille principatus humiliter ab eo susceperunt investituram.' It is worth noting, however, that Fulcher's account of the investiture is not placed by him in the context of the events of 1100, but in a passage dealing with a dispute between the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch in 1124 concerning supremacy over the archbishopric of Tyre.
31. Hansen, pp. 42-49.
32. Hansen, p. 48: 'Gottfried war anfangs dem Verlangen Daimberts total abgeneigt. Die Zeit war vorüber, wo er sich mit der Rolle eines militärischen Vogts von Jerusalem begnügte. Er wollte in dem neuen Reich als selbstständiger Fürst das Regiment führen'. One of the main weaknesses of Hansen's work is his tendency to interpret events in the light of the supposed character of the personages concerned, rather than the other way around. At times these judgements border on self-contradiction, as in the case of Godfrey: 'Überwiegend Choleriker, war er stets einer Sache entweder mit Leib und Seele ergeben oder abgeneigt. War jedoch das erste Feuer der Begeisterung vorüber so verstand er es ebenfalls, den Umständen entsprechend nachzugeben'. Similarly, having just argued for Godfrey's determination to increase his power, Hansen is forced to explain his sudden acceptance of Daimbert's claims as the triumph of 'das religiöse Gefühl' over his 'Ritternatur'.
33. Hansen, pp. 42-50.
34. WT pp. 388-90; 405-6.
35. AA p. 524.
36. WT p. 405: 'quo defuncto, comes Garnerius, ut hostis contra ecclesiam Dei insurgans, fidem pactumque justitiae nihili pendens, turrim David contra nos munivit; et legatis suis ad Balduinum directis, mandat uti ecclesiam Dei

direpturus resque ejus violenter occupaturus, quantocius veniat: unde iudicio Dei percussus, quarto post obitum ducis die obiit.'

37. AA p. 524.

38. See above, pp. 25-29.

39. AA p. 526.

40. AA p. 542.

41. RC p. 705.

42. GF p. 92; FC pp. 307, 351, 353; Guibert of Nogent, p. 229; AA pp. 488, 524, 526-27.

43. PT p. 105; Robert the Monk, pp. 729, 862; Ord. V, 158.

44. Regnum Iudeae: Lambert of Ardres, p. 577; Galbert of Bruges, Vita Karoli comitis Flandriae, MGH SS XII, 564; Raymond, p. 302. Regnum David: Ord. V, 174, 342. Regnum Dei: HEp No. 18 (p. 171); Ekkehard of Aura, p. 154; FC p. 134. Terra Dei: GF p. 66. Haec terra Dei haereditas: Guibert of Nogent, p. 137. Christi haereditas: Ekkehard of Aura, pp. 170-72; WT pp. 40-41.

45. FC pp. 132-34; BD p. 14. From the council of Clermont onwards this particular psalm came to play an important role in crusading ideology. As part of the spiritual preparations for the fifth crusade Innocent III ordained that after communion the parish clergy were to chant it along with Psalm 67 (Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius). The two psalms were then to be immediately followed by a prayer for the liberation of 'the land consecrated by the blood of Christ'. See Innocent III, Opera omnia, PL CCXVI, No. 28.

46. PT p. 105; BD p. 15; Guibert of Nogent, pp. 138, 140; AA pp. 485E, 492E; WT p. 398; Ekkehard of Aura, pp. 112, 114; Raymond, pp. 268, 285, 299.

47. HEp Nos. 4, 8, 10, 15.

48. AA pp. 486A, 487D, 488, 489; PT p. 110; BD p. 105; GF p. 92; LL p. 498.

49. AA pp. 490A, 494B, 495E, 520C. Even Raymond of Aguilers, who as chaplain to Raymond of Saint-Gilles was anything but a partisan of Godfrey, states that he was regarded by his men as 'quasi vicarius Dei' (p. 267).

50. C. Hosp. I, No. 282: 'Ego Balduinus gratia Dei rex Jerosolimitanus ... rex Jerosolimis dono dei impositus' (1107); E. de Rozière, Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulchre, PL CLV, No. 29: 'Ego Balduinus regnum Ierosolimitanum dispositione Dei obtinens' (1114); H. F. Delaborde, Chartes de Terre-Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Nôtre-Dame de Josaphat (Paris, 1880), No. 5: 'regia potestate a Deo michi data' (1115), No. 6: 'ut possim regnum a deo michi



traditum gubernare ... et cum eo in eternum regnare' (1115), No. 8: 'ut ipsius patrocínio ad dei serviciu cui servire regnare est ... quod mihi tradidit regnum gubernare' (1120); C. Hosp. I, No. 53: 'quinimo in omni terra quam Deus mi concessit, ubique et suo regno subdidit meo tempore Jherosolimitano' (1120).

51. AA p. 489.

52. AA p. 486.

53. FC pp. 306-10.

54. PT p. 110.

55. PT p. 110-11.

56. GF p. 92.

57. D. C. Munro, 'The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont', *AHR* 11 (1906), 236-37.

58. Raymond, p. 259: 'peregrina ecclesia Francorum'; FC p. 306: 'populus suus dilectus et praeclarus'; Ekkehard of Aura, p. 160: 'Godefridus ... populi Dei praefuit'. For references to exercitus Dei see above, n. 47.

59. BD p. 14; Adhemar of Le Puy was regarded as a second Moses, even in the inscription on his tomb (RC p. 673).

60. Ekkehard of Aura, p. 174.

61. Thus a letter of Paschal II (HEp No. 22, p. 178) is addressed to the 'militiae Christianae in Asia triumphans'.

62. AA p. 485. In the Vatican codex (D) Albert's history begins with the following words: 'Incipit liber primus Hierosolymitanae urbis, ubi clarissimi ducis Godefridi inclita gesta narrantur, cuius labore et studio civitas sancta, ab infidelibus liberata, sanctae Ecclesiae filiis est restituta'. Thus the twin themes of the liberation of Jerusalem and the restitution of the Eastern Church are placed in a central position in the exposition of the work (p. 271).

63. AA p. 709; cf. 'rector et defensor' (AA p. 673).

64. AA p. 709; RRH No. 43. Albert associates the concept of the defence of Christendom with Baldwin just as much as with Godfrey. He relates that after Baldwin's accession he was pressed by his vassals for money owed them by Godfrey. The king accused Daimbert of keeping back monies required to pay the knights 'qui Paganorum viribus repugnantes, Peregrinos et universam Ecclesiam ab eorum insidiis et assultibus protegerat ac

defenderent' (p. 545). Later Baldwin again demanded money for the 'milites et defensores christianae plebis regnique Iherusalem' (p. 547).

65. Anselm of Canterbury, Epistolae, PL CLIX, 206; WT p. 982.

66. LL p. 498.

67. Ekkehard of Aura, p. 218. Although Orderic Vitalis (V, 340) calls Godfrey king one of his phrases, pro terrore gentilium, may be an echo of the concept of the defence of the Christian community.

68. See above, n. 2, especially Praver, Latin Kingdom, p. 37.

69. A. Waas, Vogtei und Bede in der deutschen Kaiserzeit (Berlin, 1919-23), I, 28; N. Huyghebaert, 'Pourquoi l'église a-t-elle besoin d'avoués?', Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducale de Luxembourg 98 (1984), 33-42.

70. A. Grabois, 'Charlemagne, Rome and Jerusalem', RBPhH 59 (1981), 792-809. Orientalis ecclesia: HEP No. 22 (p. 178); Asiana ecclesia: HEP No. 19 (p. 175), cf. Galbert of Bruges, p. 564: 'populus Orientalis imperii'.

71. On the native Christian populations of Egypt and Syria see A. Atiya, 'Kibt', in Encyclopaedia of Islam and C. E. Bosworth, 'The Protected Peoples (Christians and Jews in Mediaeval Egypt and Syria)', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester 62 (1979), 11-36.

72. Rozière, No. 36 (RRH No. 40).

73. 'Ordo Romanus ad benedicendam imperatore, quando coronam accepit', in P. E. Schramm, 'Die Ordines der mittelalterlichen Kaiserkrönung', Archiv für Urkundenforschung 11 (1930), 371-72; Die Ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisers und der Kaiserin, ed. R. Elze, MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui IX (Hannover, 1960), 2, 4-5, 19.

74. Benzo of Alba, Ad Heinricum IV imperatorem libri VII, MGH SS XI, 631.

75. J. Ficker, Vom Reichsfürstenstande I (Innsbruck, 1866), 24-33.

76. Waas, Vogtei und Bede, I, 144-50; P. E. Schramm, Kaiser. Rom und Renovatio (Bad Homburg, 1962), pp. 174-76. The Middle High German equivalent of 'defensor Romanae ecclesiae', voget von Rôme, was still being used in twelfth-century vernacular literature of the Emperor's pre-eminent position over the Pope and other kings. See E. Nellman, Die Reichsidee in deutschen Dichtungen der Salier- und frühen Stauferzeit (Berlin, 1963), pp. 116-30, 176-80. For the dating of the coronation formula see Schramm, 'Ordines', pp. 281-390 and E. Eichmann, Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendlande (Würzburg, 1942), I, 152-77.

77. Ordines, ed. Elze, pp. 4-5.



78. K. F. Werner, 'Kingdom and Principality in Twelfth Century France', in T. Reuter, The Mediaeval Nobility, pp. 244-47.

79. Schramm, Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio, pp. 80ff.

80. The diocese of Liège was loyal to Henry IV for the entire duration of his dispute with the papacy. Even after the rebellion of his son Henry V in 1106 he was welcomed rapturously at Liège by Otbert and the populace. After his death there his relics and coffin were venerated with 'immoderatus favor' (Cant. pp. 237-38; Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronica, pp. 371-72). Liège was also an important centre of polemic literature. The Archdeacon Henry, Dean of St Lambert, was brother of the crusader Cuno of Montaigu. He was a frequent visitor to the monastery of Gembloux, and it was at his specific request that Sigebert wrote replies to two letters of Gregory VII to Hermann, Bishop of Metz, which justified the deposition of the king. These were followed by other imperialist tracts. See J. Beumann, Sigebert von Gembloux und der Traktat de investitura episcoporum (Sigmaringen, 1976), esp. pp. 25-38.

81. Ekkehard of Aura, p. 162; FC p. 368.

82. FC *ibid.*: 'huic autem celebrati patriarcha Daibertus non interfuit'.

83. AA pp. 531, 524B, 524C.

84. AA pp. 527E, 529D, 536A, 534. At one point Albert combines the two titles as rex Christianorum et princeps Iherusalem (p. 596) but after the coronation substitutes the title rex for that of princeps.

85. FC pp. 384-85; AA pp. 536-67; WT p. 413. None of these accounts provide justification for Runciman's claim (History of the Crusades, I, 326) that Baldwin paid homage to Daimbert on this occasion.

86. F. Kern, Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht (Münster, Cologne, 1954), pp. 68-95.

87. FC pp. 390-93; AA pp. 537-38.

88. FC pp. 385-90.

89. Achard of Arrouaise, 'Poem on the Templum Domini', Archives de l'Orient Latin 1 (1881), 562-79, lines 270-74.

90. FC p. 614.

91. S. de Sandoli. Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatorum terrae sanctae 1099-1291 (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 57-58.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE ORIGINS OF THE JERUSALEM NOBILITY

#### I

After the conquest of Palestine the Franks remained a minority among the native population which consisted predominantly of Muslims and Christians of the Orthodox and Jacobite rites. Most of the Franks belonged to the non-noble class which came to be known as burgesses. The Frankish nobility was thus a minority within a minority, a mere fraction of the total population of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

The only exact contemporary figure we have for the size of this group derives from the list of knights and sergeants in Chapter 271 of the Livre of John of Ibelin.<sup>2</sup> John himself was writing some time after 1260, but the precise nature of his itemised list suggests he was using as his source a text, probably dating from the last quarter of the twelfth century, which detailed the military service of the kingdom at that time.<sup>3</sup> John himself gives the total knight service owed to the king as 577 knights. However the addition of the separate items cannot give a total of less than 647 and can be interpreted as giving as many as 675. Yet even this figure cannot represent the true number; several fiefs are missing from the list, while we also know of the existence of mercenary knights who are similarly not included.<sup>4</sup> Since the kingdom was grievously short of manpower it is safe to assume that the kings were concerned to make use of every knight available. Bearing this consideration in mind as well as the omissions from John of Ibelin's list, it is likely that in the period before the battle of Hattin the total knight service of the kingdom, excluding the military orders and the mounted sergeants who belonged to the burgess class, was well in excess of 700 knights.

This figure does not necessarily hold good for the period from 1099 to 1130. Knight service was essentially determined by the extent of the territories held by the Franks, especially the cities, which could be



enfeoffed to tenants-in-chief and in turn to their vassals, or whose revenues provided money-fiefs in the case of the royal domain. The kingdom in this period was considerably smaller than in the second half of the twelfth century. The reigns of Godfrey, Baldwin I and Baldwin II saw a gradual conquest of the Muslim coastal cities and of inland border areas such as Oultrejourdain and the Hauran. The port of Tyre was not captured until 1124, while Ascalon remained a Muslim enclave within the frontiers of the kingdom until 1153. The pattern of expansion in the early period would indicate a gradual increase in the knight service the kingdom could support.

According to Fulcher of Chartres Baldwin I had 300 knights and as many foot-soldiers at the beginning of 1101.<sup>5</sup> A considerable number of these had come with him from Edessa, and must have belonged to the comitatus Baldewini formed by him in 1097-98. Therefore the force available to Godfrey after the departure of the majority of the pilgrims in the summer and autumn of 1099 must have been somewhat smaller. Since Fulcher describes Baldwin's men as being distributed among Jerusalem, Jaffa, Ramla and Haifa it is unclear whether he was including the followers of Tancred in Galilee. At any rate it is possible that many of these left with him in March 1101 when he assumed the regency of Antioch after the capture of Bohemund.

We can obtain an idea of the number of knights in the following years by examining accounts of the pitched battles fought by the Franks. It is clear that when threatened by major invasions from Egypt or Damascus garrisons were reduced to an absolute minimum in order to raise as large a field army as possible.<sup>6</sup> The First Battle of Ramla (September 1101) was fought cum omni virtute peditum et equitum.<sup>7</sup> The number of knights was put at either 260,<sup>8</sup> or 300.<sup>9</sup> At the Second Battle of Ramla (May 1102) the army comprised 200 knights many of whom were crusaders who had newly arrived from Europe; however in this case the figure did not represent a full mobilisation as the army which was defeated by the Egyptians in the initial engagement was subsequently reinforced by 80 more knights from Galilee and 90 sergeants from Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> This gives a total figure of 280 knights including pilgrims. At the Third Battle of Ramla (August 1105) the Franks managed to put 500 knights into the

field, a figure which would appear to represent maximum strength and may again have included visiting pilgrims.<sup>11</sup>

For the rest of this reign we are dependent for figures on one source, Albert of Aachen, who gives the following information: for the expedition to Edessa in 1110, 600 knights;<sup>12</sup> for the army defeated by the combined Turkish forces of Mawdud of Mosul and Tughtagin of Damascus in 1113, 700;<sup>13</sup> for the expedition to northern Syria in 1115, 500.<sup>14</sup> These numbers seem suspiciously high when compared with the figures given for comparable campaigns in the next reign by Fulcher of Chartres: for the relief expedition to Antioch after the Ager Sanguinis in 1119, 250 knights including a contingent from the county of Tripoli,<sup>15</sup> and for the expedition to Antioch in 1122, 300.<sup>16</sup> It is striking that on average Albert's figures are twice as high as Fulcher's, that is 500-700 as opposed to 250-300. Although Albert is normally a reliable source he was writing in Europe while Fulcher, writing in Palestine, was better placed to obtain information on numbers. It would be unlikely that the Franks would wish to unduly weaken the defences of the kingdom for lengthy periods. Therefore the expeditions to northern Syria must have represented a smaller proportion of the total forces available than the armies which fought defensive battles within the frontiers of the kingdom. Bearing this in mind Fulcher's figures for the reign of Baldwin II show a greater correspondence with those for the first few years of the kingdom rather than with those for the middle period which are attested to only by Albert.

It should be stressed that all of these figures deal only with able-bodied adult males. To arrive at a global figure for the entire Frankish nobility we would of course have to include women, children and males who were too old or too unfit for military service. Such a calculation would involve establishing a reliable quotient for the size of Frankish families in the East. Evidence for this is limited, especially in view of the problematic factor of infant mortality in a colonial group outside its traditional environment. Moreover, although many crusaders were accompanied by their wives and in some cases children we do not know what percentage they were of the whole group, whereas it is safe to assume that most knights in the later kingdom were married and had families. However the numbers of knights in the armies of the early



kingdom offers a comparison with the figures of John of Ibelin, adjusted to take his omissions into account. This information suggests that the total knight service in the reigns of Baldwin I and Baldwin II was considerably smaller than that of the second half of the century; a tentative figure would be something between one half and two thirds of the later total.

This group and their families formed the class known as milites. They were distinguished in law from the rest of the Frankish community who belonged to the class of the burgenses, even from the sergeants who also fought on horseback.<sup>17</sup> Yet even within this socially, militarily and legally well-defined class we find important differences of status. In the sources certain members of the nobility, usually described as principes, proceres or optimates are distinguished from the other milites.<sup>18</sup>

When dealing with the course of the First Crusade up to establishment of the Frankish state chroniclers tend to use the word principes to refer to the great lords who led important contingents: Godfrey of Bouillon, Eustace of Boulogne, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Stephen of Blois, Hugh of Vermandois, Bohemund and Tancred. Thereafter we find two distinct usages as far as the kingdom of Jerusalem was concerned. In the singular, princeps was applied to Godfrey as ruler of Jerusalem and was also used as by Tancred and his successors as lords of Galilee. In the plural principes was used as a collective term to apply to the more important members of the nobility. On the death of Godfrey his brother Baldwin was summoned to assume the throne by the milites et principes regni Iherusalem.<sup>19</sup> On his arrival in Jerusalem he was welcomed by the universi milites et principes de domo ducis Godefridi.<sup>20</sup> The optimates nostri et equites cuncti at the First Battle of Ramla would appear to be a parallel formulation.<sup>21</sup> The council which elected Eustace Granarius as regent and negotiated the treaty with Venice in 1124 comprised the principes regni or proceres regni.<sup>22</sup> Fulcher evidently preferred the term optimates.<sup>23</sup> This suggests that the principes, proceres or optimates corresponded to the membership of the curia. This must have included the holders of the major lordships and the household officers, but probably also important nobles of the royal domain.<sup>24</sup>

## II

These initial considerations of numbers and stratification are essential to any discussion of the origins of the nobility. The most important prosopographical source material comprises the charters of the period. Most of those which survive were issued by the king or by ecclesiastical institutions; private documents are rare. Therefore the evidence is 'top-heavy' in that most of the nobles appearing as issuers or witnesses on surviving documents tend to be drawn from the ranks of the principes rather than the simple knights. Furthermore, we cannot hope to successfully identify the place of origin of all of the individuals whose names have come down to us. Nevertheless, considering the relatively small size of the nobility, a survey of the proportion whose origins can be identified can lead to important conclusions about the character of the group as a whole. Some, if not all knights brought wives and families with them from Europe. Others were joined by members of their families or more distant relatives some time after the initial settlement. Shared origins were not limited to kinsmen. Waldemar Carpinel (134) was accompanied on the crusade by a retinue which remained with him in Palestine. The cases of Eustace Granarius (30) and Joscelin of Courtenay (86) indicate that principes were associated with milites from the same areas in Europe. Therefore the origins of the most important and most prominent members of the nobility will probably tell us about the origins of others who rarely or never appear on documents. The remainder of this section is a survey of those male members of the nobility whose provenance can be identified, grouped according to their area of origin.

The most logical area of origin to consider first is Lotharingia. Chapter 2 has shown how the core of Godfrey of Bouillon's exercitus was drawn from this area, while scholarship has repeatedly stressed the importance of the Lotharingian element in the early Jerusalem nobility. However in contrast to the accepted view the only nobles who had been vassals of Godfrey of Bouillon before the crusade were Philip of Bouillon (100), Walter of Bouillon (137) and Stabelo the Chamberlain (130). Although not a vassal Warner of Grez (143) was a kinsman of Godfrey; he appears to have been the only survivor of the Lotharingian



core group of Godfrey's exercitus, a primacy which entitled him to the leadership of the domus Godefridi in July 1100. Although Lambert of Montaigu has been claimed as a settler a closer examination suggests that he returned to Lotharingia with his father Cuno in 1099.<sup>25</sup> A larger group had no known feudal or kinship ties with the Ardennes-Verdun family: Gotmann of Brussels (52), Lithard of Cambrai (87), Milo of Clermont (92), Arnulf 'the Lotharingian' (15), the two Hennuyers Gerard of Avesnes (43) and Giselbert of Couvin (49) and the two Upper Lotharingians Ralph of Mousson (112) and Reinard of Verdun (114). To these it would make sense to add the two Germans Gunter (56) and Wicher (144) who like the Lotharingians were imperial subjects. All of these are attested only in the reigns of Godfrey and Baldwin I; the majority appear to have been dead by 1110. After 1118 we find only four instances of indisputably Lotharingian origins: Ralph 'the Lotharingian' (110), John Gotmann (84), Albert of Namur (5) and lastly, and not until the reign of Melisende and Baldwin III, Manasses of Hierges (89). It is just possible that this Ralph was in fact the same as Ralph of Mousson. John Gotmann was one of the second generation. Albert belonged to a family who were traditional rivals of the House of Ardennes-Verdun, but who had strong connections with the Rethel family to which Baldwin II belonged. Manasses was admittedly a castellan of Bouillon, but arrived in Palestine long after the castle and its territory had passed into the possession of the church of Liège. On the other hand he was a cousin of Queen Melisende. A decisive factor therefore would appear to have been played by Godfrey's abandonment of his lands in the Empire. After most of those who had come to the East with him had died there was no longer any connection between the House of Ardennes-Boulogne and Lotharingia which would encourage any subsequent immigration from that quarter. The accession of Baldwin II marked another caesura. After 1118 the only Lotharingians to arrive in Palestine were those with special ties to the House of Rethel from which they could hope to derive advantage.

The Lotharingian-German element was easily outnumbered by nobles from Flanders and Artois, that is, the domains of the count of Flanders and his vassal counties of Boulogne, Lens, Ardres, Hesdin, Guines and Saint-Pol. From the Flemish domains proper came Azo of Drouvin (17), Amalric of Vladsloo (6), Arnulf of Oudenaarde (16), Baldwin of Heestert

(18), Eustace (28) and Hugh of Cassel (70), Gerard (45) and Hugh of Fauquembergues (71), Gerbod of Scheldwindeke (47), Hugh of Rebecques (77), Isaac of Bruges (79), Josbert of Tournai (85), Ralph of Aalst (105), William of Saint-Bertin (147), William of Tincques (148) and Winrich the Butler (150). From the satellite counties came Alan (1) and John of Beaurain (81), Anselm (12) and Geoffrey of Parenty (39), Eustace Granarius (30), Fulk of Guines (33), Peter of Lens (99) and Godfrey (51), the nephew of Baldwin I. The majority of these men were established in Palestine in the reign of Baldwin I and must have been on crusade with Robert II of Flanders and his vassals Eustace III of Boulogne and Hugh and Enguerrand of Saint-Pol.<sup>26</sup> However as we have seen Eustace and his company seem to have joined Godfrey in the course of the march from Constantinople to Jerusalem; a crucial role was probably played by Baldwin who functioned as an important link between the two groups. It is likely that many of the Flemings joined Baldwin when he was establishing the county of Edessa and thus did not appear in Palestine until after the winter of 1100-1. We cannot completely exclude the possibility that some came with the crusade of 1101 although there is little hard evidence for Flemish participation on this.

To the Flemish-Artesian group we might add knights from the neighbouring area of Picardy, that is the region bounded to the north by Flanders, Artois and Lower Lotharingia, to the west by Normandy, to the south by the Capetian royal domain and to the east by Champagne. Ado (2) and Warmund of Quierzy (142), Drogo of Nesle (27), Gervase of Bazoches (48), Guy of Milly (61) and Roger of Rozoy (124) all established themselves in the reigns of Godfrey and Baldwin I, and with the exceptions of Roger and Gervase who died violent deaths all of them, or their descendants in the case of Ado and Warmund, are to be found in the kingdom in the next reign.

Men of the Norman race made up two of the major contingents on the crusade: those from Normandy and England under Duke Robert, and those from southern Italy under Bohemund and Tancred. Robert of Anzi (117), Robert FitzGerard (120) and Robert Giffard (122) had been with Bohemund and probably came to Palestine in the company of Tancred (131) although they must have transferred their allegiance to Godfrey at an early date. Henry of Alençon (62), Rainer Brus (104), Ralph of Montpinçon (111),



Ralph of Sept-Meules (113) and Walter Bigot (135) had probably come on crusade with Duke Robert. To these we can add Robert the Englishman (119), who if not a Norman by blood nevertheless came from a land ruled by a Norman king. The presence of Normans in the kingdom of Jerusalem can be partly explained by Baldwin I's connections with Normandy and England before the crusade.<sup>27</sup> William of Normandy (146) appears to have come to Palestine more as a refugee than as a settler: yet his status as son of the duke of Normandy, albeit a bastard son, evidently secured him favourable treatment there.

The next element in the Jerusalem nobility can be described as comprising knights from Francia in its narrower sense, that is the lands of the French royal domain, which extended over the Ile-de-France, the Orleannais and the Gâtinais, and the surrounding territories of the counts of Champagne, Brie and Chartres and their vassals. On the crusade these men had been predominantly in the armies of Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the king of France, and Stephen of Blois, although Baldwin of Bourcq, from the periphery of Champagne, had chosen to accompany Godfrey and Baldwin, succeeding the latter as count of Edessa.<sup>28</sup> After the desertion of Stephen of Blois from the crusading army it is likely that many if not most of his followers attached themselves to other leaders, especially since this occurred during the siege of Antioch when many knights were in financial difficulties.

Under Baldwin I we find several individuals from Francia from an early date: Andrew of Baudement (7), Frederick of Corbeil (32), Hugh I of Jaffa (72), Hugh of Bourcq (68) and Ralph of La Fontanelle (108). However in general most of the nobles from Francia in the period 1099-1130 can be placed in two principal overlapping categories.

Joscelin of Courtenay (86) did not leave France until after the First Crusade, going first to Edessa where he profited from his blood relationship with its count, Baldwin of Bourcq. In 1113 he became prince of Galilee. There we find a group of knights from Francia associated with him, spanning the reigns of Baldwin I and Baldwin II: Godfrey (50) and William of Bures (145), Bernard of Etampes (23), Drogo of Brie (26), and Alberic (4) and Peter of Crémisay (98).

Both Hugh of Le Puiset and Joscelin were first cousins of Baldwin II; the mothers of all three were daughters of Guy the Great, Lord of

Montlhéry, and Hodierna of Gometz.<sup>29</sup> Godfrey and William of Bures were originally vassals of the Gometz family. After the accession of Baldwin II we can perceive the arrival of more relatives of these men, forming a weighty group who were bound to each other and to the king by ties of kinship, vassalage and geographical origins: Hugh II of Jaffa (72), Hugh III of Le Puiset (74), Guy of Dampierre (59), Guy of Méréville (60), Geoffrey Charpalu (37), William of Bures and his nephews William, Simon, Elias and Ralph of Issy (107). To these we might add Albert of Namur (5), who was a Lotharingian, and the anonymous (8) nephew of Baldwin II, who both belonged to this interrelated group.

The largest single contingent on the First Crusade was probably that led by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse and Marquis of Provence. This was drawn from all over southern France, the area where the crusade had been first and presumably most intensively preached.<sup>30</sup> It seems that a large number of the burgess class was drawn from this group or from subsequent immigration from these areas. A list of burgesses from the town of Magna Mahomeria (al-Bira) in 1156 shows a high proportion of individuals whose surnames indicate that they came from the Languedoc and the adjacent lands of Lombardy and Catalonia.<sup>31</sup> By contrast we find only four Provençals among the nobility: Waldemar Carpinel (134), Roman (126) and Ralph of Le Puy (109) and John Allobrox (80). The probable explanation for this dichotomy is that when Raymond of Saint-Gilles failed to be elected princeps in the summer of 1099 the knights of his army, with a few exceptions, either returned to Europe or withdrew from Palestine with him and eventually settled in the county of Tripoli whose nobility retained an almost exclusively Provençal character up to the reign of Count Raymond III.<sup>32</sup> Waldemar Carpinel was killed in 1101. Thus apart from the obscure John Allobrox the Provençal element in the nobility for most of the reigns of Baldwin I and Baldwin II was represented exclusively by the Le Puy family, who were then dispossessed of their fief of Oultrejourdain around 1126.

Italy outwith the Norman possessions in the south of the peninsula produced a mere two nobles. The Lombard Otto Altaspata (93) died without issue in 1104. Balian or Barisan (21), a follower of the Archbishop Daimbert of Pisa, was the founder of what proved to be the most famous dynasty in the crusader states. The fact that Balian was the only



nobleman of Italian origin after 1104 explains why he was only ever known by his Christian name and later by his titles of constable of Jaffa or lord of Ibelin. A surname deriving from an Italian place-name would presumably have little meaning for his peers. Nevertheless this near-unique origin seems less remarkable if we consider the rise of the Ibelin dynasty. This was based on two foundations: the enfeoffment of Balian with Ibelin by King Fulk and the acquisition of the lordship of Ramla through the marriage of Balian and Helvis, daughter of Baldwin of Ramla (19). There are strong indications that Baldwin was none other than the Fleming Baldwin of Heestert (18). Thus it would seem that the dynasty had a Flemish origin as well as an Italian one, although Balian's Pisan origins were evidently of so little importance that the compilers of the *Lignages d'Outremer*, a work with a strong Ibelin bias, replaced it with a completely spurious descent from the counts of Chartres.<sup>33</sup>

The vast social gap between Franks and non-Franks has led Mayer, discussing the witness lists of royal charters, to compare the presence of burgesses with 'the total absence of Muslims, Greeks and Syro-Christians from the witness-lists'.<sup>34</sup> However Barda *Armenus* (22), an Armenian, apparently had sufficient status to appear as a witness for King Baldwin II and possessed sufficient property to donate his casale of Kuweikat to the Hospital. We can point to the parallel of a later Armenian knight, 'Simon fiz Pierre l'Ermin' who was recorded as owing the service of two knights in the book of John of Ibelin.<sup>35</sup> Although there was a small Armenian community in the city of Jerusalem which survives today these two men are more likely to have originated in the county of Edessa and the adjacent lands where a native Armenian nobility existed. Many of these belonged to the Orthodox rite which the Franks regarded as part of the Latin Church, and the two groups intermarried. Since Baldwin I, Baldwin II and Joscelin of Courtenay all married Armenian noblewomen we can understand how members of this group could gain entry into the Jerusalem nobility.<sup>36</sup> Evidence from a later period shows that other native groups could do the same. From 1155 we know of a family bearing the surname Arrabit who were vassals of Hugh of Ibelin. The names of Muisse (i.e. Musa) Arrabit and his son George suggest they were originally Arabic-speaking Syrian Christians.<sup>37</sup> The names of

George's own children Mary, John, Peter and Henry indicate a progressive integration into the Frankish ruling class.<sup>38</sup>

Easily the most intriguing case of a non-Frankish origin, however, is that of Walter Mahomet (140), whose name indicates he was a converted Muslim. We again have evidence from a later period which shows that converts were admitted to the class of turcoples or light horsemen.<sup>39</sup> Walter, by contrast, was clearly a member of the nobility who held the important lordship of St Abraham. If he could rise to this position there is no reason why other converts could not have become knights. Although Urban II had not specifically mentioned conversion among the aims of the crusade we find various instances of conversion being sought by Muslims, or offered to them by the Franks; what is striking about this phenomenon is that those involved were often in a position to bring the Franks certain expertise or local information, such as the messenger from Kilij-Arslan or the renegade Armenian who betrayed the city of Antioch and took the baptismal name of Bohemund after his sponsor.<sup>40</sup>

Such cases give us a clue to the status of Walter Mahomet. Many of the crusaders had previous experience of Muslims, their culture, language and fighting methods. The Provençals came from an area which bordered on Muslim territory; the Italian Normans had numerous subjects who were Muslims. We even encounter exotic cases such as that of the Norman Hugh Bunell. He had murdered Mabel of Bellême in 1077 and fled with his brothers to Apulia and then to Byzantium where he served the Emperor Alexius Comnenus. However to escape the vengeance of Mabel's children he was forced to live among the Muslims of the Middle East. For twenty years he studied their customs and languages and turned up at the siege of Jerusalem to offer his services to Robert of Normandy 'as his natural lord'. There he proved invaluable as a source of information about the tactics of the Turks.<sup>41</sup>

However it was precisely the Provençals and Italian Normans who settled away from Palestine, in the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch. The crusaders from more northern areas who made up the majority of the Jerusalem nobility can have had little previous experience of the Muslim world. There was thus an urgent need for expertise. Fulcher's description of the preparations for Baldwin I's expedition into Arabia in November-December 1100 gives us a picture of



the Franks collecting information about the geography of Palestine from natives, especially from ex-Muslims who had converted to Christianity after the conquest.<sup>42</sup> It would thus be understandable for the Franks to reward those such as Walter Mahomet who had proved particularly useful for their knowledge of local conditions and who had demonstrated their loyalty by undergoing conversion.

Thus, apart from a small number of knights of Provençal, Italian and non-Frankish origin the vast majority of the Jerusalem nobility in the period up to 1131 can be shown to have originated from four principal areas which formed a contiguous bloc spreading over northern France and the adjacent parts of the Empire: Flanders and Picardy, Normandy, Lotharingia, and Francia. Many of the members of each group must have known each other and possibly also others from different groups before their arrival in Palestine. This is demonstrably true in the reign of Baldwin II where we find a large group of men, mostly from Francia, who were linked by ties of kinship and vassalage deriving from the period before 1096. This phenomenon of personal acquaintance is undoubtedly responsible for the continuity in habits of nomenclature in the Latin Kingdom. In his study of 1959 Prawer declared of the names of the early nobility:

'Il est plutôt prouvé qu'il s'agit de chevaliers de moderate origine, qui n'avaient aucune raison de conserver des surnoms tirés de leurs patrimoines européens'.<sup>43</sup>

This assertion is simply not borne out by an analysis of the membership of the nobility. Undoubtedly many knights did come to adopt names deriving from their Palestinian fiefs or properties. However well over half the nobles investigated in the period 1100-31 bore surnames deriving from European place-names, most of which can be identified. Many more bore patroymics or descriptive surnames of European origin. Clearly long established habits of naming died hard even in a new geographical environment. Not until the coming of age of the second generation do we find a trend away from European surnames. Thus Guy of Milly (61) was never known by anything other than Guido de Miliaco. His eldest son, Guy, was known as Francigena to mark the fact, unusual in one of the second generation, that he had been born in France. On the other hand the two younger sons, Philip of Nablus and Henry Bubalus (the

Buffalo) bore surnames which were obviously derived from a new, Palestinian frame of reference. However if we turn to non-locative surnames we find a far greater durability. The families and descendants of Eustace Granarius, Guy and Walter Brisebarre (138), and Geoffrey Tortus (40) were still using these surnames of European origin in the second half of the twelfth century and beyond.

### III

Despite the relative homogeneity of the character of the group as a whole the nobility was anything but static in its composition. We find a striking lack of continuity, indeed a rapid turnover in terms of its individual membership. Nobles disappear from the sources, apparently leaving no descendants to continue their line. This phenomenon is no doubt partly due to the restricted source material. The presence in Palestine of two nobles, Bernard of Etampes (23) and Walter of Bouillon (137), is known solely from topographical features to which they gave their names. However this is only partly the case. If we look at the relatively well-documented group of the principes, especially the holders of lordships, we find the same lack of continuity. The lordship of Hebron, or St Abraham as the Franks called it, was held in turn by Waldemar Carpinel, Gerard of Avesnes, Hugh of Rebecques, Walter Mahomet and Baldwin of St Abraham (20), none of whom are known to have been related to each other. Certainly the extremely diverse origins of the first four would <sup>render</sup> any such relationship unlikely. The great fief of Galilee was held by Tancred, Hugh of Fauquembergues, Gervase of Bazoches, William of Normandy and Joscelin of Courtenay, of whom the same holds true; the first trace of a connection in this case does not occur until 1119 with the accession of William of Bures who had been a vassal of relatives of Joscelin in France, although no blood ties existed between the two.

The most obvious contributory factor to the lack of continuity was death in battle. The kingdom was almost perpetually at war for the whole of the period under discussion. Casualties were especially high at the first major Frankish defeat, the Second Battle of Ramla, 17-19 May 1102.



In the first disastrous engagement only the king and a handful of knights managed to escape alive.<sup>44</sup> On 28 June 1113 the Franks of Jerusalem, supported by contingents from Tripoli and Antioch, suffered another major defeat in Galilee at the hands of Mawdud of Mosul and Tughtagin of Damascus. Although it is likely that most of the losses were sustained by the foot-soldiers Fulcher gives the believable figure of thirty casualties among the knights, a significant proportion of the whole.<sup>45</sup> In March 1119 the lord of Tiberias, Joscelin of Courtenay, led an expedition across the Jordan into the Hauran with a force reported to comprise 160 knights and 60 footsoldiers. On Easter Sunday (30 March) they were attacked by Arabs who surrounded the centre division. Its commander, Godfrey of Bures, and most of his 60 knights and 60 foot-soldiers were killed and the rest captured. Joscelin, commanding the right, also lost most of his troops. Even if Albert's figures are exaggerated, although in this case he gives fairly exact information, the casualties must have represented a considerable proportion of the nobility of Galilee.<sup>46</sup> These major defeats were exceptions to the general trend. In large set-piece battles the Franks normally had the upper hand. Nevertheless the losses sustained in victories or indecisive engagements must also have had a significant cumulative effect.

In smaller numbers the Franks were especially vulnerable to ambush or surprise attack, particularly in the early years when the Muslims still controlled several of the coastal cities from which they could mount attacks when the Frankish forces were split up. Roger of Rozoy lost forty of his men and was almost killed himself in an ambush in 1107.<sup>47</sup> The Muslims of Ascalon followed up this victory with an attack on Chastel Hernaut, killing the entire garrison except for the commander, Gunfrid (55), who was taken prisoner. Hugh of Fauquembergues (71) was killed in an ambush by Turks from Damascus after returning from a raid in the Hauran. A similar fate struck the force led by his successor as prince of Galilee, Gervase of Bazoches (48), all being either killed or captured. The Franks were equally vulnerable when they were left in Muslim held cities to act as residents, as in the case of Gerard of Avesnes (43), or the garrison of Ascalon, massacred in July 1110 by the populace and the Egyptian soldiers they had admitted to the city.<sup>48</sup> It is therefore likely that the known cases of death in combat

among the nobles surveyed merely represent the tip of the iceberg.<sup>49</sup> In many cases the Frankish knights, protected by their heavy armour, must have been in greater danger of capture than of being killed, especially after the Muslims began to realise the value of their more prominent prisoners. In the second half of the twelfth century we find detailed cases of lords and knights raising money to pay ransoms, suggesting that this was a common practice by that time.<sup>50</sup> However apart from the instances of Baldwin II and other rulers of the crusader states this does not seem to have been common up to 1130. In known cases of capture the Franks seem to have been reluctant to pay the ransoms demanded in order to secure the release of prisoners. Godfrey of Bouillon refused to negotiate for the release of Gerard of Avesnes, held by the Muslims of Arsuf in 1100, declaring that even if his own brother Eustace were held captive he would not desist from his attack on the city.<sup>51</sup> Baldwin I refused to pay the price demanded for the release of Gervase of Bazoches, leading to his execution. Death in captivity was also the fate of Waleran of Le Puiset, Lord of Bira, and Baldwin II's own nephew (8). Lastly we have the fate of Gunfrid of the Tower of David (55), who languished in Egyptian, or as the crusaders would have described it, Babylonian captivity for over thirty years. His eventual release resulted from the initiative of native Christians rather than that of his fellow Franks. Thus while capture may have led to financial difficulties in the second half of the twelfth century it could have far more serious consequences in the first. It is surely no coincidence that captivity forms one of the principal literary themes in the epic poetry inspired by the First Crusade and the deeds of the Franks in the East, notably in the poem known as Les Chétifs which was composed at Antioch sometime before 1147 and which along with the Chanson d'Antioche and the Chanson de Jérusalem represents the oldest portions of the Crusading Cycle.<sup>52</sup>

In contrast to violent deaths we know of few explicit cases of mortality as a result of illness, as in the cases of Warner of Grez (143), Wicher (144), and Rorgius of Haifa (127). However we must bear in mind that the life expectancy of the Franks must have been shortened by the combined effects of inadequate hygiene, war injuries, diseases and the rigours of the Palestinian climate. One last important contributory



factor to the rate of change was dispossession or exile as a result of royal disfavour or opposition to royal policies. This affected several individuals: Hugh II of Jaffa, Roman and Ralph of Le Puy, Geoffrey of Parenty, Ralph of La Fontanelle, and Manasses of Hierges.<sup>53</sup>

The gaps caused by death, captivity and exile, especially those among the principes had to be filled by in most cases by less prominent men. One important source for holders of important lordships was the royal household, which must have consisted of men who were considered to be especially reliable. Gervase of Bazoches (48), who obtained the fief of Galilee on the death of Hugh of Fauquembergues, had been butler to Baldwin I. Pagan (94), butler to Baldwin II was given the fief of Oulrejourdain after the dispossession of Roman of Le Puy. Others were men of the second rank, such as William of Bures (145), originally a rear-vassal in Galilee and subsequently prince after Joscelin of Courtenay, and Balian (21), vassal of Hugh of Jaffa and later lord of Ibelin. Some, like Geoffrey Acus (35) may even have been drawn from the ranks of the burgesses. However the qualities demanded of the nobility in Palestine, even more so than in Western Europe, were the ability to command, and the ability to fight as a knight. As a rule only the noble class at this time possessed sufficient financial resources, leisure time, and access to expertise to acquire these skills.

The losses among the Frankish nobility thus could not be sustained indefinitely from within the small group established by the First Crusade. Their depleted ranks had to be replenished by fresh immigration from their European homelands. We know of only one definite case of re-emigration back to Europe, that of the Italian Norman Robert FitzGerard (120). On the other hand there are numerous cases of immigration to the Latin Kingdom after the initial settlement brought by the First Crusade. In the reign of Baldwin I, for example, we have the cases of Joscelin of Courtenay (86), Hugh of Le Puiset (72), William of Normandy (146) and the king's nephew Godfrey (51). We find even more immigrants after 1118, many of them related to noblemen already in the kingdom, or to the king himself.<sup>54</sup>

This fluctuation undoubtedly helps to explain the different developments affecting the four main groups which made up the nobility in the period 1100-31. A sizeable contingent of Lotharingians remained

with Godfrey of Bouillon after the return of the majority of their compatriots to Europe. Yet with the prominent exception of Gotmann of Brussels no Lotharingians apparently were left after 1110. The obvious conclusion is that when Godfrey gave up the possessions of the House of Ardennes-Verdun he severed his connections with Lotharingia; the losses among the Lotharingians who settled in Palestine were not made up after the crusade. The few Lotharingians who arrived after 1110 had particular ties, not to the House of Ardennes-Boulogne, but to the House of Rethel. A similar pattern can be discerned in the case of the Normans, who were fewer in the second half of the period under discussion. We do not have a clear cut explanation for this apparent decline as we do in the case of the Lotharingians. Nevertheless two factors may have contributed to this negative development. Firstly, many of the Norman followers of Tancred during his first tenure of Galilee may have departed with him after he assumed the regency of Antioch. As he remained an absentee during his second tenure it is unlikely that they returned in 1109. Secondly, the essentially Norman nobility of Antioch itself suffered heavy losses in 1119 at the battle known as the Ager Sanguinus. The curia of Antioch reached an agreement with Baldwin II, who acted as regent in the subsequent period, that wherever possible the fiefs of the dead Antiochene nobles should be kept in the hands of their families wherever possible, even if this meant that their successors had to be brought over from Europe.<sup>55</sup> It is therefore probable that from 1119 onwards the immigration of kinsmen from Normandy and Norman Italy was directed towards Antioch rather than to the Latin Kingdom. In contrast to the Normans and Lotharingians the largest single group, nobles from Flanders and Picardy, remained numerous throughout the whole of the period. Nobles from Francia were comparatively few in the early years, becoming more numerous after Joscelin of Courtenay became prince of Galilee, and even more so after the accession of his cousin Baldwin II in 1118. From that time this group was characterised by quality as well as quantity, as a large number of them were related to the king. These conclusions therefore point to relations with the monarchy as being a decisive factor in determining the character and composition of the Jerusalem nobility. In the concluding chapter we shall discuss and attempt to explain the workings of this relationship.



NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. J. S. Russell, 'The Population of the Crusader States', in Setton, V, 295-314; J. Prawer, 'Social Classes in the Latin Kingdom: The Franks', in Setton, V, 117-92.

2. John of Ibelin, pp. 422-27.

3. J. Richard, 'Les listes des seigneuries dans le livre de Jean d'Ibelin', Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger 32 (1954), 565-77.

4. R. C. Smail, Crusading Warfare (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 89-94.

5. FC p. 389, 353-54.

6. Smail, pp. 95-109.

7. AA p. 549.

8. FC p. 409; WT p. 425, This discussion of numbers omits the footsoldiers who were of course present at all of these battles.

9. AA p. 549.

10. FC pp. 436-55; WT pp. 429-30.

11. FC p. 496; WT pp. 454-55: 'cum universis regni viribus'.

12. AA p. 672.

13. AA p. 695.

14. AA p. 701.

15. FC p. 626.

16. FC p. 549.

17. Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility, p. 5; Prawer, *ibid.*

18. Nobilis occurs rarely in charters, and then often of women, probably because there was no female equivalent of miles.

19. AA p. 526F. On the strength of the RHC text Riley-Smith read this as 'knights and prince of the kingdom of Jerusalem' (The motives, p. 728), concluding, 'the 'prince' could only have been Galdemar', i.e. Waldemar Carpinel. However, this reading is undoubtedly incorrect. The Oxford and Florence MSS have principes (personal communication from Mrs Susan Edgington) as does the text edited by Bongars (PL CLXVI, 584).

20. AA p. 532E.

21. AA p. 551.

22. WT pp. 538, 548-49.

23. FC pp. 446-47, 648, 651; On p. 665 proceres. Fulcher is astonishingly sparing in his use of such descriptions. When describing events when the king was absent he tends to use passive or impersonal forms, thus doing away with the need for such words.

24. C. Hosp. I, Nos 74, 77 (RRH Nos. 112, 113) describe as nobilissimi viri William of Bures (145), Walter (138) and Guy (57) of Beirut, Eustace II of Sidon (31), Walter of Caesarea (139), Geoffrey de Elavi (38), Gerard de Area (41), Rohard of Jerusalem (125), Geoffrey of Parenty (39), Hugh of Ramla (76) and Guy of Milly (61). It is likely that the formulation nobilissimi viri corresponds to principes and optimates. There is no formal distinction made between lords of cities such as Beirut, Sidon and Caesarea, and holders of substantial land in the royal domain. Apart from the special cases of Galilee and Jaffa whose lords used the title princeps or comes the only title used among the nobility was dominus. It is therefore likely that the membership of the curia included men such as Geoffrey of Parenty, Guy of Milly and Ralph of La Fontanelle (108).

25. Riley-Smith ('The motives', pp. 724-26) has claimed Lambert of Montaigu as a settler in Palestine on the basis of a mention of a Lambert at the siege of Arsuf (AA p. 510) and on a donation to the abbey of Josaphat in Delaborde, No. 6 (RRH No. 80). In neither instance given by Riley-Smith is the individual referred to by a surname; Lambert was a common Christian name, especially in the diocese of Liège where many of the crusaders came from. The exact wording of the charter for Josaphat is 'Lambertus dedit Deo et Sancte Marie de valle Josaphat casale nomine Soesme situm super flumen quod vulgo Diaboli nuncupatur, laudantibus Goscelino principe Tyberiadis et Willelmo de Buris qui hoc ipsum casale eidem Lamberto prebuerat'. According to these terms the donation could not have been made until 1113, when Joscelin became lord of Tiberias. On the other hand Alberic of Troisfontaines (p. 815) says that Lambert of Montaigu returned home with his father Cuno. He was undoubtedly in Lotharingia by 3 September 1104 when he attended the feast of St Remaclus at Stavelot, and is subsequently attested in the diocese of Liège (Roland, pp. 107ff).

26. BD pp. 28, 33, 47, 76; AA pp. 315, 372-73, 422, 451, 463.

27. Ord. III, 128, IV, 216-18; WT p, 401.

28. AA pp. 366ff.

29. See Genealogical Table 4.

30. Runciman, History of the Crusades, I, Appendix I.



31. Rozière, No. 131 (RRH No. 302). Of a grand total of 140 burgesses, 54 have locative surnames. 15 of these derive from place-names in Palestine, 9 surnames cannot be exactly identified but were probably European. The remainder have surnames which indicate their countries of origin, giving the following totals; Auvergne 2, Provence 4, Burgundy 4, Poitou 4, Gascony 2, Berri 4, Catalonia 2, Lombardy 4, Limousin 1, Touraine 1, Francia 3.

32. J. Richard, Comté de Tripoli, pp. 78-91.

33. See H. E. Mayer, 'Carving Up Crusaders; The Early Ibelins and Ramlas', in Outremer, pp. 101-18 which corrects the genealogy in W. Rüdiger de Collenberg, 'Les premiers Ibelins', Le Moyen Age 71 (1965), 433-74.

34. H. E. Mayer, 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', History 63 (1978), 177.

35. John of Ibelin, p. 423.

36. B. Hamilton, 'Women in the Crusader States: the Queens of Jerusalem 1100-1190', in Medieval Women, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1, dedicated and presented to Prof. Rosalind M. T. Hill, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 144, 147ff. WT p. 610.

37. RRH Nos. 299, 332, 360. As Mayer has shown RRH No. 100 to be a forgery ('Carving Up Crusaders') it is doubtful whether there ever was an eponymous ancestor called Arrabi in the 1120s. Riley-Smith (Feudal Nobility, p. 10) also mentions a Baldwin, brother of Muisse (RRH No. 332). However the full text in Rozière, No. 60 suggests this Baldwin was actually the brother of Muisse's lord, Hugh of Ibelin.

38. RRH Nos. 335, 423, 539.

39. For example, Ulricus Baptizatus and Willelmus de Blanca Garda (RRH Nos. 558, 559), Gaifredus Baptizatus (RRH No. 594).

40. The Turkish messenger, AA p. 319; the betrayer of Antioch, GF p. 71, HEp p. 164, AA p. 381-82. See also AA pp. 386, 420-21, 469; Robert the Monk, p. 835.

41. Ord. V, 156-59.

42. FC pp. 374-75: 'Et cum cuncta ... et nihil nobis utile amplius invenire possemus, inito consilio cum quibusdam patriae alumniis, prius Saracenis, sed nuper Christianis, qui loca culta et inculta longe lateque sciebant, in Arabiam secedere dispositum est'.

43. J. Prawer, 'La noblesse du royaume latin de Jérusalem', p. 43.

44. FC pp. 436-44.

45. FC pp. 565-73; Ibn al-Qalanisi, The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1932), pp. 134-36; Ibn al-Athir, Extraits de la chronique intitulée Kamel-Altevarykh, RHC Or. I,

288-89; Bar Hebraeus, Chronography, ed. E. A. W. Budge (Oxford, 1932), p. 245.

46. AA pp. 710-11; Ibn al-Athir, I, 325.

47. AA pp. 625-37.

48. AA pp. 680-81.

49. App. Nos. 16, 37, 43, 47, 49, 51, 67, 70, 93, 105, 114, 134, 149.

50. John Gotmann sold 5 casalia in 1161 to pay his ransom, raising the sum of 1400 bezants (RRH Nos. 368, 369). Hugh of Ibelin was captured sometime before 1155. RRH No. 335 (Rozière, No. 60) reveals how his vassals were obliged to sell property to raise his ransom. Walter of Beirut and his brothers Guy and Bernard were captured by Nur-ad-Din in 1164; to secure his release he was forced to surrender his lordship of Beirut, receiving in exchange money for his ransom and the less important fief of Blanchegarde (M. E. Nickerson, 'The Seigneurie of Beirut in the 12th Century and Brisebarre Family of Beirut-Blanchegarde', Byzantion 19 (1949), 166-68).

51. AA pp. 507-8.

52. U. T. Holmes and W. M. Macleod, 'Source Problems of the Chétifs, a Crusade Chanson de Geste', Romanic Review 28 (1937), 99-108.

53. For a full discussion of these dispossessions see Chapter 5, pp. 139-40, 144-46.

54. Genealogical Table 4.

55. Walter the Chancellor, Galterii Cancellarii Bella Antiochena, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896), pp. 98-100.



## CHAPTER 5

### MONARCHY AND NOBILITY

#### I

The main opposition to the monarchy of Godfrey and his brother Baldwin I came from the theocratic pretensions of the Patriarch Daimbert. With the exception of Tancred, whose principality of Galilee was essentially an independent foundation, the nobility of Jerusalem in the first two reigns was markedly loyal, with a strong legitimist tendency. Baldwin I owed his throne to the knights of the domus Godefridi under the leadership of Warner of Grez who mounted a coup d'état in July 1100 in support of the principle of hereditary succession, declaring that only a kinsman of Godfrey should rule in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

The reasons for the harmony which prevailed between monarchy and nobility are fairly clear. The survival of a Christian kingdom administered and defended by a minority Frankish population depended on close co-operation between its various institutions and interest groups. We must also consider the nature of the ties between monarchy and nobility. Godfrey granted two cities to members of his nobility, Haifa and St Abraham. The principality of Galilee was originally an independent creation of Tancred's. Baldwin continued to grant out these three lordships. However he was sparing in the creation of more. Important new conquests such as Arsuf (1101) and Acre (1104) were retained in the royal domain. The majority of his knights received money-fiefs, which could derive from various sources. Firstly, knights were assigned part of the revenues of cities retained by the king, as in the case of Gerard the Chamberlain (44). A second source was tribute paid by Muslim cities, as in the cases of Robert of Anzi (117), and Gerard of Avesnes (43) who acted as resident and overseer in Arsuf. Ascalon also received a garrison in 1110. A less regular form of tribute was the protection-money levied in return for calling off attacks on

such cities. In 1106 Baldwin preferred to abandon the siege of Sidon in return for the 15,000 bezants offered by its inhabitants, sending away many of the pilgrims from Europe who had joined his army; the following year he extracted another large sum from Tyre.<sup>2</sup> However the evidence suggests that money-fiefs were not necessarily adequate for the needs of their holders. They were supplemented from one last and important source which was booty. After the capture of a caravan going from Tyre to Damascus in 1111 Baldwin II distributed money to his vassals who had long been in financial difficulties. The expedition into the Wadi Musa in 1112 was undertaken with the express purpose of obtaining booty for distribution to the knights.<sup>3</sup> On another occasion the Franks were reproached by Albert of Aachen for thinking more of booty than of the pursuit. In such cases the division of the spoils seems to have been a third to the king and two thirds to the knights.<sup>4</sup> The important point about the tenure of money-fiefs was that they were essentially a continuation of the relationship which had evolved in the course of the crusade itself, and kept the holder dependent on the monarch. It was therefore a particularly select group who were granted lordships over major cities or territories. We know nothing of the origins of the lords of Haifa except for Waldemar Carpinel (134), a Provençal who also held St Abraham. Among the other holders of lordships in the reign of Baldwin I we find one Lotharingian, Gerard of Avesnes (43) and one native Palestinian, Walter Mahomet (140), both in St Abraham; one Francian, Joscelin of Courtenay (86), and two Normans, Tancred (131) and William (146), all in Galilee. Tancred, however, was not installed by either Godfrey or Baldwin; his nominal restoration in 1109 was part of a general settlement in the Frankish East. However the largest single group were men from Flanders and Picardy. Hugh of Fauquembergues (71) and Gervase of Bazoches (48) held the great fief of Galilee. St Abraham was held by Hugh of Rebecques (77). Baldwin, the first lord of Ramla, was probably also a Fleming (18, 19). The Flemish-Picard group also received three of the important coastal cities acquired in the course of the reign: Fulk of Guines (33) who received Beirut, and Eustace I Granarius (30), who as lord of both Sidon and Caesarea acquired a concentration of power unequalled in this reign. It was therefore above



all men from Flanders and Picardy who enjoyed the royal favour in the period up to 1118.

Only in the later years of the reign of Baldwin I, when the kingdom had acquired stability, did the issue of the succession signal the first break in this apparent consensus of interest, highlighting the importance of dynastic continuity as a leading factor in relations between monarchy and nobility.

At some point after his accession Baldwin I repudiated his second, Armenian wife, who had failed to produce an heir. In 1112-13 he negotiated a new marriage with Adelaide, sister of Robert Guiscard and widow of Roger I of Sicily. Up to that time she had acted as regent for her son Roger II who had just attained his majority. In the expectation of acquiring a considerable dowry the financially hard-pressed Baldwin agreed to the condition that if the marriage should prove childless the throne of Jerusalem should pass on his death to Roger II.<sup>5</sup> What implications did this agreement have?

Baldwin had no surviving children from his two previous marriages. We know that on his death in 1118 the initial reaction of the barons was to send for his brother Eustace III, Count of Boulogne. It is likely that prior to 1113 Eustace was regarded as Baldwin's heir presumptive, whose rights to the throne would thus be set aside by the new marriage agreement. However the full significance of the agreement depends on Baldwin's own appraisal of whether or not the marriage would prove fruitful. If he had hopes of fathering an heir then the dynasty would be secure; from the king's point of view nothing would have been lost by waiving the rights of Eustace as his claim, like Roger's, would automatically have become irrelevant on the birth of an heir. On the other hand the assumption that Baldwin knowingly entered into a marriage he expected to prove childless suggests a lack of dynastic consciousness on his part. He was apparently prepared to bargain away the rights of his existing heir in return for a short-term financial gain. The evidence is unfortunately inconclusive although it does point towards the latter case. Adelaide married Roger I in 1089 and bore her first child, Simon, in 1093.<sup>6</sup> This suggests she was in her late thirties by 1113. At any rate, after four subsequent years of childless marriage it

must have become clear that there was no chance of a new heir, and at this point the question of the succession came to a crisis.

During the winter of 1116-17 Baldwin fell dangerously ill. There was a real possibility he might die and that the throne would pass to Roger, who was not only a foreigner with no ties of loyalty with the Jerusalem nobility, but as king of Sicily likely to be an absentee monarch. The nobility and the Patriarch Arnulf of Chocques were strongly opposed to this prospect and persuaded Baldwin to repudiate his wife. At a council of nobles and clergy presided over by Arnulf the marriage was annulled on the grounds of consanguinity and Adelaide returned to Sicily.<sup>7</sup>

As far as the succession was concerned this act must have restored the status quo ante 1113. However the interlude of 1113-17 is significant for two reasons. Firstly, the repudiation of Adelaide marked a low point in relations between the royal house of Jerusalem and the Hauteville dynasty which ruled Sicily and Antioch. Secondly, these events demonstrate the existence of a legitimist faction among the nobility which was prepared to confront even the king himself when the rights of the House of Ardennes-Boulogne appeared to be threatened.

This faction was again prominent a year later. When Baldwin died in 1118 opinion among the nobility and higher clergy was divided. According to the most detailed account, that given by William of Tyre, one group held that the hereditary principle should be maintained and that the throne should pass to Eustace of Boulogne. Another group, led by the Patriarch and Joscelin of Galilee favoured the late king's more distant kinsman Baldwin of Bourcq, Count of Edessa, who unlike Eustace was already in the East.<sup>8</sup> Yet it would probably be mistaken to assume an immediate formation of two evenly-balanced opposing parties. It seems that at first the legitimists had the advantage. According to Albert of Aachen the dying king had expressly nominated Eustace as his successor, with Baldwin of Edessa as second choice should Eustace decline the throne.<sup>9</sup> Fortified by this designation the legitimists summoned Eustace to take up his inheritance. This mission was not entrusted to mere messengers, but to quidam nobiles et magni viri who probably included leaders of the party. However their very absence may have altered the balance of opinion, depriving the legitimists of support at a crucial time. Only after their departure and the speculative arrival of Baldwin



in Jerusalem was another group, which we might call the pragmatist faction, able to mount a rival candidature. Baldwin's presence in Jerusalem and Joscelin's apparently altruistic arguments in favour of the man who had deprived him of his Edessan fiefs and whom, he pointed out, he had no reason to love, seem to have carried the day. Assuming that votes were weighed according to importance rather than counted it is likely that the Patriarch as head of the Church and the prince of Galilee as the major vassal qui maximae erat in regno auctoritatis swung the vote against a legitimist party weakened by the absence of some of its leading members.<sup>10</sup>

Eustace had set off for the East on receiving word of his brother's death, but in Apulia learned that in the meantime Baldwin of Edessa had been consecrated as king on Easter Sunday 1118. Nevertheless the nobles accompanying Eustace urged him to press his claims on the grounds that this act was 'contra ius et fas et contra hereditarie successionis legem antiquissimam', although by this stage the pragmatists' position was growing stronger by the day. As Baldwin and his supporters were hardly likely to give up their position of strength it would seem that at this point at least some of the legitimists were prepared to risk civil war in order to place their candidate on the throne. Only Eustace's refusal to contest the issue further meant that this group, now deprived of a cause, had no choice but to accept Baldwin as king.<sup>11</sup>

With hindsight it is easy to regard the issue as finally settled after the coronation of Baldwin II on Christmas day 1119. Yet viewed from a contemporary perspective the events of 1118 had important implications for the coming reign. Joscelin had argued that the choice of Baldwin would avoid an interregnum, but also stressed his acceptability as a consanguineus of Baldwin I; the latter point was clearly aimed at those who supported the principle of hereditary succession. This was nevertheless a double-edged argument: legally, Eustace's claim was far better, and there is no evidence that he ever renounced his rights. Thus there was no guarantee that Eustace or one of his descendants might not reassert a claim in the future should a favourable opportunity arise. Furthermore, the legitimist faction had gone to considerable lengths to promote his candidature and would remain a potential source of support.

These considerations help to explain the rather unsatisfactory treatment of the succession by Fulcher of Chartres. The one short chapter he devotes to Baldwin's accession is but a fraction of the corresponding accounts of William of Tyre and Albert of Aachen, although Fulcher, writing in Jerusalem only a few years after the events he was describing, was clearly far better placed than either to ascertain what had transpired. He merely states that on the death of Baldwin I the people of Jerusalem unanimously chose as successor his kinsman Baldwin of Edessa. No mention is made of Eustace.<sup>12</sup> This gross oversimplification suggests Fulcher chose to write far less than he knew. This section of his history was written in the years 1124-27, which, as we shall discover, were a time of crisis for the Jerusalem monarchy. As a royal chaplain, dependent on royal patronage and thus in a sense writing an official history Fulcher probably chose to suppress any information which might cast doubt on the legitimacy of Baldwin II's title to rule.

What can we say about the membership of the two opposing factions? Whereas we can identify Joscelin of Courtenay and the Patriarch as leaders of the pragmatist party we do not know the names of any of the legitimists. Nevertheless, it is likely that these men were drawn from the ranks of the older nobility who either possessed ties to the Ardennes-Boulougne family stemming from the period before 1096, or had developed them in the course of the First Crusade. The previous chapter has shown how many of these men came from Lotharingia, albeit in declining numbers, and from Normandy; however the largest single element of the early nobility consisted of men from Flanders, Artois and Picardy. Certainly subsequent events will demonstrate how ties between the Jerusalem nobility and Flanders manifested themselves in opposition to Baldwin II. It is therefore probable that a close examination of relations between monarchy and nobility in the remainder of the reign will allow us to draw conclusions about the membership of the legitimist faction of 1117-18.

If the legitimist nobles were a potential source of discontent the circumstances of his accession must have made the new king dependent on the support of the pragmatists, who could presumably expect to be rewarded for their promotion of his candidature. Only a year after his



accession Baldwin granted the county of Edessa to Joscelin. This act not only rewarded his principal supporter, but also removed a potentially over-mighty subject from the kingdom. Galilee was bestowed on William of Bures (145), until then a man of the second rank. The new king had every incentive to grant fiefs to men previously outwith the first rank of the nobility, thus creating a loyal group of barons who owed everything to him.

## II

'The House of Ardennes-Anjou' was the the dynastic name applied by Grousset and Richard to the rulers of Jerusalem between 1099 and 1186. While admitting the 'complicated family connections' linking these eight monarchs Richard nevertheless stresses the importance of dynastic continuity, especially in the 'Lotharingian' character of the first three rulers, for the relative strength of the monarchy for most of the First Kingdom.<sup>13</sup> Are we justified in assuming a dynastic continuity after the events of 1118? In that year the pragmatist party argued that the candidature of Baldwin of Edessa would conform to the principle of hereditary succession on the grounds that he was a consanguineus of the late king. As this candidature also meant the exclusion from the throne of the late king's full brother it is worth asking what this relationship implied.

While all of the sources agree that a blood relationship existed between the Ardennes-Boulogne and Rethel families, only William of Tyre gives a detailed discussion of the origins of Baldwin of Bourcq.<sup>14</sup> He has precise information on his parents Hugh and Melisende, his brothers Manasses and Gervase, and his sisters Mathilda and Hodierna and their marriages. Yet despite the incomparable advantages of twenty years study in France and Italy, access to the archives of the Jerusalem chancery and proximity to the royal house as tutor to Baldwin IV, William can give no details of the precise relationship between the two Baldwins. As this is the crux of the issue he is discussing it is inconceivable that William would not have used the information had he possessed it. Thus we have a dichotomy between the detailed account of Baldwin's immediate

origins and a near silence on his relationship to his predecessor, an omission which William apparently attempts to compensate for by repetition of the word consanguineus.

Yet the embarrassment of William of Tyre is nothing compared to the disarray and uncertainty of modern historians, insofar as they have addressed this question. According to Riant Baldwin's father Hugh I of Rethel was the son of Manasses of Rethel and an aunt of the Ardennes-Boulogne brothers.<sup>15</sup> Runciman states that Ida, daughter of Eustace I of Boulogne and Mathilda of Louvain, married Baldwin, father of Hugh of Rethel, although he gives no sources for this information.<sup>16</sup> These mutually exclusive suggestions indicate a fairly close relationship, the degree of which can be precisely defined, but objections can be raised to both. The only known daughter of Eustace I was Gerberga, who married Frederick of Luxembourg and predeceased her husband.<sup>17</sup> Hugh of Rethel's parents were Manasses and Judith (Yvette), sister of Ebalus I, Count of Roucy; his wife Melisende was a daughter of Guy I of Montlhéry and Hodierna of Gometz.<sup>18</sup> While most modern scholarship is content to call Baldwin II a cousin of his predecessor<sup>19</sup> the Rethel evidence obviously excludes any connection in the two generations preceding his own. the Genealogia comitum Boloniensium, composed around 1100 and extended in the mid-twelfth century when the Rethel family were the ruling house of Jerusalem, gives no indication of any relationship.<sup>20</sup> This all suggests that the connection was probably with the Ardennes-Verdun rather than the Boulogne family and that it was not particularly close.

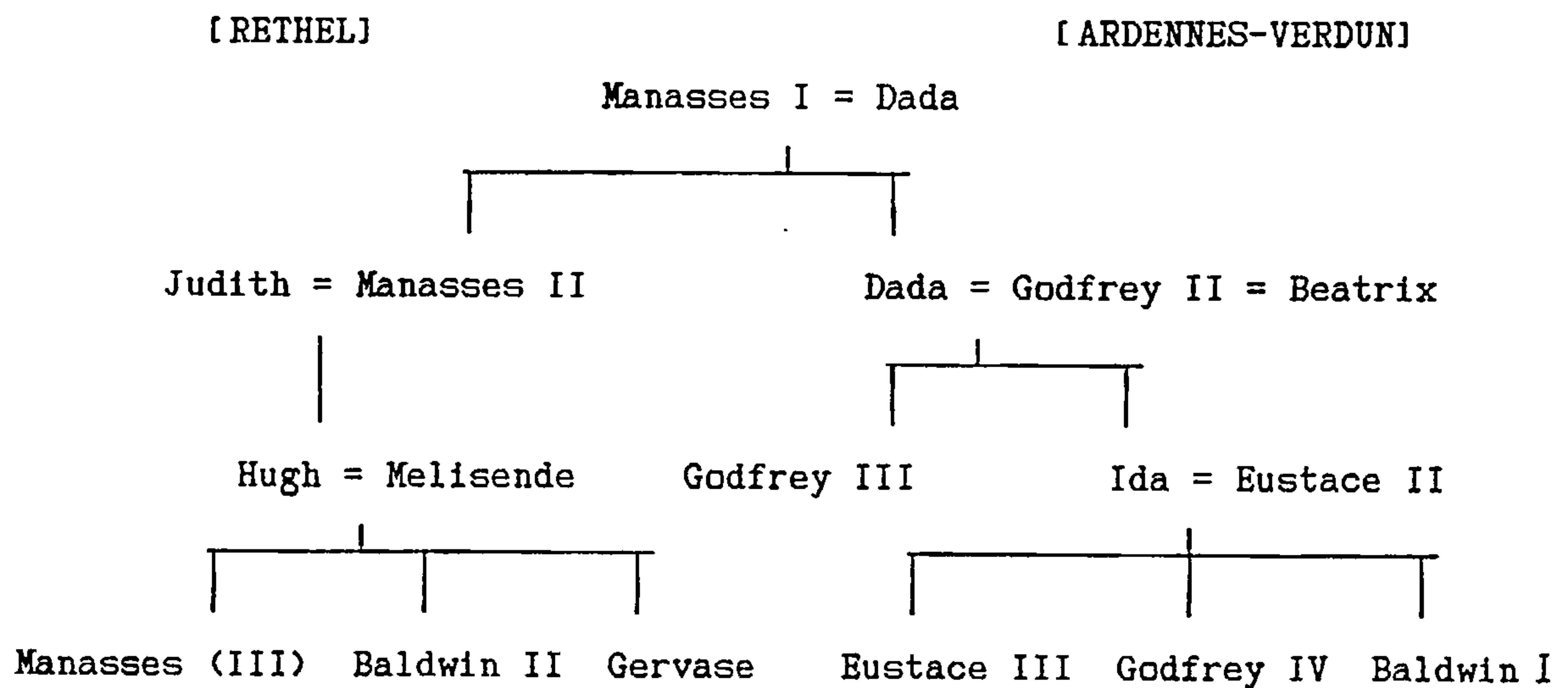
The first count of Rethel named as such is a Manasses who appears with his wife Dada in 1026, and who is probably the same Manasses who had joined Roger of Porcien and Arnulf of Rheims in throwing that city open to Charles of Lower Lotharingia in 989.<sup>21</sup> He is less likely to be the Count Manasses who was a vassal of the church of Rheims in 1055; the latter is more likely to have been the Manasses who was an enemy of the bishop of Verdun and also issued a charter with his wife Judith and son Hugh in 1081.<sup>22</sup> This raises the possibility that the 'domna Dada comitissa uxor Manasse comitis de Reitest' of 1026 was one of the Ardennes-Verdun family, say a daughter or sister of Godfrey I or Gozelo I. However Godfrey II appears in this same document which makes no allusion to any relationship.



On the other hand almost nothing is known of Godfrey II's first wife, the grandmother of the Ardennes-Boulogne brothers. The life of their mother Ida, written by a monk of Le Wast, describes her parentage:

'Pater eius supra potentes atque fama maiores, coram imperatore Alemannorum; gradum altiorem et quasi privilegium dignitatis obtinens fuit, nomine Godefridus. Mater vero eius, non minus egregia, Doda vocabatur'<sup>23</sup>

The Flemish monk's ignorance of Lotharingian affairs would explain his vagueness concerning Doda. Unfortunately there are only two other references to her which do not even agree on the form of her name. A diploma of Henry III confirms a donation to St Mary of Verdun by 'Guota, wife of Duke Godfrey'.<sup>24</sup> A charter of Ida of Bouillon for Munsterbilzen refers to that abbey as the resting place of her mother Uda.<sup>25</sup> If we can accept Doda/Dada as the correct form of the name we can construct a hypothesis which could provide a link between the two families. It is possible that Manasses I and Dada had a daughter who received her mother's name and married Godfrey II some time after 1026. The relationship between the two Baldwins could therefore be illustrated thus:



This would make Baldwin II a second cousin of Baldwin I and place both in the same generation. It must of course remain a hypothesis. At any rate the accumulated evidence does not suggest a particularly close link between the two families; the connection may have been even more remote

than in this model. On the crusade Baldwin of Bourcq was merely one of a group of consanguinei of Godfrey of Bouillon, and had no especial prominence. After 1118 the royal chancery preferred to stress the divine legitimation of Baldwin's rule rather than any hereditary right.<sup>26</sup>

The question of the individual family connections of the House of Rethel as opposed to the House of Ardennes-Boulogne nevertheless had important implications for the kingdom. The reigns of Godfrey and Baldwin I were characterized by an almost complete absence of ties of blood or marriage between the ruling house and members of the nobility. Godfrey's closest relatives, Mathilda of Tuscany and Albert of Namur, were at the same time his enemies. Beyond them was a wider circle of more distant kinsmen, many of whom had been on the crusade. Of those Henry of Esch, Gozelo of Montaigu and Warner of Grez were all dead by the summer of 1100; Frederick of Toul, Peter of Dampierre, Louis of Mousson and Cuno and Lambert of Montaigu had all returned to Europe. Baldwin of Bourcq in Edessa was the sole remnant of this group. In the kingdom itself the only nobles known to have been kinsmen of the royal house were Godfrey (51), the illegitimate nephew of Baldwin I, and the distantly related Fulk of Guines (33) who did not found a dynasty in Palestine. In addition, as descendants of Charlemagne many times over and members of a lineage of dukes Godfrey and Baldwin I had a prestige far more exalted than any of their vassals.

On the other hand Baldwin II came from a comital family, vassals of the church of Rheims and the count of Champagne.<sup>27</sup> Not only were the feudal and kinship ties of the new king more varied, but at times completely at variance with those of his predecessor. A striking example is that of the House of Namur, long-standing rivals of the Ardennes-Verdun dynasty in Lotharingia. In 1076 Albert III of Namur joined forces with the bishop of Verdun and Mathilda of Tuscany to dispute Godfrey IV's inheritance in a struggle which raged intermittently until the eve of the Crusade. The relationship between Namur and Rethel, however, was both close and amicable. Sibylla, first wife of Albert III's son Godfrey, brought him the county of Château-Porcien which was held from the count of Rethel.<sup>28</sup> Their daughter Isabelle married Baldwin II's brother Gervase who became count of Rethel on the death of Hugh I; another daughter, Beatrix, married Gervase's successor Ither, son of



Baldwin's sister Mathilda.<sup>29</sup> These ties were consolidated in Palestine. After Baldwin's accession Godfrey of Namur's brother Albert (5) came to Palestine and immediately entered the first rank of the Jerusalem nobility, receiving the hand of Mabel of Roucy, widow of Hugh of Le Puiset, and with it the county of Jaffa, one of the major fiefs of the kingdom. A later example of the benefits of Königsnähe can be seen in the brilliant ecclesiastical career of Frederick of Laroche, Archdeacon of Liège and a nephew of Godfrey of Namur and Albert of Jaffa. He went to Palestine around the year 1141 and became bishop of Acre; by 1164 he was archbishop of Tyre.<sup>30</sup>

Similar patterns can be discerned in the relationship with the Hauteville dynasty which ruled Sicily, Apulia and Antioch, and to which Baldwin II was already related through the Roucy family. While he was still count of Edessa his sister Cecilia married Roger, Prince of Antioch, and after 1118 relations between Antioch and Jerusalem began to recover from the nadir marked by the disastrous marriage of Baldwin I and Adelaide of Sicily.<sup>31</sup> A new policy of co-operation which brought Baldwin II the regency of Antioch was cemented by the marriage of his daughter Alice to Bohemund II.<sup>32</sup> The close ties can be traced to the middle of the twelfth century with Beatrix of Rethel, daughter of Count Ither and wife of Roger II of Sicily.<sup>33</sup>

Another feature of the Rethel family was the sheer diversity of its connections. Even Pope Calixtus II, a son of Count William of Burgundy, addressed Baldwin II as 'illustri quoque atque charissimo filio et consanguineo Balduino regi'.<sup>34</sup> The family had especially close ties with the nobility of the Ile-de-France, and in particular with those of the Capetian royal domain. Through the marriage of his father Hugh with Melisende, daughter of Guy I of Montlhéry and Hodierna of Gometz, Baldwin II was a first cousin of the count of Rochefort and the lords of Montlhéry-Bray, Courtenay and Le Puiset.<sup>35</sup> This group of barons had a strong tradition of independence which frequently manifested itself in the usurpation of rights of the Capetian monarchy and the Church, and was strongly opposed to the attempts of Philip I and Louis VI to establish effective control over the royal domain. The Capetian strategy employed various means including offers of marriage alliances, the purchase of rights and of course the use of force.

According to Suger the lords of Montlhéry were responsible for all rebellious activity around Paris, drawing their neighbours into conflicts. In order to neutralize this source of sedition the king arranged a marriage between his younger son Philip and Elisabeth, daughter of Guy II Troussel, but on Guy's death in 1108 the possession of Montlhéry was disputed by his brother Milo II who continued to resist royal authority until his death in 1118.<sup>36</sup>

The lords of Le Puiset, a royal castellany, were also vassals of the count of Chartres for their vicomté in that city. The Le Puisets were a large family with a distinctly clannish mentality. There is evidence that certain of the family lands were held conjointly by brothers, who might also act as tutor or guardian to an under-age nephew.<sup>37</sup> A church career for younger sons was another solution to an inadequate inheritance, although could easily be reversed in the family interests if a suitable marriage presented itself. Thus Hugh I's third son Guy was originally a canon of Chartres but later married the daughter of Mark of Etampes and succeeded to his vicomté. From 1106 to 1109 Guy was guardian and administrator for his nephew Hugh III and was excommunicated by Ivo of Chartres for the spoliation of the estates of the cathedral he had once served.<sup>38</sup>

Around 1079 William the Conqueror provoked a revolt against Philip I by paying subsidies to various lords of the royal domain. Two features stand out above all. The fact that Philip was obliged to bring in outside assistance (Odo of Burgundy, William of Nevers, and Geoffrey, Bishop of Auxerre) demonstrates the strength and extent of the revolt among the nobility of the Ile-de-France and the surrounding areas. Philip's reaction, the unsuccessful investment of Le Puiset, identifies Hugh I Blavons as the prime mover if not the leader of the uprising.<sup>39</sup> The struggle between the Capetians and Le Puiset reached a climax in the time of Hugh III and his uncle Hugh II (I of Jaffa). Their repeated devastation of Church property gave Philip and Louis the opportunity to pose as defenders of the Church.<sup>40</sup> Hugh III represented an even greater threat than his predecessors. His marriage to Alice, heiress of Odo of Corbeil, made him heir to a county where the king had no rights of justice and which cut off the Gâtinais, acquired by Philip in 1068, from the rest of the royal domain. The abandonment of his rights to Corbeil



was the price paid by Hugh after the capture and burning of Le Puiset in a war provoked by attacks on his lord, Theobald IV of Chartres, who was forced to ally himself with the king.<sup>41</sup> The collapse of this short-lived Capetian-Theobaldian coalition led to a last major baronial uprising in 1112, centred on the same interrelated group: Hugh III of Le Puiset, Milo II of Bray, Hugh of Crécy, and Guy II of Rochefort, along with Hugh of Troyes and Ralph of Beaugency. This war, in which Le Puiset was again captured and burned, seems to have been the turning point; after a third and final period of fighting the defeated Hugh announced his intention to go to Palestine.<sup>42</sup>

Godfrey of Bouillon's ties with Lotharingia were dissolved after the sale or mortgage of his lands in 1095-96. Baldwin II on the other hand in remained in close contact with his relatives in France. While still count of Edessa he brought his sister Cecilia from Europe to marry Roger of Antioch. The Gutterius sororius regis who witnessed a Jerusalem charter in 1128 was undoubtedly Ither, son of another sister, Mathilda. After returning to Europe he became count of Rethel on the death of Baldwin's brother Gervase.<sup>43</sup>

The Rethel family, then, was related to a considerable group of the French nobility which possessed established traditions of independence and resistance to royal authority, but whose freedom of action was being increasingly restricted by the Capetian monarchy in the first quarter of the twelfth century. The year of Baldwin II's accession also marked the final triumph of Louis VI over the lords of Le Puiset and Montlhéry. It would be understandable if the new-found fortune in Outremer of a dynasty which most of its relatives probably regarded as their equals should have been perceived as an opportunity and an outlet which could compensate for diminishing prospects in Europe.

### III

As the previous chapter has shown, the origins of the nobility under Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I are to be found predominantly in northern France and adjoining areas of the Empire: Flanders, Artois, Picardy, Normandy and Lotharingia. Francia, in the sense of the Capetian

royal domain, the counties of Champagne, Chartres and Blois, and the lands adjacent to these territories, had provided a large number of the crusaders of 1096. Yet despite the resurgence of Capetian authority few of the lords and knights from Francia sought new opportunities in Palestine at this time. Excluded from the ranks of the privileged in Jerusalem, they evidently preferred their prospects at home to those in the East.<sup>44</sup>

We can discern two exceptions to this phenomenon. One was the county of Edessa under Baldwin of Bourcq. In 1101/2 his cousin Joscelin of Courtenay arrived from the Gâtinais, an area which had been brought under royal control in 1068. Although a younger son with 'neither lands nor wealth' he was immediately granted a huge fief which included the strongholds of Turbessel (modern Tilbeshar), Ravandel (Rawandan), Dülük, Coritium and Aintab (Gaziantep). This represented most of the county of Edessa west of the Euphrates.<sup>45</sup> The town of Dülük had been previously held by William Sancawel who probably came from Boissy-sans-Avoir west of Paris. A Fulcher of Chartres, not to be confused with his namesake the historian, was lord of Sororgia (Saruj).<sup>46</sup> In 1117 Baldwin gave the fief of Bira (Birecik) to his cousin Waleran of Villepreux, fifth son of Hugh I of Le Puiset. He was made regent of Edessa when Baldwin went to Jerusalem in 1118.<sup>47</sup> In the kingdom of Jerusalem in this period, with a few exceptions knights from Francia were to be found mostly as rear-vassals in Galilee during the tenure of Joscelin of Courtenay; apart from Joscelin himself none belonged to the foremost rank of the nobility.

A different pattern becomes apparent in Jerusalem after 1118. Joscelin, Baldwin II's main supporter was rewarded with the county of Edessa.<sup>48</sup> His principality of Galilee, previously held by northerners such as the Fleming Hugh of Fauquembergues and the Picard Gervase of Bazoches, was now granted to William of Bures (145). Originally a vassal of the Montlhéry-Gometz family from the Ile-de-France, then a rear-vassal in Galilee, he owed his new-found fortune completely to the king's favour. Around 1125 Beirut, formerly held by the Fleming Fulk of Guînes, was given to Walter Brisebarre (138), whose brother Guy (57) also rose to considerable importance. The origins of the Brisebarres are obscure, but the fact that they were newcomers who enjoyed royal favour



suggests a case of upward mobility like that of William of Bures. A similar case is that of Pagan the Butler (94) who first appears as an aulic officer in 1120 and gained the strategically important lordship of Oultrejourdain around 1126. Other newcomers with a status somewhere between holders of lordships and simple knights were Anselm of Brie (11), Guy of Dampierre (59), Geoffrey Tortus (40) and Bernard Vaccarius (24). We also find knights with the surname Rethel well after the death of Baldwin II.<sup>49</sup>

The one foothold of the Le Puiset family in Baldwin I's kingdom seems to have consisted of holdings in Jaffa, which remained part of the royal domain. Now Jaffa was evidently made into a lordship either for Hugh I or Albert of Namur, the second husband of Hugh's widow Mabel of Roucy who was related to the Rethel and Hauteville families. After Acre, Jaffa was the main port of the kingdom and the usual point of arrival for pilgrims going to Jerusalem. After Albert's death the fief passed to Hugh's son Hugh II who himself married Emma, widow of Eustace I Granarius. Thus the fiefs of Emma's sons Eustace II of Sidon and Walter of Caesarea were brought under Le Puiset influence.<sup>50</sup> After the defeats of the family at the hands of Louis VI from 1111 onwards we can discern a shift of the Le Puiset interests away from France towards the new opportunities opened up in the East. We have already seen how Waleran, brother of Hugh I of Jaffa, received the fief of Bira in 1117. Another brother, Gilduin, left a fairly successful church career in France as prior of a Cluniac house; by January 1120 he was Abbot-Elect of the monastery of St Mary of Josaphat.<sup>51</sup> The donations received by the abbey during his term as abbot are testimony to kinship consciousness and solidarity. Among the known benefactors were Hugh II of Jaffa, Joscelin of Courtenay, Waleran of Bira and Alice of Corbeil, widow of Everard III of Le Puiset and by this time wife of Guy the Red, Count of Rochefort. Baldwin II himself expressly mentions his blood relationship with Gilduin.<sup>52</sup> At some point between 1118 and 1128 Hugh III of Le Puiset evidently abandoned his lordship in order to come to Palestine; his uncle Guy of Méréville is documented there in 1127. This clan constituted a sizeable proportion of a growing number of nobles who were related to the royal family. Apart from his illegitimate nephew Godfrey Baldwin I had two distantly related kinsmen in the East, Fulk of Guines

and Baldwin II. During the reign of the latter and his successor Fulk of Anjou Outremer contained at least ten men who were first or second cousins of the king: Hugh II of Jaffa (73), Hugh III (74), Guy of Méréville (60), Waleran of Bira, Gilduin of Josaphat, Guy of Dampierre (59), Joscelin of Courtenay (86), his brother Geoffrey Charpalu (37), Manasses of Hierges (89) and an anonymous nephew (8) of the king who may have been Manasses' brother. The quality of the relationship between monarchy and nobility had also changed. In a situation reminiscent of early Stewart Scotland the monarchy was no longer exalted above its vassals, but perceived as an institution in which the nobility had interests to exploit and defend. It is no coincidence that the new reign saw the first appearance of a baronial seal, that of Joscelin of Courtenay in 1119. This usage was soon followed by Hugh of Jaffa, and represented a new self-awareness on the part of the nobility. Also significant is the fact that both of these first two lords to make use of a seal were cousins of the king.<sup>53</sup>

Above all the Le Puiset family combined certain characteristics which distinguished them from other members of the nobility. From Capetian France they brought a tradition of opposition to royal authority. They had been prepared not only to join but to incite and lead baronial revolts. With prospects in Europe diminishing they probably saw their most favourable opportunities in eastern terms; by the later 1120s most of the family's adult males were in Outremer. Apart from the case of the principality of Galilee which was originally an independent foundation of Tancred the holders of lordships had to be content with the title of dominus. However Hugh of Jaffa used the titles comes and even princeps in his documents, while his seal bore the inscription COMES HUGO.<sup>54</sup> This distinction marked a rise in status for the Le Puisets who did not even hold comital rank in France and undoubtedly derived from their kinship with Baldwin II. Although such ties were now commoner Hugh II of Jaffa had a significant and unique position. After the death of the anonymous nephew of Baldwin II in 1123 the Le Puiset family had the closest blood relationship to the royal family itself. Baldwin II had no sons. On his death Hugh as the nearest male relative to his daughter Melisende could claim a legal status as guardian of the rights of the dynasty.



IV

Soon after the accession of Baldwin II, in June 1119, the army of the principality of Antioch suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Ortoqid Il-Ghazi in a battle afterwards known as the Ager sanguinis. Antioch required an able governor to replace the dead Prince Roger. Baldwin II was acceptable to the barons of Antioch where his predecessor had not been; this undoubtedly owed much to the existing ties between the houses of Rethel and Hauteville. Baldwin acted as regent from 1119 to 1126, when the heir to the principality, Bohemund II, arrived from Sicily. Soon after Bohemund married Baldwin's daughter Alice.<sup>55</sup>

His responsibilities as regent meant that Baldwin and the army of Jerusalem were obliged to spend long periods in the north defending the principality, which had become vulnerable to the Turks of northern Syria. In August 1119 the king marched to the relief of Antioch, winning the victory of Zerdana, and remained there for most of the rest of the year to deal with pressing business, only returning to Jerusalem for his coronation on Christmas Day. An invasion by Il-Ghazi the following year required a northern campaign from June to October.<sup>56</sup> In June 1122 Il-Ghazi and his nephew Balak of Aleppo again attacked Frankish Syria. After another summer of campaigning Baldwin sent most of the Jerusalem army home but himself remained in the north until he was captured by Balak in April 1123.<sup>57</sup>

There is evidence that these long northern campaigns were unpopular with at least a section of the Jerusalem nobility. After the appeal for assistance from Antioch in 1120 Baldwin asked the Patriarch, Warmund of Picquigny, to allow the relic of the True Cross to accompany the army. The Franks of Outremer had a need for talismanic relics with miraculous properties which could be used in battle to inspire their soldiers. At first this need had been met by the Holy Lance found at Antioch by the Provençal pilgrim Peter Bartholomew, but after the credentials of this relic were discredited its place was taken by a fragment of wood believed to have been part of the cross of Christ. Discovered in Jerusalem shortly after the capture of the city the fragment was then set in a larger metal cross decorated with gold and silver.<sup>58</sup> This relic was thought to have a great efficacy in battle, when it was normally

carried by the Patriarch, close to the royal standard-bearer. The historian Fulcher of Chartres seems to have had a particular devotion to the True Cross and attributed almost every victory of the Franks over the Muslims to its power. Later evidence indicates that the king wore a smaller fragment around his neck; this was believed to have saved the life of Amalric I in battle in 1167. On its return to Jerusalem after each campaign the cross was met at the city gates and escorted to the Holy Sepulchre with great ceremony.<sup>59</sup>

In 1120, however, the Patriarch and some of the nobility opposed the departure of the cross from the kingdom. Mayer has convincingly argued that the real reason behind this move was opposition to the campaigns in the north. Fulcher's description of the debate inter euntes ad bellum et remanentes in Jerusalem indicates the existence of two factions in the nobility. The dissident group who were opposed to participation in the expedition had entered a tactical alliance with the Patriarch in order to keep the cross in Jerusalem, calculating that the army would be reluctant to set off without the precious relic. Yet the attempt to sabotage the campaign stood on weak ground as far as precedent was concerned. Baldwin could argue that the cross had gone outside the kingdom in 1115 and again in 1119. Eventually Warmund allowed the relic to go but refused to accompany it. As in 1119 the greater part of the army returned home at the earliest possible opportunity while the king remained in the north.<sup>60</sup> Mayer has pointed out the importance of an insertion in a royal charter of 1120 stressing the precedent of the victories of that year 'gained by the sign of the cross'. Yet as the document was issued on 30 December 1120 its purpose could hardly have been to support the king's case before the campaign of that year; it seems rather to anticipate further trouble in the future. We know that in 1122 Count Pons of Tripoli renounced his allegiance to Baldwin. It is unlikely this defiance was a totally unmotivated step; on the other hand it may have been timed to take advantage of continuing domestic difficulties in Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup>

How can we explain the relative unpopularity of the kingdom's involvement in northern affairs? In the first place, justice could not function properly during the absences of the king which were considerably longer than those of his vassals. Repeated campaigns far



outside the kingdom also dissipated its military resources which from the barons' point of view might be more profitably employed nearer home. Baldwin I had worked tirelessly to expand the frontiers of the kingdom. The only expansion of the frontiers in the reign of Baldwin II consisted of the acquisition of Tyre and of Banyas. The capture of Tyre occurred in 1124, during Baldwin's captivity, and was a result of baronial rather than royal initiative. The capture of Banyas in 1128 was a case of opportunism; the town was offered to the Franks by the Assassins who had seized control there.<sup>62</sup> Almost from the moment of his accession Baldwin II had been repeatedly campaigning far from the kingdom. Apart from plunder, campaigns in the north offered few compensations for lost opportunities nearer home. The prospect of fiefs to be gained would have been an incentive, but the terms of his regency obliged Baldwin to maintain the Norman character of the principality of Antioch and regrant fiefs to relatives of their former lords even if they had to be summoned from Europe.<sup>63</sup> This deprivation would have been felt especially keenly by the older nobility established under Baldwin I as they saw more fiefs within the kingdom pass into the hands of novi homines.

The sixteen month period of Baldwin II's captivity, from 18 April 1123 to 29 August 1124, allows us to discern the real interests of the nobility temporarily freed from the constraints of royal policy. A regent was elected, but it is clear that he shared government with the regni principes, the Patriarch and other prelates in council. After the defeat of an attack from Ascalon in May 1123 news arrived that the king had escaped. The army went north but on hearing of his recapture returned home after a desultory foray against Aleppo. The real energies of the nobility went into the expansion of the kingdom. Of the two principal targets, Ascalon and Tyre, the latter was chosen for investment. Although short of ready money the nobles made great efforts to raise funds to pay mercenaries and enlisted the help of a Venetian fleet. Despite diversionary attacks from Ascalon Tyre fell after a siege of five months.<sup>64</sup>

The king's captivity may also have acted as a catalyst to the latent opposition to Baldwin II and his policies. An important piece of evidence which has been overlooked by almost every historian of the Latin East is to be found in the account of the murder of Charles of

Denmark, Count of Flanders, written by Galbert of Bruges. Dated by him to 1123, it is worth quoting in its entirety:

'During his [Charles'] lifetime it happened that the King of Jerusalem was taken captive by the Saracens, and the city of Jerusalem sat desolate without her king. As we have learned, the crusaders who were pursuing the course of Christian knighthood there hated that captive king because he was grasping and penurious, and had not governed the people of God well. Therefore they took counsel and by general consent sent a letter to Count Charles asking him to come to Jerusalem and receive the kingdom of Judaea, and in that place and in the holy city take possession of the crown of the Catholic realm and the royal dignity. But he was unwilling, after consulting his vassals, to desert the fatherland of Flanders, which in his lifetime he was to govern well, and would have ruled even better if these evil traitors, full of the demon, had not slain their lord and father who was imbued with the spirit of piety and wisdom and courage. Alas, what sorrow, that they should rob the Church of God of such a great man whom the church and the people of the Eastern Empire [i.e. the Latin Kingdom], and the Holy City of Jerusalem and its Christian population had preferred and chosen, and even demanded as its king'.<sup>es</sup>

How much credibility can we ascribe to this information which is given by no source other than Galbert? The silence of Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre can be explained by the conditions under which they were writing. We have already seen how Fulcher glossed over the debate concerning the succession in 1118. Thus in this case, as far as the Palestinian sources are concerned, an argumentum e silentio speaks just as much in favour of as against Galbert.

Another objection would be that Galbert's main intention is to collect evidence glorifying his hero, and that the offer of the crown was either invented or exaggerated. Galbert gives a similar account of an offer of the German crown, made to Charles in 1125 on the death of Henry V, the last male representative of the Salian line. Otto of Freising, who with his Hohenstaufen connections had no interest in glorifying Charles, confirms that he was one of four candidates in the election along with Frederick II of Swabia, Leopold III of Austria and Lothar of Saxony. The Archbishop Frederick of Cologne was determined to prevent his suffragan bishops in Saxony coming under the influence and authority of the duke there, and a party led by him proposed Charles as an alternative and counterweight to Lothar.<sup>ee</sup>

In this case, then, Galbert's account can be shown to be trustworthy. While he clearly intended to exalt his hero he had no need



to resort to fabrication to achieve this. He was a notary of the count of Flanders who undoubtedly had access to official archives and was writing a mere four years after the events he describes. In his account of the offer of the throne of Jerusalem we can discern significant themes: bad government in the kingdom (nec bene rexisset populum Dei) and opposition to the king among the Frankish ruling class (quem ... christiani nominis milites qui militiae Christianae ibidem studuerant odio habebant); the reference to the grasping and penurious nature of the king (quod tenax et parcus fuisset rex) could reflect the financial burdens of repeated campaigns in the north, or possibly the king's failure to provide patronage in the form of fiefs, which were tending instead to go a favoured circle of newcomers.<sup>67</sup>

As Charles was already married<sup>68</sup> we can immediately exclude the possibility that what the barons were offering was the succession to the throne in conjunction with marriage to Baldwin's daughter and heir Melisende. What was under discussion implied nothing less than the deposition of the king. One of the first acts of the nobles and prelates in council on the capture of Baldwin had been the election of a regent. Their choice had fallen on Eustace I Granarius, Lord of Sidon and Caesarea. A Fleming who had probably been a rear-vassal of Eustace III of Boulogne, he was the most prominent surviving member of the older nobility which came predominantly from Flanders, Picardy and Lotharingia.<sup>69</sup> Bearing these origins in mind it is possible he may have been a representative of the legitimist party of 1117-18, which was precisely that section of the nobility with most reason to resent the growth of power of the new group favoured in the present reign. The king's captivity offered a unique opportunity for discontented members of the nobility to express their opposition to the policies of Baldwin II by electing as regent a leading representative of the old order. Another factor was the influence of the Patriarch who was part of the machinery of the regency government. While his predecessor Arnulf had been a strong supporter of the monarchy Warmund had been a focus of opposition since the affair of the cross in 1120.

After Eustace's death on 15 June 1123 he was succeeded as regent by William of Bures, who was very much one of the novi homines. It may be that an impetuous approach to Charles of Flanders was considered after

sober reflection to be dangerous, unpromising or merely foolhardy. It may be that Eustace's death swung the balance of opinion in council. It may simply be that as prince of Galilee William had a right to the regency by virtue of his seniority in the hierarchy; he also succeeded Eustace as constable. At any rate as William so obviously remained in the royal favour after Baldwin's release, the offer of the crown to Charles is more understandable as a first reaction to the king's captivity by one faction of the nobility, taking place under the first regent Eustace Granarius.<sup>70</sup>

If we seek to connect such a faction with the older nobility in its manifestation of the legitimist party of 1117-18 we are faced with the question: why was an approach made to Charles of Flanders rather than to Eustace of Boulogne whose claim to the throne was better than Baldwin's own? The simple answer could be that Eustace was no longer available. He was clearly an old man by this time; both his younger brothers were dead. Towards the end of his life his thoughts evidently turned to entry into a religious order. He was still count in 1122, but certainly by 1125 and possibly as early as 1123 he had entered a Cluniac house. His daughter and heir Mathilda, as yet unmarried, would not have been acceptable to the kingdom of Jerusalem which needed a man on the throne who could lead the army in the field.<sup>71</sup> Moreover Eustace had already disappointed his supporters once before by refusing to press his claims in 1118.

On the other hand Charles was both Eustace's suzerain and the head of the lineage from which the House of Boulogne had sprung. He had a reputation for personal piety reminiscent of Godfrey of Bouillon, but was also known as a ruler who took a firm hand with the church. As count of Flanders he possessed vast military and financial resources.<sup>72</sup> It would be understandable if he were to be considered as an alternative candidate. Many of the Flemings and Artesians in the Jerusalem nobility must have been sympathetic towards the head of the House of Flanders. It is also probable that he was known personally to the older nobles. Both Galbert and Walter of Théroutanne relate that he made a pilgrimage to Palestine sometime between 1100 and 1111. A likely date would be 1106 which saw the arrival of a large number of English, Danish and Flemish pilgrims. While Ross in his translation depicts Charles as a simple



pilgrim rather than as an armed crusader, Galbert's Latin formulation implies that he fought alongside the Frankish army, at that time involved in reducing the Muslim cities of the coast.<sup>73</sup>

The events of 1123 mark a potential crisis of the Jerusalem monarchy, averted only by Charles' refusal to accept the offer of the crown. Had he accepted it is likely that civil war would have been the result bearing in mind the helpless position of the king at that time. However this was the second time that opponents of Baldwin of Bourcq had been disappointed by their chosen candidate. 1123 was a turning-point that failed to turn.

As we have seen, the Palestinian sources are silent on these events, and so it is difficult to discern any reaction to them by Baldwin after his release. Yet one piece of evidence can be interpreted as an attempt by Baldwin to weaken the opposition and build up his own support after 1124. According to William of Tyre the lord of Oultrejourdain, Roman of Le Puy, joined the unsuccessful revolt of Hugh II of Jaffa against King Fulk, and was afterwards deprived of his fief which was given to Pagan the Butler.<sup>74</sup> This information is directly contradicted by the charter evidence. As early as 1126 a document of William of Bures is witnessed by Paganus Montis Regalis who appears again in 1133 as Paganus de Monte Regali.<sup>75</sup> The fortress of Montreal was at this time the caput of the lordship of Oultrejourdain. This evidence is accepted by Richard who suggests that Roman's revolt occurred under Baldwin II, and that it was confused by William with the rebellion of Hugh.<sup>76</sup> Praver and Mayer see one revolt before 1126 after which Roman was dispossessed, and another in the reign of Fulk.<sup>77</sup>

Although a Provençal by origin, one of few among the Jerusalem nobility, Roman of Le Puy is attested in the kingdom from before 1110. He was thus a representative of the older nobility. Pagan on the other hand first appears in the second year of Baldwin II; as a household officer he was presumably close to the king.<sup>78</sup> Baldwin II was released from captivity in the summer of 1124 but did not return home immediately. Sometime before 1126 Roman was replaced as lord of Oultrejourdain by Pagan. A possible explanation is that Roman was involved in the opposition to Baldwin and deprived of his fiefs as a result. If his hopes of restitution or compensation were disappointed

after the accession of Fulk then he would have had nothing to lose by joining the revolt of Hugh of Jaffa. It is probably significant that Roman's last appearance, in 1133, is as a witness to a charter issued by Hugh.<sup>79</sup> This hypothesis not only provides a motivation for the dispossession of Roman but also reconciles the charter evidence with William of Tyre. A case of advancement parallel to that of Pagan the Butler and also occurring about the same time is that of Walter Brisebarre, who would appear to have been given the important northern fief of Beirut before May 1125. As his brother Guy was later entrusted, along with William of Bures, with the mission of finding a husband in France for Melisende, the Brisebarres were obviously trusted supporters of the king.<sup>80</sup> Lastly, we have the case of Hugh of Ramla (76) who first appears in 1125 in succession to the previous lord, Baldwin. We thus have three cases of men who were unknown in the previous reign being given important lordships in the period immediately after the king's release from captivity.

Such changes would naturally strengthen the king's position. Deprived of potential leaders like Eustace Granarius and Roman of Le Puy any opposition would be less able to challenge royal policy. Nevertheless discontent seems to have persisted. After his return Baldwin led a fresh expedition to assist Antioch after the fall of Kafartab. Few fighting men accompanied him, a circumstance which Fulcher attributed to exhaustion caused by the constant campaigning of that year and the year before. It may also be a reflection of complaints made by the nobility about the burdens of military service in the north.<sup>81</sup> Baldwin's regency in Antioch ended in 1126 but the death in battle of Bohemund II in 1130 necessitated fresh involvement there. Yet in the meantime, probably as a concession to his nobles, the king embarked on a new, aggressive, southern policy, beginning with an invasion of the Hauran in 1126. In contrast to the feeble efforts of previous years this expedition attracted the entire available military strength of the kingdom.<sup>82</sup> 1129 saw a major, albeit unsuccessful attempt to capture Damascus itself.<sup>83</sup> This trend came to full development in the reign of Fulk, who favoured a southern policy in contrast to Baldwin's northern one. The frontiers were secured by a spate of castle-building, with new strongholds at Bethgibelin, Ibelin, Blanchegarde, Chastel Hernaut and



Kerak in Moab, which under Pagan the Butler became the new caput of the lordship of Oultrejourdain. This went hand in hand with an aggressive attempt to expand the frontiers, including another attack on Damascus in 1134, the recapture of Banyas in 1140, and finally leading to the capture of Ascalon in 1153, thereby eliminating the last Muslim enclave from the kingdom.<sup>84</sup> Fulk's policy was thus more reminiscent of Baldwin I's than of Baldwin II's and can be seen as an attempt to conciliate the nobility which objected to the resources of the kingdom being dissipated in campaigns in the north.

## V

The reigns of Baldwin II and Fulk have been described by Prawer as the highpoint of royal power in the Latin Kingdom.<sup>85</sup> Yet the foregoing investigation has demonstrated how noble opposition forced Baldwin to modify his policies and build up a party of his own supporters as a counterweight. In the reign of Fulk opposition now manifested itself in the form of an armed revolt against the monarchy led by Hugh of Jaffa. Although technically outwith the period under discussion we must nevertheless examine this series of events, whose roots derive from developments in the relationship between monarchy and nobility in the previous reign.

For a long time the only explanation of the revolt considered by historians was that given by William of Tyre: that Hugh was the lover or rumoured to be the lover of Queen Melisende, and that the jealousy of the king and a court faction led to his rebellion and downfall in 1132.<sup>86</sup> This explanation has tended to 'colour the degree of importance attached to the revolt; a characteristic opinion is that of Runciman for whom the incident is merely 'a drama at the court'.<sup>87</sup>

Mayer has presented convincing evidence that the revolt was in fact the result of a constitutional crisis.<sup>88</sup> His view is that Fulk wanted to set aside an amendment to the succession made by Baldwin II on his deathbed in 1131 which obliged Fulk to share the government with Melisende. The nobility was divided: one party supported the original agreement of 1129 which said that government belonged to Fulk only,

while another supported the amendment of 1131. As the nearest male relative of the queen Hugh was the leader of the latter party, which feared that Melisende and her son Baldwin III might be set aside in favour of Fulk's son by a previous marriage. A further complication was that the 1129 agreement had been ratified by the nobility whereas the amendment was not; on the strength of this Fulk could claim to be the sole designated heir.<sup>89</sup> Hugh's position as guardian of the dynasty was thus a direct challenge to these claims.

There also appears to have been considerable hostility to Hugh among some of the nobility who included Walter Granarius, Lord of Caesarea, and Rohard, Viscount of Jerusalem. Walter encouraged Fulk to take action against Hugh, thereby provoking the revolt.<sup>90</sup> The Granarii, an old established family, were now in favour with the king while Hugh, novus homo par excellence and kinsman of the Rethel dynasty, was a focus of opposition. This was a reversal of the situation in the previous reign.

There may well have been other reasons for the king to single out Hugh as an enemy. In 1123 Hugh and his wife Emma granted to Josaphat a third of the casal Machoz in the territory of Ascalon, a garden or orchard outside the city and a mosque inside it, presumably to serve as a church.<sup>91</sup> Machoz lay about seven kilometres north-east of Ascalon and may have been in a disputed area; however one immediately wonders by what title Hugh was disposing of property within the city itself which was still in Muslim hands.

In that year there was considerable debate about whether the Venetian fleet which had arrived at Acre in May should be employed to besiege Ascalon or Tyre. William of Tyre summed up the division of opinion as follows:

'Nam Hierosolimitae, Ramatenses, Joppenses, Neapolitani, et qui in finibus horum erant, magnopere nitebantur, ut ad obsidendam Ascalonam profisceretur: erat enim vicinior et minus laboris et sumptuum videbatur erigere. At vero Acconenses, Nazareni, Sydonii, Berythenses, Tyberiadenses, Biblii et ceterum maritimarum urbium habitatores versus Tyrum dirigendos esse contendebant exercitus...'<sup>92</sup>

The formulations naming the inhabitants of cities and districts are strange under the circumstances. It is clear that the issue was decided at a meeting of the curia at Christmas 1123 presided over by William of Bures and the Patriarch. The plural formulations probably therefore



refer to the lords and main vassals of the places named who attended this meeting. We can thus reconstruct the division of opinion as follows: in favour of an attack on Ascalon were Hugh of Jaffa, the lord of Ramla, and the barons of most of the royal domain; those who wanted an attack on Tyre included the lords of Tiberias (William of Bures), Sidon (Eustace II) and Beirut (Walter Brisebarre). At first this appears to be an understandable north-south divide. Yet it may also be significant that here too, Hugh and Eustace Granarius were on opposite sides in the debate. In the event the issue was settled by lot in favour of Tyre which became part of the royal domain on its capture.<sup>93</sup>

The capture of Ascalon must have nevertheless remained a serious prospect. Two years later (18 January 1126) Hugh promised to the Hospital one of the three best casalia in territorio et dominio eiusdem civitatis Ascalonis when it should fall to the Franks and the properties were in his possession.<sup>94</sup> Considering this was a private document it was witnessed by an important group of lords. They included three barons of the royal domain: Geoffrey of Parenty, Guy of Milly and Rohard of Jerusalem; three lords who had opposed the attack on Ascalon in 1123: William of Bures, Eustace II Granarius and Walter Brisebarre; and Eustace's brother Walter of Caesarea and Walter Brisebarre's brother Guy.

If Hugh had been granted the future lordship (dominium) of Ascalon by his cousin Baldwin II many of the nobility may well have preferred to attack Tyre in 1123. On the other hand it may be that the agreement to besiege the city chosen by lot may only have been arrived at in return for a further agreement to besiege the other city as the next priority. The existence of such an agreement would explain why Hugh was concerned to have a charter dealing with the future lordship of Ascalon confirmed by men who had been opposed to an attack on that city. No serious attempt was made to take Ascalon during the remainder of the reign, but the city was an obvious target for Fulk's southern, expansionist policy. It would be understandable if the king was reluctant to see the fruits of such a conquest fall into the hands of Hugh.

If we accept these and Mayer's findings we are forced to consider the revolt in a new light. What was its extent? As the nobility had

ratified the 1129 agreement we must assume that the majority stood by the king. Who supported Hugh?

We must first of all distinguish between active and passive support. Sympathy for Hugh's political standpoint would not necessarily lead to participation in an armed uprising. Yet even after this critical point Hugh seems to have had considerable support. The town of Banyas was captured by the Damascenes while its lord Rainer Brus was fighting for the king at the siege of Jaffa. This suggests that Fulk was obliged to weaken even frontier garrisons to raise enough men for a successful investment.<sup>95</sup> During the siege some of Hugh's vassals surrendered their fiefs and went over to the king's side. However William of Tyre's formulation 'Balianus videlicet senior, et quidam alii Deum timentes ... reliquentes quae ab eo habebant beneficia' implies that most of Hugh's vassals remained loyal.<sup>96</sup>

Did Hugh's support extend beyond this group? Ralph of La Fontanelle was an Angevin nobleman who held a fief near Bethlehem. In 1133-34 he suddenly appears in Antioch in the company of Hugh, now in exile, the Princess Alice and Walter of Sourdeval, leaders of a faction in Antioch who were opposed to the regency of Fulk. Until his last appearance in 1145 Ralph evidently remained in Antioch and Tripoli but for some reason did not return to Jerusalem. Another significant disappearance around this time was that of Ralph's son-in-law Geoffrey of Parenty who, like Ralph himself, had been associated with Hugh before 1133. Taken together this evidence suggests that Ralph, Geoffrey and possibly Geoffrey's brother Anselm who is last heard of in 1126 were all dispossessed or at least exiled by Fulk as a result of opposition activities.<sup>97</sup> A charter of the Constable Balian included Geoffrey among the nobilissimi viri<sup>98</sup> and his father-in-law held a substantial fief in the royal domain. If we accept that Roman of Le Puy also joined the revolt then there are enough indications that Hugh's active supporters included not only his immediate relatives and vassals, but noblemen who must be included among the regni principes.

Lastly, we must consider the relative mildness of Hugh's punishment. He had been accused by his stepson Walter Granarius of plotting to assassinate the king, and challenged by him to a judicial combat. Hugh's failure to appear was effectively an admission of guilt, which was



confirmed by judgement of the curia. This decision is important as it marks the point where Hugh's political opposition turned into illegal armed rebellion. The accusation may therefore have been a calculated provocation by the pro-Fulk faction.<sup>99</sup> The king's position in law was exceptionally strong. An assise called the droit de confiscation dating from the reign of Baldwin II lists twelve cases where the king can confiscate his vassal's fief without a judgement of the curia (peut li rois désérter ses homes liges sans esgart de cort).<sup>100</sup> The first three of these, armed revolt, treason, and the attempted poisoning of the king could all be levelled against Hugh, and a further two could doubtlessly be interpreted to apply to his alliance with Muslim Ascalon. Although Hugh's timely surrender apparently prevented any major bloodshed the revolt caused the loss of Banyas whose garrison had been weakened. Under normal circumstances these were reasons enough for him to be deprived of his fiefs if not sentenced to death. Yet he was merely obliged to leave the kingdom for three years after which he would be free to enjoy his former fiefs, rights and privileges. This leniency would have been inconceivable unless Hugh had enjoyed substantial support among the Frankish ruling class.

The revolt of Hugh of Jaffa was not the action of an isolated individual but a constitutional crisis which split the Frankish nobility, brought about by Fulk's conception of royal power which clashed with Hugh's claims as guardian of Melisende and Baldwin III and leader of the pro-Rethel faction of the ruling class. The major contributory factor was the existing factionalism of the nobility. We cannot go so far as to say the factions of 1133-34 were the same as those of 1118. Loyalties fluctuated as barons strove to gain advantages. Men like Ralph of La Fontanelle and Geoffrey of Parenty who had established themselves under Baldwin I appear to have trimmed their sails according to the new wind, allying themselves with the powerful Le Puiset clan under Baldwin II and standing by them in the next reign. However certain patterns do emerge. It is no coincidence that the Granarii who flourished under Baldwin I should go into something of an eclipse under Baldwin II to re-emerge as the principal supporters of Fulk. Hugh of Le Puiset, greatest beneficiary of the largesse of his cousin Baldwin II and novus homo par excellence was suddenly excluded

from favour by Fulk. The Le Puisets and others like them had a natural desire to protect the Rethel dynasty to which they owed so much. Yet the existing opposition to the policies of Baldwin II and the novi homines favoured by him provided a ready-made reservoir of support which enabled Fulk, at the head of a coalition of royal and baronial interests, to triumph over the group which had benefited most from the previous reign.



NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. AA p. 526.
2. AA pp. 633-34, 680-81; Ibn al-Qalanisi, p. 82.
3. AA p. 690: 'militibus longa usque nunc indigentia oppressis, benigne largitus est'; p. 693: 'ut praedarum copias abinde contraheret quibus inopes milites et rebus vacuatos ditaret et deficientes animaret'.
4. AA pp. 645, 647.
5. AA pp. 696-98; FC pp. 574-78; WT pp. 487-89. It is uncertain when Baldwin repudiated his second wife. See Hamilton, 'Women in the Crusader States', pp. 143-46.
6. F. Chalandon, Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et Sicilie (Paris, 1907), II, 351; E. Caspar, Roger II (Innsbruck, 1904), pp. 21-24.
7. AA p. 704; FC p. 601; WT pp. 499-500.
8. WT pp. 512-16.
9. AA pp. 708-9.
10. WT *ibid.*; H. E. Mayer, Jérusalem et Antioche au temps de Baudouin II (Paris, 1980), pp. 717ff.
11. WT pp. 515-16.
12. FC pp. 615-16.
13. Grousset, I, 1-4; Richard, Latin Kingdom, p. 1.
14. AA pp. 527, 707-8; FC pp. 615-16; WT pp. 45, 71, 513ff. An unexplained omission by William is that of Baldwin's sister Cecilia who married Roger of Antioch (RRH No. 114c).
15. Riant in RHC Occ. V, 631; Röhricht, Königreich Jerusalem, p. 125 calls Baldwin II a nephew of Godfrey and Baldwin I.
16. Runciman, History of the Crusades, II, 36.
17. Renn, Luxemburger Grafenhaus, pp. 121-23.
18. Saige and Lacaille, I, Nos. 1, 2; Genealogiae Fusniacensis, MGH SS XIII, 251-56; A. Fliche, Le règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France, p. 321 n. 2; J. L. La Monte, 'The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades', Speculum

17 (1942), pp. 100ff. which contradicts his earlier view in Feudal Monarchy (p. 249) that Melisende was a sister of Eustace II of Boulogne.

19. Prawer, Crusaders' Kingdom, p. 118; Richard, Latin Kingdom, p. 3.

20. Genealogia comitum Buloniensium, pp. 300-1.

21. H. Bloch, 'Die älteren Urkunden des Klosters S. Vanne zu Verdun', JGLGA 10(1898), pp. 338-449, No. 32; Bur, p. 123.

22. Bur, p. 515; Saige and Lacaille, I, No. 1; LL p. 494.

23. Vita Beatae Idae, PL CLV, 438.

24. MGH DD Heinrich III, No. 53.

25. Ernst, I, 113-15.

26. Delaborde, No. 8 (RRH No. 90): 'ut ipsius patrocinio ad Dei servitium cui servire regnare est ... quod mihi tradidit regnum gubernare'; C. Hosp. No. 53 (RRH No. 90a): 'quinimo in omni terra quam Deus mi concessit, ubique et suo regno subdidit meo tempore Jherosolimitano'.

27. P. Feuchère, 'Essai sur l'évolution territoriale des principautés français (X-XIII siècles)', Le Moyen Age 58 (1952), 117.

28. Cant. pp. 148-50; Rousseau, xcix. As count of Château-Porcien Godfrey witnessed a charter of Hugh of Rethel in 1097 (Saige and Lacaille, I, No. 2).

29. Rousseau, c, cxii.

30. Rousseau, cxxxi; WT pp. 892-93.

31. WT p. 523; Walter the Chancellor, p. 105. She is named in RRH No. 114c as Caecilia domina Tarsi et soror regis Balduini II Hierosolymitani.

32. WT pp. 598-691.

33. Romuald of Salerno, Annales, MGH SS XIX, 425; Guy of Bazoches, Chronographia, MGH SS XXVI, 217.

34. Calixtus II, Epistolae et privilegia, PL CLXIII, No. 148.

35. See Genealogical Table 4.

36. Suger, Vie de Louis le Gros, ed. A. Molinier (Paris, 1887), pp. 18-20; A. Luchaire, Louis le Gros. Annales de sa vie et de son règne (1081-1137) (Paris, 1890), Nos. 53, 246.

37. Everard II of Le Puiset became a monk at St Martin of Tours, to which he gave part of the estates of Nottonville. His brother Hugh I



Blavons apparently also owned a part, while later a third brother, Waleran, also surrendered the rights he held there (C. Dunois, Nos. 39, 41, 49).

38. A. de Dion, 'Le Puiset au XIe et XIIe siècle', Mémoires de la Société Archéologique d'Eure et Loir 9 (1889), 20-22.

39. Fliche, Philippe Ier, pp. 313ff.

40. Ivo of Chartres, Epistolae, PL CLXII, Nos. 75, 111, 112; Luchaire, Nos. 118, 119, 200, 237.

41. Suger, pp. 62-66, 71; Luchaire, No. 128; Fliche, Philippe Ier, p. 142.

42. War of 1112: Suger, pp. 71-79; Luchaire, No. 134. War of 1118: Luchaire, Nos. 236, 237; Dion, p. 29.

43. Walter the Chancellor, p. 105; WT p. 523; RRH Nos. 114c, 121.

44. Orderic Vitalis (V, 30-31) mentions as participants Guy Troussel, Milo I of Bray, Everard III of Le Puiset, Drogo of Mouchy and Ralph of Beaugency. This constellation was of course the backbone of the anti-Capetian coalition of 1112.

45. WT p. 437; R. L. Nicholson, Joscelyn I. Prince of Edessa (Urbana, 1954), pp. 1-5.

46. William of Boissy: Matthew of Edessa, p. 335; Ord. V, 28. Fulcher of Chartres: AA pp. 357, 442, 446.

47. WT p. 536.

48. The famous quarrel which led to the confiscation of Joscelin's Edessan fief by Baldwin is something of an exception in the relationship between the two. After ransoming himself from Turkish imprisonment in 1107 Joscelin raised funds for the release of Baldwin, actually returning to prison as surety for the outstanding ransom. Their common interest is most evident in the events of 1118, and afterwards it was Joscelin who escorted Baldwin's wife and children to Jerusalem from Edessa a year later (WT p. 517; R. L. Nicholson, Joscelyn I. Prince of Edessa (Urbana, 1954), pp. 13-16).

49. Eustachius de Roitest: RRH No. 174; Adalardus Recestensis: RRH No. 245; Albertus de Retesth: RRH No. 353. Robert of Rethel seems to have been a substantial landholder or dominus with lands near al-Bira in the royal domain (RRH Nos. 272, 338, 340, 365).

50. For the dating of the tenures of Jaffa see App. Nos. 5, 72.

51. Tractatus de reliquiis S. Stephani, RHC Occ. V, 317.

52. RRH Nos. 90, 91, 100a, 102a, 113a, 114b, 114c, 134, 137a.

53. H. E. Mayer, Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten (Munich, 1978), pp. 39ff.

54. Comes: ROL 7, No. 9 (RRH No. 102a); Delaborde, No. 15 (RRH No. 120). Princeps: C. Hosp. I, No. 77 (RRH No. 114); Rozière, No. 119 (RRH No. 104).

55. FC pp. 620-35; WT pp. 523-26, 588-89; Walter the Chancellor, pp. 79-87, 96-103.

56. FC pp. 638-42; WT pp. 527-30.

57. FC pp. 646-53, 658-661.

58. AA pp. 488-89; FC pp. 306-10; WT pp. 367-68.

59. FC pp. 407-15, 446-55, 489-501, 624-33, 664-67, 686-90, 746; WT pp. 917-28.

60. FC pp. 638-42; Mayer, Jérusalem et Antioche, pp. 719-30.

61. FC pp. 646-48; WT pp. 536-37.

62. Tyre: as below, n. 64. Banyas: Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 194-95.

63. Walter the Chancellor, pp. 98-100; WT p. 531; Mayer, Jérusalem et Antioche, pp. 732ff.

64. FC pp. 693-98, 733-42; WT pp. 547-76; RRH Nos. 102, 105.

65. Galbert of Bruges, p. 564. Translated by J. B. Ross, The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders by Galbert of Bruges, 2nd edn (New York, 1967), pp. 92-93. The offer of the crown is mentioned in passing by Richard (Latin Kingdom, p. 70) quoting a reference to G. Dodu, Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem (Paris, 1894), pp. 141-42, who however makes no attempt to evaluate the evidence or place it in any kind of context.

66. Galbert of Bruges, p. 563; Otto von Freising, Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus, ed. W. Lammers (Darmstadt, 1960), p. 521; H. Sproemberg, 'Eine rheinische Königskandidatur im Jahre 1125', in Aus Geschichte und Laldeskunde. Festschrift Franz Steinbach, ed. M. Braubach et al. (Bonn, 1960), pp. 50-70.

67. Galbert of Bruges, p. 564.

68. F. Vercauteren, Actes des comtes de Flandre 1071-1128 (Brussels, 1938), Nos. 100, 103, 116.

69. AA p. 692; WT pp. 538, 545; FC pp. 658-61, 674-75.

70. Along with Guy Brisebarre William was later entrusted with the important mission of finding a husband in France for Melisende (WT pp. 593, 608; C. Temple Nos. 8, 12).



71. D. Haigneré, Les chartes de St Bertin (Saint-Omer, 1886) I, No. 146; Wauters, II, 132.

72. Sproemberg, pp. 58ff. According to J. F. Verbruggen, The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages (Amsterdam, 1977), p. 8, the count of Flanders had 1000 knights at their disposal, more than the total knight service of the Latin Kingdom.

73. Galbert of Bruges, p. 568: 'cumque ante comitatum multa insignia et egregia fecisset, arripuit sanctae peregrinationis viam Hierosolymorum ... ubi etiam contra hostes christianae fidei strenue dimicavit'; Walter of Théroutanne, Vita Karoli comitis Flandriae, MGH SS XII, 540; AA pp. 630, 632-34; Ross, p. 113 n. 8.

74. WT pp. 627-30, 629.

75. RRH Nos. 115, 142.

76. Richard, Latin Kingdom, p. 95. His hypothesis is that Roman was attempting to control trade between Damascus and Egypt, thus contravening clause 11 of the Etablissement of Baldwin II in the Livre au roi. In this case it seems strange that his successor Pagan should have been allowed to consolidate his control of that route by building the castle of Kerak in Moab (Petra Deserti) with the approval of King Fulk.

77. Prawer, Royaume latin, I, 318-19; Mayer, 'Queen Melisende', pp. 105-82.

78. See App. Nos. 94, 126.

79. RRH No. 147.

80. WT pp. 593, 608.

81. FC p. 763.

82. FC pp. 784-93; WT p. 582.

83. WT pp. 595-97; Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 195-208.

84. WT pp. 617, 638-39, 692-93, 696-97.

85. Prawer, 'La noblesse', pp. 41-74.

86. WT pp. 627-33; Röhrich, Königreich Jerusalem, p. 200; Grousset, II, 20, 26-29; La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, p. 13; Cahen, p. 351 n. 12; Setton I, 433. The traditional dating of the revolt to 1132 does not stand up to a comparison with the charter evidence. In 1133 Hugh was still in the kingdom issuing a charter as lord of Jaffa (RRH No. 147). By the summer of 1134 he was in exile at Laodicea (RRH No. 151a). This would imply that the actual revolt took place sometime between those dates, Although this would not preclude a long period of increasing tension leading up to it.

87. Runciman, History of the Crusades, II, 190.

88. Mayer, 'Queen Melisende', pp. 105-82.

89. Thus in a document which unfortunately can only be dated to approximately between 1131 and 1134 Fulk refers to 'rex Balduinus, qui me Ierosolimitani regni fecit heredem' while making no mention of the rights of Melisende or Baldwin III (R. Hiestand, 'Zwei unbekannte Diplome der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem aus Lucca', Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 50 (1971), 1-57).

90. WT pp. 627, 633.

91. ROL 7, No. 9 (RRH No. 102a).

92. WT p. 549.

93. WT p. 550; FC pp. 693-98.

94. C. Hosp. I, No. 77 (RRH No. 113)

95. WT p. 631: 'convocatis de universo regno copiis'.

96. WT p. 630.

97. See App. Nos. 12, 39, 108.

98. C. Hosp. I, No. 74 (RRH No. 112).

99. WT pp. 630-31.

100. Livre au roi, RHC Lois, II, c. 16. (The relevant clauses are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8 and 10); M. Grandclaude, 'Liste d'assises remontant au premier royaume de Jérusalem, 1099-1187', in Mélanges Paul Fournier (Paris, 1929), pp. 329-45; J. Prawer, 'Etude sur le droit des assises de Jérusalem: droit de confiscation et droit d'exhérédation', Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger 39 (1961), 520-551, 40 (1962), 29-42.



## CONCLUSION

The nobility of the early Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was numerically a small body in comparison with the nobilities of contemporary western kingdoms. In the period 1100-31 the king of Jerusalem probably had fewer knights at his disposal than medium-ranking western powers such as the count of Flanders or the prince-bishop of Liège.<sup>1</sup> This was more a problem of available manpower rather than one of resources. The nobility established by the First Crusade suffered comparatively heavy losses in the early years; fresh immigration from the west was required to preserve the Frankish settlement. Certainly the admission to the ruling class of men of non-Frankish and burgess origins indicates that in this period the Jerusalem nobility was not a closed group. Nevertheless such examples remained rare exceptions. As far as we can ascertain the provenance of its individual members, the vast majority of the Jerusalem nobility originated from four major western European circumscriptions: the two Lotharingian duchies and the rest of the Empire; Normandy, England and Norman Italy; Flanders, Artois and Picardy; and the Ile-de-France and its surrounding areas.

Both the nature of the Lotharingian elements as well as their relationship to the first two monarchs have tended to be misunderstood by historians of the crusades. The Lotharingians in Jerusalem were almost all survivors of the crusading army of Godfrey of Bouillon. However as duke of Lower Lotharingia Godfrey was not a sovereign or even a suzerain of an effective feudal lordship but an imperial official unable to assert an enfeebled ducal authority which had been progressively diminished by the German monarchy to the benefit of the ecclesiastical principalities. As lord of Bouillon and count of Verdun he was merely one of many competing dynasts, forced to fight to maintain possession of his hereditary domains for most of his adult life prior to the crusade. His decision to leave for the East was in fact coupled with the abandonment of his inheritance; only the sale or mortgage of his lands enabled Godfrey to raise sufficient funds for the journey.

Lotharingian lords were therefore under no obligation to accompany the duke to the Holy Land; indeed, participation in the crusade was remarkably low in his duchy. His traditional enemies and those of his principal ally the church of Liège preferred to remain at home, hoping to profit from the absence of Godfrey and various fideles Sancti Lamberti.

The Lotharingian members of Godfrey's army who stayed on in the East were mostly either his own vassals from the territory of Bouillon, or men who had taken service with him in the course of crusade. Apart from the short-lived Warner of Grez none of the important group which was made up of Godfrey's allies and kinsmen remained in Palestine. After 1110 the Lotharingians became fewer; their losses were not made up by subsequent immigration. The decision by Godfrey and Baldwin to dispose of their lands had severed the monarchy's connection with Lotharingia. The nobility of Jerusalem had at most been only partly Lotharingian in character, and became considerably less so after 1110.

The existence of a sizeable Norman element in the Jerusalem nobility may seem surprising at first, especially when we consider that a state with a predominantly Norman nobility, the principality of Antioch, was already in existence before the conquest of Palestine. However many Normans seem to have joined Godfrey and his brothers in the course of the crusade; both Eustace of Boulogne and Baldwin I had important contacts with Normandy and England dating to before the crusade. Others remained in Jerusalem when Tancred departed for Antioch. Nevertheless after the battle of the Ager Sanguinis in 1119 Norman immigration from Europe tended to be directed to northern Syria rather than Palestine.

The Norman and Lotharingian-German elements were overshadowed both in number and in influence by men from the extreme north of the French kingdom, that is the domains of the count of Flanders, those of his satellites such as Boulogne, Guines and Saint-Pol, and the plains of Picardy. They remained numerous into the 1130s; the bonds with their homelands manifested themselves in the events of 1117-18 and 1123-24, which reveal that they retained respect and affection both for Eustace of Boulogne and for the House of Flanders.

In contrast to these three groups, who were all established by the First Crusade, the Francian element was essentially the result of



subsequent immigration. We find the first significant cluster around Joscelin of Courtenay in Galilee; we find many more Francians arriving after the accession of Baldwin II, who, unlike his distant relatives of the House of Ardennes-Boulogne, had close and extensive kinship ties with the nobility of the Ile-de-France.

We cannot be sure to what extent these groupings by origin were perceived within the nobility itself. However political events indicate the existence of one major division in the nobility which contemporaries must have been aware of. An analysis of the origins of the nobility made in conjunction with political developments yields the following series of oppositions:

1. A legitimist party against a pragmatist party in the debate over the succession to Baldwin I.
2. Origins in Flanders-Picardy, Normandy and the Empire for the nobility under Godfrey and Baldwin I, and origins in the Ile-de-France for nobles established in the reign of Baldwin II, paralleled by:
3. The advancement of novi homines under Baldwin II at the expense of the older nobility, and:
4. Ties of feudal dependence to the Ardennes-Boulogne dynasty and ties of kinship to the House of Rethel.
5. A group led by the Le Puiset clan who were beneficiaries and supporters of the monarchy under Baldwin II, but opponents of his son-in-law Fulk.
6. A group excluded from power by, and opposed to Baldwin II, who were supporters of Fulk.
7. A popular, southern policy of expansion of the kingdom's frontiers under Baldwin I and Fulk, contrasting with an unpopular, northern policy of assistance to Antioch in the early years of Baldwin II.

These oppositions indicate a major dichotomy in the nobility from 1117-18 onwards which had far-reaching consequences for the Jerusalem monarchy.

The crusaders had established in Palestine a secular monarchy headed by a princeps whose authority derived from God. After the coronation of Baldwin I, marking the final defeat of the theocratic claims of the Patriarch Daimbert, the monarchy possessed a real authority, power and

prestige which exalted it above its subjects. The nobles had ties of feudal dependence to the ruling dynasty dating to before 1096, or in most cases had acquired them in the course of the crusade. Kinship ties between monarchy and nobility, on the other hand, were practically non-existent. The nobles included Lotharingians, Germans, Normans and others; however the most numerous and influential group were Flemings, Picards and Artesians. It was northerners such as Hugh of Fauquembergues, Hugh of Rebecques, Gervase of Bazoches, Fulk of Guines and above all, Eustace Granarius who obtained the most important fiefs under Baldwin I. It was in all probability men such as these who preferred Eustace of Boulogne as the successor to Baldwin I, and again looked to Flanders for a prospective monarch in the 1120s.

By contrast, after the accession of Baldwin II we find an increasing number of novi homines who shared certain distinguishing characteristics: they had arrived in Palestine after, not on the First Crusade; their geographical origins lay in the Ile-de-France and the surrounding areas; they possessed a tradition of baronial independence and resistance to royal authority; they had ties of kinship and vassalage with each other and with the House of Rethel, a dynasty which many of them could regard as their equals. If the older nobility can be symbolised by the Granarii, the new was epitomised by Hugh of Le Puiset, novus homo par excellence, self-styled count of Jaffa, claimant to the dominium of Ascalon, and guardian of Queen Melisende.

We can discern a similar trend in the choice of senior clerics, who were appointed with royal influence and who exercised important administrative functions. Under Baldwin I two patriarchs, Arnulf and Evremar, came from the same village of Chocques in Flanders; Baldwin, the first Archbishop of Caesarea, was also a Fleming, as was Achard of Arrouaise, Archdeacon of Théroutanne and later prior of the Templum Domini. Under Baldwin II and Melisende we find clerics who came from Francia or were relatives of the Rethel family: the Patriarch Stephen of Chartres; Gilduin of Le Puiset, Abbot of Josaphat; Frederick of Namur, Archbishop of Tyre, and Yvette, Abbess of Bethany.

The preferment of nobles from Francia occurred at the expense of the older nobility. This, and the repeated campaigns in the north after 1119 created sufficient resentment for a faction, encouraged by the absence



of Baldwin II in Turkish captivity, to attempt to put Charles of Flanders on the throne in his stead. Bearing in mind the importance of Flemings and Picards in the older nobility this action can be regarded as having a legitimist character; it was an attempt to reverse the events of 1118, with Charles as a substitute for Eustace of Boulogne. Although it marked a crisis for the monarchy the offer of the throne to Charles was a turning-point which failed to turn. Not until Baldwin's death and the accession of his son-in-law Fulk did a new political constellation emerge which was exactly the reverse of that obtaining in the 1120s. Those excluded from power and influence by Baldwin were a ready-made source of support for Fulk, an alliance which proved too powerful for Hugh of Jaffa and the pro-Rethel nobility.

The accession of King Fulk and the constitutional crisis which followed it are a convenient point to end this examination of monarchy and nobility in the early kingdom of Jerusalem. It marked the advent of a new dynastic element in the ruling house, while the death of Baldwin II signalled the end of the first generation of the Frankish settlement. As far as we can tell Baldwin outlived almost every one of the nobles who had come to Palestine with the First Crusade. Even before this, in the mid-1120s, the aged Fulcher of Chartres had written that many of his Frankish compatriots had already forgotten their birthplaces which were quite unknown to others, presumably those of the second generation, who had been born in Outremer.<sup>2</sup> From the 1130s onwards European origins become increasingly difficult to trace, not least because they probably had a diminishing significance in the consciousness of men and women who had spent their entire lives in the East

As a milestone of political importance, however, 1131 was overshadowed by 1118. The accession of Baldwin II marks the beginning of a long decline in the power of the monarchy. His reign sees the establishment of one of the most characteristic features of politics in Outremer, which was to colour the history of the kingdom for the remainder of its existence: noble factions, deriving in the first instance from geographical origins and dynastic loyalties, but fluctuating in strength and composition according to the political issues of the day, were well on the way to becoming an institution on equal terms with the monarchy itself which could only sustain its own

position by allying itself with one party or the other. Fulk could count on powerful support to defeat Hugh of Jaffa and the pro-Rethel faction. Yet this was a rather illusory victory for the monarchy; after his death a majority faction was able to force Queen Melisende to abandon her constable Manasses of Hierges. One strong line of development runs from the accession of Baldwin II to the struggles between Melisende and her son Baldwin III. The factionalism of the Jerusalem nobility which took root in 1117-18 and flourished under Baldwin II was an essential precondition of the civil wars of the 1150s.

#### NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. In 1071 the bishop of Liège pledged himself to aid the countess of Hainault with 500 knights (Giselbert of Mons, p. 14). The total number available fifty years later was probably considerably higher. In the twelfth century the count of Flanders was estimated to have 1000 knights at his disposal (Verbruggen, p. 8).

2. FC p. 748: 'iam obliti sumus nativitatis nostrae loca, iam nobis pluribus vel sunt ignota vel etiam inaudita'.



## APPENDIX

### THE JERUSALEM NOBILITY 1100-1131

Compared with the contemporary kingdoms of Western Europe we have comparatively few original sources which yield prosopographical information on the Jerusalem nobility. The most important is undoubtedly the documentary evidence which consists primarily of charters issued by the king and by ecclesiastical institutions. Private documents are rare; the majority of those which survive from this period were issued by the most important of the nobles, William of Bures (145), Hugh II of Jaffa (73) and Eustace I Granarius and his sons (30, 31, 133). The charter evidence is thus 'top-heavy' in that nobles appearing as issuers or as witnesses to royal diplomas are more likely to belong to the ranks of the principes rather than those of the simple knights. As far as the origins of the nobility are concerned, the most important feature of the documentary evidence is the surnames of the nobles. Many, however, are not known to have used a surname in documents even if they possessed one. Of those who did, many had surnames which could have been patronymic, descriptive, or occupational in character. Many of the remaining category, locative surnames (i.e. those derived from a place-name) refer to toponyms in Palestine, revealing nothing about the European origins of their bearers. Therefore in order to address the question of origins we are above all dependent on one category of names, that is those surnames deriving from a European place-name. Nevertheless, many of these are so common that we can cherish little hope of ever identifying a Walter de Bosco (136), Pagan de Osca (97), Hugh de Nellis (75), Robert de Meri (123) or Herbert de Insula (65).

This somewhat laconic testimony of the charters must therefore be supplemented by fuller information from the narrative sources. The sources of the First Crusade brought forth a large number of narratives, most of which are available in modern editions. The best informed of these writers, as far as the early Latin Kingdom was concerned was undoubtedly Fulcher of Chartres. He had been on crusade in the company

of Stephen of Blois and later joined Baldwin I, whom he served as chaplain, and was writing in Jerusalem in the mid-1120s. Although he gives much information on important political and military events he gives astonishingly few details of individual members of the nobility. Excluding members of the royal family, clerics, visiting pilgrims, and Tancred, Fulcher's history yields the grand total of three names of nobles for the reigns of Baldwin I and Baldwin II. He tells us nothing of the origins of two: Hugh of Fauquembergues is merely called 'Hugh of Tiberias'; Eustace I Granarius, although regent of the kingdom, is merely 'a certain Eustace ... who held Sidon and Caesarea'. Only in the case of his successor, William of Bures, does Fulcher give us a noble surname of European origin.<sup>1</sup>

Several of the narrative works have a strong bias towards the national contingents in which the authors themselves had crusaded, but give less detailed information on the others. Peter Tudebode and Raymond of Aguilers are vital for the composition of the Provençal army as is the anonymous author of the Gesta Francorum for the Italian Normans. However the Normans and Provençals tended to settle in northern Syria rather than Palestine and so these three authors give us little information on the early Jerusalem nobility. Unfortunately the Flemish contingent on the crusade did not produce a similar chronicler, although by way of compensation we have a short but important source on the Flemings in the Versus de viris illustribus dioecesis Tarvanensis qui in sacra fuere expeditione. For information on origins we are therefore heavily dependent on two principal sources which are removed in time or in place from the nobility of the period 1100-31. Albert of Aachen gives the most detailed contemporary account of the crusade, much of it deriving from a lost Lotharingian chronicle, as well as valuable information on the kingdom up to the beginning of the reign of Baldwin II.<sup>2</sup> William of Tyre, writing in the second half of the twelfth century, also knew and used the Lotharingian chronicle, and had access to numerous local sources now lost. His history gains in importance from the beginning of the 1120s when Albert's ends. Albert and William are especially valuable in that they frequently give nobles' areas of origin in addition to their surnames allowing us to accurately identify them. Another useful source in this respect is the Chanson d'Antioche, which,



although it includes much legendary material, nevertheless gives many surnames in a vernacular form. In addition to these we can draw on a large number of western and eastern sources of lesser prosopographical import, most of them published in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*.

We must consider one last source which is important in that it formed the basis of the only major monograph devoted to the Frankish nobility, the *Familles d'Outremer* of Du Cange and Rey. The *Lignages d'Outremer* were written around 1315 in the Frankish successor kingdom of Cyprus, when the kingdom of Jerusalem had been lost to the Muslims. As its name suggests the work deals with dynasties. Its principal purpose may have been to preserve claims to lost territories on the mainland. This would explain why the chapter headings frequently refer to the *heirs* of a particular lordship, e.g. 'Ci dit des heirs de Tabarie' (p. 451), 'Ce dit des heirs de Saïette' (p. 455). This preoccupation with genealogical continuity makes the *Lignages* extremely selective in their subject matter. Many of the early nobility died without heirs; other families died out or were dispossessed after a few generations. Even when the *Lignages* do give information, this can be proved wrong in comparison with documentary evidence. They know nothing of the first Lord of Beirut, Fulk of Guînes; or the second, Walter Brisebarre; instead the first lord is given as 'Pierre de Barut'.<sup>3</sup> They know nothing of Eustace II Granarius, or Walter of Saint-Omer, Prince of Galilee from 1159.<sup>4</sup> Above all, the Cypriot Franks who compiled the *Lignages* were concerned with Palestinian and not with European origins. Even the most famous family of the Latin East, the Ibelins, are given an origin as descendants of the counts of Chartres which has been shown to be completely spurious.<sup>5</sup> Therefore as far as the first thirty years of the kingdom are concerned, the evidence of the *Lignages* cannot be considered reliable unless it can be confirmed from other, more contemporary sources.

The following repertory is intended to provide prosopographical documentation for the last two chapters in a readable form which would not be possible in conventional footnotes. The chronological limits are the end of the reign of Godfrey of Bouillon (18 July 1100) and the end of the reign of Baldwin II (21 August 1131). The first year of

settlement has been excluded on purpose as many of the crusaders in Palestine during this year returned to Europe and therefore must be considered pilgrims rather than settlers. However the base line of 18 July 1100 allows us to include the important group known as the domus Godefridi which mounted a coup d'état in favour of Baldwin I on Godfrey's death, even its leader Warner of Grez (143) who died a few days later. Recently Prawer has referred to the 'anonymous group of knights called the domus Godefridi', concluding 'it is likely that had there been any among them of prominence our sources would have pointed out the fact and mentioned their names'.<sup>6</sup> This judgement may be somewhat hasty. The members of this group are twice described by Albert of Aachen (pp. 522, 526); we can establish the origins of at least ten of them (56, 92, 111, 112, 117, 120, 134, 143, 144, 150).

Some individuals first heard of after 1131 have been included where it is probable that they were in Palestine before this date (23, 113, 137) or to provide additional information relating to individuals found before 1131 (89).

The Appendix is solely concerned with the noble class and therefore does not include clerics, members of military orders or burgesses, except in one case where the individual concerned clearly gained noble status (35), although at times it can be difficult to distinguish obscure knights who appear as witnesses on documents from burgesses. Also excluded are nobles on pilgrimage from Europe as well as those from Antioch, Edessa and Tripoli, and the anachronistic names appearing on RRH No. 100 which has been shown to be a crude forgery.<sup>7</sup> Even confining the discussion to the Jerusalem nobility, it is not possible in a work of this size to include all the names of nobles mentioned in the sources, especially the considerable number who only appear under very common Christian names without any distinguishing surname. The following editorial principles have therefore been adhered to: The Appendix includes all nobles with locative surnames, irrespective of whether these are derived from European or Palestinian place-names, even if they are only mentioned once in the sources. Those with other categories of surname (descriptive, occupational, patronymic) are included if they are mentioned more than once, while those without surnames are excluded; however members of these two groups are nevertheless included wherever



their origins can be established or when they can otherwise be identified (e.g. 144).

Entries are given in alphabetical order of Christian names in their modern English form, and are numbered for reference in the main text of the thesis. An asterisk (\*) serves as a cross-reference, denoting a separate entry under that name. In almost every case each entry includes the original or most common form of the surname as it appears in the sources. Where the place of origin can be identified with a reasonable degree of certainty this is given in its modern form, along with a precise location in parenthesis: in France (F) by département and arrondissement, in Belgium (B) by province and arrondissement and in Italy (I) by region and province. Palestinian place-names are given in the form in which they appear on the map 'Palestine Under the Crusaders', ed. J. Prawer and M. Benevisti (Atlas of Israel, IX/10), except where common English forms exist. Where identifications of origins are doubtful or impossible surnames have been left in their original form in the headings.

Entries are not meant as comprehensive biographies. In the first instance they document origins, but also include details of kinship and land-holding as these often reveal a great deal about ties between individuals. Length is mostly an indication of original source material, or lack of it; otherwise entries have been kept short where good secondary studies exist but longer in more problematic cases. Women are not given separate entries, although they have been included in the entries under their respective menfolk. This decision is solely a result of the bias of the sources, where few women are mentioned. It is undoubtedly a reflection of contemporary writers' relative interest in arms and the woman that while we do not know the name of Baldwin I's second wife, we are fairly well-informed on the name of his horse.<sup>3</sup>

NOTES

1. FC pp. 446-47, 509, 658-61, 674-75.
2. Knoch, pp. 53-63
3. Nickerson, pp. 141ff.
4. RRH Nos. 336, 366, 400, 413, 414, 416, 417, 420, 447, 465.
5. J. L. La Monte, 'The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades', Speculum 17 (1942), 113-18; J. Richard, 'Guy 'Ibelin OP, évêque de Limassol et l'inventaire de ses biens', Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique 74 (1950), 98ff.
6. Prawer, 'Social Classes', p. 128.
7. Mayer, 'Carving Up Crusaders', pp. 101-18.
8. 'Gazelle' (Bartolf of Nangis, Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem, RHC Occ. III, 534; Ord. V, 344, 366 ; AA pp. 550, 595).



#### 1. Aaluns of Beaurain

Aaluns (Alanus?) de Belram, who witnessed RRH No. 82 (1116) issued by \*Eustace I Granarius, probably came from Beaurain-Château (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Montreuil-sur-Mer) on the River Canche.

#### 2. Ado of Quierzy

Ado de Cheresio, Chirisiaco or Cirisy is attested in Palestine from 1102 until 1115.<sup>1</sup> He was probably originally a relative or vassal of Gerard, Lord of Quierzy (F, Aisne, arr. Laon) who took part in the crusade but subsequently returned to France and was assassinated in the cathedral of Laon on 7 January 1110.<sup>2</sup> In the kingdom of Jerusalem Ado appears to have been a rear-vassal in Galilee; before 1115 he and his wife Richoldis and their son \*Warmund gave to Josaphat the casal of Lichorat/Khirbet el-Kura, situated to the south of Toron. He witnessed RRH No. 79 as testis Jocelini, and RRH Nos. 56a and 81a for Bernard, Bishop of Nazareth.

1. AA p. 593; RRH Nos. 56a, 79, 80, 81a.

2. Gerardus de Keresi castello: AA pp. 315, 331, 332, 467, 468, 494; Ant. lines 1606, 8799. For his later career see Self and Society in Medieval France. The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1064?-1125), ed. J. F. Benton (New York, 1970), pp. 156-60.

#### 3. Aimeric de Fraisma

Known only from RRH No. 82 (1116), a donation of \*Eustace I Granarius.

#### 4. Alberic of Crémisay

Albericus de Cremesi is known only from his appearance on RRH No. 131 issued by \*William of Bures. He probably came from the same place as another Galilean knight, \*Peter of Crémisay (F, Eure-et-Loir, arr. Châteaudun).

#### 5. Albert of Namur

Albert was the fourth son of Albert III, Count of Namur, and Ida of Saxony, the widow of Frederick of Luxembourg.<sup>1</sup> Thus although a Lotharingian his kinship ties were with families which were rivals of the Ardennes-Verdun dynasty before the crusade. On the other hand his

eldest brother Godfrey had married Sibylla of Porcien and held Château-Porcien from the counts of Rethel.<sup>2</sup> According to William of Tyre Albert came to Palestine in the reign of Baldwin II and was given the hand of Mabel of Roucy, the widow of \*Hugh I of Jaffa, along with the fief of Jaffa itself. The son of Hugh and Mabel, \*Hugh II, appears in 1120 as Hugo de Joppe filius Hugonis de Puteolo nondum miles and had presumably not yet come of age. Albert may have already died by then; he certainly must have been dead by 1123, when Hugh sealed a charter as count of Jaffa.<sup>3</sup>

Recently Mayer has attempted to redate the traditionally accepted chronology of the counts of Jaffa. He argues that the city, originally part of the royal domain, was granted to Hugh of Le Puiset (I of Jaffa) in 1106, and on his death in 1112 to Albert who held the fief until he died in the 1120s when it passed to Hugh II.<sup>4</sup> Mayer's only evidence for this dating is a document of 1112 which lists an Albertus as a witness, albeit without any additional designation such as Joppensis or Namucensis which would positively identify him.<sup>5</sup> If this Albert was the holder of a major lordship he appears in a surprisingly humble position on the witness list, after Johannes interpres and the otherwise unknown Otto Aegidius. If we exclude the rather doubtful evidence of RRH No. 68a the absence of Albert's name from documents of the period is far more consistent with a short tenure between the accession of Baldwin II in 1118 and the succession of Hugh II in 1120/23 than with a long tenure from 1112 as postulated by Mayer. William of Tyre states that Albert died soon after his marriage to Mabel of Roucy. Lastly, the long hostility between the houses of Ardennes-Verdun and Namur make it unlikely that Baldwin I would have granted a major fief to a member of the family which had disputed his brother Godfrey's Lotharingian inheritance for almost twenty years.

1. Rousseau, xcvi.

2. Saige and Lacaille, I, No. 2; Rousseau, xcix.

3. WT pp. 627-28; Delaborde, No. 8 (RRH No. 90); ROL 7, p. 120 (RRH No. 102a).

4. H. E. Mayer, 'The Origins of the County of Jaffa', Israel Exploration Journal 35 (1985), 35-45.

5. C. Hosp. I, No. 28 (RRH No. 68a).



#### 6. Amalric of Vladslo

Amalricus de Flandrello, known only from RRH No. 91 (1120), was possibly a Fleming from Vladslo (B, West-Vlaanderen, arr. Diksmuide) which appears in various written forms such as Elardello and Fadreslors (Vercauteren, p. 375). He may have originally come to Palestine with Cono I, Lord of Eine, who held Vladslo at the end of the eleventh century (E. Warlop, The Flemish Nobility before 1300 (Kortrijk, 1975), p. 782).

#### 7. Andrew of Baudement

Andreas de Valdemunt or Baldemunt of RRH Nos. 52 (1108) and 80 (1115) was probably a relative of the Andrew of Baudement (F, Marne, arr. Epernay) who was related to the counts of Corbeil and served as seneschal to Count Theobald II of Champagne from 1111 to 1133 (Bur, p. 431; Suger, p. 66).

#### 8. Anonymous, Nephew of Baldwin II

Both Frankish and eastern Christian sources report that a nephew of Baldwin II was captured along with him by the Ortoqid Balak in September 1123.<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi (p. 166) and Bar Hebraeus (Chronology, pp. 250-51) confuse this nephew with Baldwin's cousin Waleran of Bira, who however had been captured with Joscelin of Edessa some time before. Furthermore, William's formulation, 'qui obtento castro, domino regi, et cuidam nepoti suo, domino quoque Galeranno vitam indulsit', clearly distinguishes between the two. There are therefore no grounds for La Monte's doubts whether the nephew existed at all.<sup>2</sup> Matthew and the Syriac chronicle agree that he was the son of King Baldwin's sister. Runciman has made the plausible suggestion that he was a brother of \*Manasses of Hierges<sup>3</sup>, although Manasses did not come to Palestine until after 1140. On the other hand an equally if not more credible possibility would be that he was a brother of Ither, Count of Rethel, son of Baldwin's sister Mathilda and Odo of Vitry, who was known to have visited Palestine in 1128 (RRH No. 121). When Baldwin was released in August 1124 the nephew and Waleran were imprisoned by Timurtash in Aleppo and eventually put to death.<sup>4</sup>

1. FC p. 692; WT p. 541; Matthew of Edessa, p. 417; Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, 90-91.
2. 'Lords of Le Puiset', p. 107.
3. History of the Crusades, II, 165 n. 1.
4. Matthew of Edessa, p. 424.

#### 9. Anscherius of Montreuil

Anscherius de Mosteriolo is known only from his appearance on RRH No. 100a (1122). The Latin form of his surname indicates a modern place-name Montreuil, which is too widespread to allow a precise identification.

#### 10. Anschetinus

Attested from 1120 to 1138, Anschetinus appears to have succeeded \*Pisellus as viscount of Jerusalem. He is known to have had at least two sons, Albert and Gibelin, and a brother-in-law, Ralph (RRH Nos. 91, 101, 111, 110, 115, 120, 130, 137, 141, 158, 183, 257, 273).

#### 11. Anselm of Brie

Anselmus de Bria is known from 1128 to 1138 (RRH Nos. 121, 137a, 174, 179, 181). As a nobilis et fidelis of Fulk, he accompanied that king to Antioch to settle the question of the regency in 1132 (WT p. 612). He must have come from the district in the Ile-de-France around Brie-Comte-Robert (F, Seine-et-Marne, arr. Melun). Anselm must be distinguished from his son Anselm II who appears from 1164 to 1177 (RRH Nos. 400, 531, 536, 548, 552; ROL 11, pp. 185-6).

#### 12. Anselm of Parenty

Anselmus de Parenti, who appears between 1110 and 1126, was the brother of \*Geoffrey of Parenty (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Montreuil-sur-Mer), a village situated on the River Course, about 20 km south-east of Boulogne (RRH Nos. 52, 76b, 80, 115).

Anselm's lands are known only from sources appearing considerably later. In 1179 Alexander III confirmed his donation of Dersophath, north of Jerusalem, to the Abbey of Mount Zion, while a bull of Gregory IX of 1227 mentions his lands between Bethlehem, Artasium and Bethbezan. This fief, which included Solomon's Pools, was thus close to other lands in



the royal domain held by his brother Geoffrey and Geoffrey's father-in-law \*Ralph of La Fontanelle (RRH Nos. 576, 983).

### 13. Anselm of the Tower of David

Anselmus de Turre David is attested in Palestine between 1110 and 1115; this chronology and his surname suggest he held the office of castellan of the Tower of David in succession to \*Gunfrid. He held lands in the terra de Azoto i.e. Ashdod, north of Ascalon (RRH Nos. 57, 59, 76a, 82, 293).

### 14. Arnulf of Jericho

Arnulf vicecomes de Ihericho appears on RRH Nos. 82 (1116) and 104 (1124). His presence as viscount on charters issued by \*Eustace I Granarius and his heirs provide confirmation of Eustace's tenure of Jericho, otherwise known only from William of Tyre (p. 479).

### 15. Arnulf the Lotharingian

Arnulfus Loteringus originated, as his surname indicates, from Lotharingia, and is attested only for the period 1109-10 on RRH Nos. 56a and 57. He evidently held lands in Galilee; before 1110 he granted to the Hospital the casal Capharmazre/Kafir Misr south of Mount Thabor. (RRH Nos. 57, 293)

### 16. Arnulf of Oudenaarde

Arnulf, the 'armiger nobilissimi iuvenis...probus eques ac princeps de castello Aldenardis' killed in an ambush by Muslims near Ascalon in 1106 and buried in the abbey of Josaphat can be identified as Arnulf II, Lord of Oudenaarde (B, Oost-Vlaanderen, arr. Oudenaarde) who is documented in Flanders from 1095/96 (AA pp. 625-26; Warlop, pp. 1035-36).

### 17. Azo of Drouvin

Azo de Drouvin is known only from RRH No. 82 (1116), issued by \*Eustace I Granarius whose vassal he probably was. In view of Eustace's Flemish-Artesian connections and the relative infrequency of this

placename Azo's place of origin was probably Drouvin-le-Marais (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Béthune).

#### 18. Baldwin of Heestert

Baldwinus de Hestrut or Hastrut castellis Flandriae, first mentioned in 1102, was a Fleming from Heestert (B, West-Vlaanderen, arr. Kortrijk) which was known as Hestrud in the Walloon dialect.<sup>1</sup> He may have been related to the Ansel de Hestrut et Balduinus frater eius who appear on a charter for the Abbey of St Bertin in 1119.<sup>2</sup> Baldwin is last mentioned under this surname at the Third Battle of Ramla in August 1105; it is therefore possible that he may be identical with \*Baldwin of Ramla, who first appears in 1107.<sup>3</sup>

1. AA pp. 591-93, 621; M. Gysseling, Toponymisch woordenboek van Belgie, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noord-Frankrijk en West-Duitsland (voor 1226) (Brussels, 1960) I, 463.

2. Haigneré, I, No. 134.

3. AA pp. 621, 626.

#### 19. Baldwin of Ramla

A certain Baldwin was in charge of the defence of Ramla in 1107 and seems to have been lord of Ramla by 1115 when the king confirmed to Josaphat two carrucates given by Balduinus in territorio Ramensi.<sup>1</sup> he then appears as Balduinus de Ramatha in 1119 (RRH No. 87). Nothing is known directly of his origins, although there is a strong possibility that he was identical with the Fleming \*Baldwin of Heestert. Baldwin of Ramla probably died sometime after his last appearance in 1138. His lordship eventually passed to his daughter Helvis, wife of \*Balian of Ibelin.<sup>2</sup>

1. AA p. 636; RRH No. 80. See also RRH No. 57.

2. RRH Nos. 90, 129a, 164, 181; WT p. 645; Mayer, 'Carving up Crusaders', pp. 101-18.

#### 20. Baldwin of St Abraham

Baldwin first appears as lord of St Abraham (Hebron) in 1115 and is documented up to 1136. His daughter Gilla married \*Anselm of Brie (RRH Nos. 80, 90, 91, 115, 120, 121, 133, 164; ROL 11, pp. 185-86).



### 21. Balian of Ibelin

There is no justification for the claim of the Lignages d'Outremer (p. 448) that 'Balian le François', a brother of the count of Chartres, arrived in Palestine with ten knights around 1140. It is more likely that the Ibelin family, who later held Jaffa, confusedly appropriated the genealogy of \*Hugh II, Count of Jaffa, whose grandfather was viscount of Chartres.<sup>1</sup> The name Balianus, unknown to French onomastics, seems in fact to be a French version of Barisanus which is preserved in Arabic transcriptions as Barizân or Barzân; Jerusalem documents use both forms. The name Barisanus was common in eleventh-century Sardinia and other parts of Italy and it is thus probable that Balian-Barisan was originally a Pisan who came to the East in the entourage of Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa.<sup>2</sup> He was certainly in Palestine before 1115 (RRH No. 80). He was a vassal of Hugh II of Jaffa whom he served as constable, and held lands both in the county of Jaffa and in the royal domain.<sup>3</sup> He rose in status after supporting King Fulk during Hugh's revolt: formerly a miles (RRH No. 120), he was now described as dominus (RRH No. 147) and baro (RRH No. 164). In 1144 he received as a fief the newly built castle of Ibelin.<sup>4</sup> By his wife Elisabeth (Helvis), daughter of \*Baldwin of Ramla, he had three sons, Hugh, Baldwin and Balian.<sup>5</sup>

1. La Monte, 'Lords of Le Puiset', pp. 113-18.

2. J. Richard, 'Guy d'Ibelin OP, évêque de Limassol et l'inventaire de ses biens', Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 74 (1950), 98-100.

3. RRH Nos. 89, 101, 102a, 112, 120, 137a.

4. WT pp. 630, 697.

5. WT p. 697; RRH No. 252; Mayer, 'Carving Up Crusaders', pp. 101-18.

### 22. Barda the Armenian

Barda Armenus first appears as a witness for \*William of Bures on RRH No. 115 (1126). He and his wife also gave to the Hospital the casal of Coketum/Kuweikat north of Acre (RRH No. 130). It is likely that Barda originated in the county of Edessa, where a native Armenian nobility co-existed and intermarried with the Franks, and came to Jerusalem after the accession of Baldwin II and his Armenian queen Morphia.

### 23. Bernard of Etampes

Discussing events of the year 1147 William of Tyre makes reference to a 'locum ... quo antiquo Adratum dicitur vocabulo, nunc vulgari appellatione dicitur civitas Bernardi de Stampis' (p. 720). Adratum is the modern Der'a on the Yarmuk, a tributary of the Jordan, about 45 km east of Lake Tiberias. This town was captured by Baldwin II and \*Joscelin of Courtenay in 1119 in the course of an attempt to extend Frankish control over the Hauran, the area between Damascus and Galilee.<sup>1</sup> It was therefore probably sometime after this date that Der'a received its French name, which indicates that it was granted to one Bernard of Etampes (F, Essonne, arr. Etampes) in the Ile-de-France. Certainly we have evidence from the 1120s of the surrounding area coming under the control of \*William of Bures, Joscelin's successor as lord of Tiberias. In 1126 William gave to the abbey of Josaphat the casale Sancti Georgii quod est iuxta Medan; this was Tell el-Khamman, nine km north-east of Der'a. Three years later he augmented the donation with that of the casale Sancti Jobi, the modern Sheikh Sa'd further to the north.<sup>2</sup> It is thus likely that Bernard was originally associated with Joscelin and William who both came from the same part of France as he did, and held the fief of Der'a from William during the latter's long tenure of the principality of Galilee.

1. R. Dussaud, Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale (Paris, 1927), pp. 323-25; Prawer, Royaume latin, I, 303-4.

2. Delaborde, Nos. 14, 16 (RRH Nos. 115, 131); Dussaud, pp. 336, 344.

### 24. Bernard Vaccarius

Bernardus Vaccarius, Vachir or Vacers (the last two seem to be vernacular forms of his surname) is attested in Palestine between 1122 and 1146.<sup>1</sup> Although nothing is known of his origins, it is probably significant that that he first appears after the accession of Baldwin II. Bernard was a familiaris domini regis and royal standard-bearer, and held lands in the royal domain south of Nablus. A bull of Gregory IX mentions a casale Capraculae ex dono Bernardi Vaccarii; this is the modern Kafr Qallil.<sup>2</sup>

1. RRH Nos. 100a, 104a, 115, 121, 137a, 153, 164, 174, 181, 240.

2. WT p. 667; RRH No. 983.



#### 25. Berwold

Bervoldus miles nobilissimus is known only from the First Battle of Ramla (7 September 1101) and the donation of lands he held in monte to the abbey of Josaphat before 1112.<sup>1</sup> Despite this paucity of references he was evidently of some importance. At Ramla he commanded one of five divisions of the Frankish army, the other commanders being \*Waldemar Carpinel, \*Hugh of Fauquembergues and King Baldwin I who retained two divisions. A donation of Ida of Boulogne to the Abbey of St Bertin in 1098 'for the preservation of her sons Godfrey and Baldwin who have gone to Jerusalem to fight the pagans' renounces rights over a terra quam Ongyz et Berwoldus Deo et S. Bertino ad eleemosynam pauperum tradiderunt.<sup>2</sup> This and his status at Ramla suggest that Berwold may originally have been a vassal of Boulogne who remained in the East in Baldwin's service. He may have given his name to the Castellum Beroart, a fortification on the road between Ramla and Ascalon.

1. AA p. 549; RRH No. 67.

2. MF I, 79; A. J. G. Le Glay, Revue des opera diplomatica de Miraeus (Brussels, 1856), p. 15.

#### 26. Drogo of Brie

Drogo de Bria appears on a royal confirmation of donations made by \*Joscelin of Courtenay and \*William of Bures to Josaphat in 1115 (RRH No. 79). The description testis Jocelini implies he was a vassal of Joscelin in Galilee; he may be the Drogo who appears as witness for William on RRH No. 115 (1126). He probably came from the Brie, the district between the Ile-de-France and Champagne around Brie-Comte-Robert (F, Seine-et-Marne, arr. Melun). It is possible he was the father of the brothers Simon and Thomas, both described as filius Drogonis de Braia, who witnessed a charter of Bernard of Chevreuse for the priory of Longpont, a foundation of Joscelin's grandfather Guy I of Montlhéry (Cartulaire du prieuré de Nôtre-Dame de Longpont (Lyon, 1879), No. 282).

#### 27. Drogo of Nesle

Drogo de Nahella or Nigella was originally on one of the so-called people's expeditions. At Constantinople he was kept in chains by the Emperor, but was later released and joined Godfrey's army. He was with

Baldwin in Edessa, and on the latter's accession in 1100 presumably accompanied him to Jerusalem where he is attested until 1126.<sup>1</sup> We know of a Drogo, son of Ralph, Lord of Nesle (F, Somme, arr. Péronne) and brother of Ivo II, Lord of Nesle and Count of Soissons, whose presence in France however is attested from 1115 to 1157. It is nevertheless likely that Drogo the crusader was a member of this family, probably belonging to Ralph's generation.<sup>2</sup>

1. AA pp. 299, 304, 305, 315, 398, 442; RRH Nos. 76a (1114) and 115 which should read Niella not Maloe (Addamentum).

2. W. M. Newman, Les seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie (Philadelphia, 1971), II, Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18, 31.

#### 28. Eustace of Cassel

Eustachius de Castel or Cassel, attested in 1108 (RRH No. 52) and 1115 (RRH No. 80) probably came from Cassel (F, Nord, arr. Dunkerque) in Flanders.

#### 29. Eustace Eschoffel

Eustachius Seufflellus or Escoflel appears between 1131 and 1161 as witness on six charters issued by the Granarius family whose vassal he appears to have been (RRH Nos. 139, 159, 237, 243, 342, 373). His surname probably derives from the Old French escoflel meaning a type of falcon (the red kite). A Eustace Scofflez appears as vassal of Enguerrand of Lillers (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Béthune) in Flanders (Vercauteren, Nos. 13, 17). Considering the Flemish-Artesian origins of the Granarii it is possible the two individuals were related.

#### 30. Eustace I Granarius

On the basis of his inclusion in the Versus de viris illustribus dioecesis Tarvanensis qui in sacra fuere expeditione Moeller and La Monte identify Eustace as a Fleming, although neither attempts to clarify his precise origins or the meaning of his surname.<sup>1</sup> The two most common forms of the name, Granarius and Granerius probably indicate a ministerial origin, namely that of an official in charge of a granarium or store-house.<sup>2</sup> However as this appears to have become a hereditary surname carried on by his descendants it does not necessarily tell us anything about Eustace himself.



Most attempts to establish his origins have focussed on the two lines devoted to him in the Théroutanne poem, the best text of which reads:

'Par belramensis, fit princeps Caesariensis  
Eustachius notus miles, cognomine Gernirs'<sup>3</sup>

Rey read the first two words as Harbellanensis, suggesting as a place of origin Herbelle (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Saint-Omer), while Röhricht took this to refer to a separate person, Harbel of Ramla.<sup>4</sup> The latter suggestion is doubtful as this Harbel is not known from any other source, while other evidence indicates that the lord of Ramla at the time in question was called \*Baldwin. Neither Rey nor Röhricht had access to the best edition of the text and the reading har for par is probably erroneous.

Taking Moeller's text as a starting point it would appear safe to assume that belramensis is the adjectival form of a place-name in Flanders. There is independent evidence from Frankish Palestine for its use as a locative surname: in 1116 we find an Aaluns de Belram and in 1124 a Johannes de Belram who appears again as Johannes de Bellorano in 1131.<sup>5</sup> In each case these men witnessed charters issued by Eustace or his heirs; it seems likely that these two men came to Palestine with Eustace and remained in his service there. As the source poem deals only with natives of the diocese of Théroutanne we can eliminate such possible places of origin as Beaurains (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Arras) in the diocese of Arras and Beaurain (F, Nord, arr. Cambrai) in Cambrai. This leaves Beaurainville (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Montreuil-sur-Mer) and the nearby Beaurain-Château on the River Canche, which are mentioned as early as 723 as Belrinio super Quanchia sitas in pago Tarvaninse and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as Belrem and castellum de Belrain.<sup>6</sup>

At the time of the First Crusade Beaurain-Château was part of the county of Saint-Pol, held as a fief from the count of Boulogne. In the neighbouring county of Flanders, whose ruler was suzerain of both Saint-Pol and Boulogne, there is evidence for the existence of pares from the middle of the eleventh century. Higher in rank than a baron, and next to the count himself, the peer commanded a castle for the count, usually in a frontier district, receiving a fief in return. The institution of peerage was in turn emulated on a smaller scale by the rulers of the

Flemish satellite counties.<sup>7</sup> On this interpretation of par Belramensis Eustace would have originally been a noble of Saint-Pol who went on crusade with Count Hugh and his son Enguerrand who accompanied their lords Eustace III of Boulogne and Robert II of Flanders.

Eustace's first appearance in Palestine is nevertheless comparatively late: the Third Battle of Ramla in August 1105.<sup>8</sup> This could be explained if he at first took service with Baldwin I in Edessa, only coming to Jerusalem after Baldwin's accession. Certainly his meteoric rise in the kingdom indicates a close relationship with the king. In late 1110 he was enfeoffed with the newly captured city of Sidon; he was probably already lord of Caesarea and constable of the kingdom.<sup>9</sup> His marriage to Emma, niece of the Patriarch Arnulf of Chocques (himself a Fleming), brought him the town of Jericho, originally a property of the church.<sup>10</sup> This accumulation of fiefs was exceptional in the early kingdom.

Eustace could thus rightly be described as primus in domo et consilio regis. This primacy is repeatedly reflected in his prominent position on witness lists. When Baldwin II was captured in April 1123 he was elected regent of the realm.<sup>11</sup> Eustace died on 15 June 1123 and was buried in Sancta Maria Latina. his fiefs were divided between his twin sons, \*Eustace II of Sidon and \*Walter of Caesarea.<sup>12</sup>

1. Moeller, 'Les flamands', pp. 189-203; J. L. La Monte, 'The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', Byzantion 17 (1944-45), 183-211.

2. Granarius: RRH Nos. 76b, 91; AA pp. 621, 667, 683, 692. Granerius: RRH Nos. 80, 82, 89, 90, 101. Except when quoting RRH No. 59 (Garnerius) WT consistently uses Grenir which like Gernirs seems to be a vernacular form.

3. Moeller, 'Les flamands', p. 191.

4. Du Cange, p. 276; Röhricht, Königreich Jerusalem, p. 98 n. 1.

5. RRH Nos. 82, 104, 139.

6. M. Gysseling and A. C. F. Koch, Diplomata Belgica ante annum millesimum centesimum scripta (Brussels, 1950), I, 28; A. de Loisne, Dictionnaire topographique du Pas-de-Calais (Paris, 1907), p. 37.

7. P. Feuchère, 'Les origines du Comté de Saint-Pol', Revue du Nord 35 (1953), 123-49; Warlop, pp. 136-56.

8. AA p. 621.

9. Sidon: WT p. 479; RRH Nos. 80, 139. Caesarea: WT p. 538; RRH Nos. 57, 80, 237. Constable: WT p. 544.

10. WT p. 479; \*Arnulf of Jericho (14).

11. AA p. 692; WT pp. 538, 545; FC pp. 658-61.

12. FC pp. 674-75; WT p. 625; RRH No. 342.



### 31. Eustace II Granarius

The son of the Fleming \*Eustace I Granarius, from who he inherited the lordship of Sidon, Eustace II is known only from five documents and a single reference in William of Tyre's history. He first appears on 8 April 1124 with his twin brother \*Walter Granarius of Caesarea, their mother Emma, and Emma's second husband \*Hugh II of Jaffa. His last appearance is a mere two years later in 1126 whe he and his wife Papia confirmed a donation of property in Sidon to the Abbey of Josaphat. This short span presumably accounts for his omission from the Lignages d'Outremer (p. 456), which give Gerard of Sidon as the brother of Walter (RRH Nos. 104, 105, 112, 113, 114b; WT p. 628).

### 32. Frederick of Corbeil

Fredericus de Corbolio, who witnessed RRH No. 43 (1104) probably came from Corbeil-Essonnes (F, Essonne, arr. Evry) south of Paris. A Eruricus de Curbulo or Fredericus de Curbulo appears on charters of Philip I of France in the period 1066-85, often in the company of Guy I of Montlhéry and Hugh I of Le Puiset, whose son Everard III later married Alice, heiress of the county of Corbeil (Prou, Nos. 24, 30, 50, 116). This identification would indicate that Frederick was a fairly old man by the time he arrived in Palestine, and would thus explain his early disappearance from Jerusalem documents.

### 33. Fulk of Guines

Fulk was the second son of Baldwin I, Count of Guines, who died before 1097. Guines (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Boulogne-sur-Mer) was situated in the pagus Bononiensis, sandwiched between the main part of the county of Boulogne and its detached dependent territory of Marck.<sup>1</sup> The two neighbouring dynasties were interrelated; Lambert of Ardres calls Fulk's sister Alice a cognata et consanguinea of Godfrey, Bishop of Paris, brother of Eustace II and uncle of the Ardennes-Boulogne brothers. Fulk was a great-great-grandson of Adelolf of Guines and Mathilda, daughter of Arnulf I (Ernicule) of Boulogne.<sup>2</sup> Although unknown to Palestinian sources Fulk was probably on crusade with Eustace III of Boulogne and Robert II of Flanders. He later obtained the fief of Beirut. The Versus de viris illustribus de dioecesis Tarvanensis (p.

191) gives the terse information Fulco Ghisnensis urbem tenuit Baruth, which is confirmed by Lambert of Ardres (p. 574):

'Fulconem in terra promissionis comitem apud Baruth, ibique demum sepultum'

Fulk's tenure of Beirut must therefore be dated to between 1110, when the Franks captured the city, and 1125, when \*Walter Brisebarre appears as lord of Beirut.

1. Vanderkindere, I, 327-29; Longnon, Etudes sur les pagi de la Gaule, I, 25-38.
2. Historia comitum Ghisnensium, MGH SS XXIV, 575.

#### 34. Garin de Verno

Garinus de Verno is known only from an appearance as a witness on RRH No. 68a (1112). A possible place of origin might be Veurne (B, West-Vlaanderen, arr. Veurne). He may be identical with the Garin who appears as viscount of Tyre on RRH No. 127 (1129).

#### 35. Geoffrey Acus

Geoffrey Acus or de Acula, documented from 1120 to 1147, represents a rare case of upward mobility from outwith the noble class (RRH Nos. 91, 104a, 111, 128, 130, 141, 158, 164, 204, 205, 226, 244). He seems to have been originally a sergeant of \*Ralph of La Fontanelle (RRH No. 111) and was still a burgess in 1136 (RRH No. 164). However he is described as dominus in 1141 (RRH No. 204) and later as baro (RRH Nos. 226, 244). RRH No. 205 describes a casal de Gaufrido Agule near Emmaus which must have belonged to him.

#### 36. Geoffrey the Chamberlain

Mentioned only as a member of the domus Godefridi in 1100 (AA p. 526).

#### 37. Geoffrey Charpalu

Gaufridus Charpalu or Chatpalu was a brother of \*Joscelin, Prince of Galilee, and came from Courtenay (F, Loiret, arr. Montargis) in the Gâtinais. It is uncertain when he came to Palestine; he was killed at the siege of Montferrand in 1137 (WT p. 645).



### 38. Geoffrey de Flavi

Goffridus de Flavi or Flaiaco is documented for the short period 1126 to 1129 (RRH Nos. 112, 113, 121a, 130). His surname would appear to represent a place-name deriving from the personal name Flaius/Flavius plus the Gaulish suffix -acum; Fluieac (RRH No. 121a) may be the vernacular form. Place-names of this derivation are too common to permit even a guess at his origins. As he held a share in the casal Calanue/Qalansuwa in territorio Caesariensis (RRH Nos. 130, 293) he may have been a vassal of \*Walter Granarius.

### 39. Geoffrey of Parenty

Gaufridus de Parenti is first mentioned in 1125 and disappears around the year 1133.<sup>1</sup> He was the brother of Anselm de Parenti, known from 1110; The order of their names in RRH No. 115 suggests Geoffrey was the older brother, thus it is possible he was in Palestine before his first documented appearance. Parenty (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Montreuil-sur-Mer) is situated on the Course, a tributary of the River Canche, and lay within the pagus Bononiensis. It is therefore likely that the brothers were originally in the household of Count Eustace III of Boulogne.<sup>2</sup>

Geoffrey was a nobilissimus vir, and probably a baron of the royal domain.<sup>3</sup> Before 1129 he gave to the Hospital properties in Jerusalem near the Tower of David, along with four partes terrae prope Beccafatam in the territorium of Jerusalem. This could have been Bethafara/Beit Safafa north of Bethlehem; in this area lay lands of his brother, as well as a fief belonging to Geoffrey's father-in-law \*Ralph of La Fontanelle. This family group seem to have been the main landholders around Bethlehem in the 1120s.<sup>4</sup>

Like his father-in-law Geoffrey was also connected with \*Hugh II of Jaffa. He witnessed two charters issued by Hugh, who also confirmed a second donation of his to the Hospital in 1133. These connections, and the date of this last appearance suggest that Geoffrey and Ralph may have been involved in the revolt of Hugh against King Fulk in 1133-34.<sup>5</sup>

1. RRH Nos. 111, 112, 133, 115, 130, 133, 134, 147. He also witnesses a charter of Fulk which unfortunately can only be roughly dated to 1131/34, printed in Hiestand, 'Zwei unbekannte Diplome', pp. 54-55.

2. A. Longnon, Etudes sur les pagi de la Gaule (Paris 1869-72), I, 35.
3. C. Hosp. I, No. 74 (RRH No. 112).
4. RRH Nos. 130, 293. No. 111 identifies him as gener of Ralph.
5. RRH Nos. 12, 113, 147.

#### 40. Geoffrey Tortus

Goffredus Tortus first appears in the reign of Baldwin II on RRH Nos. 105 (1125) and 121 (1128). The long gap till the appearance of another nobleman of this name who is attested with his wife Flandrina and son Geoffrey (III) from 1159 to 1191,<sup>1</sup> makes it unlikely the two were identical. Roger, the father of Geoffrey II (RRH No. 468) was therefore probably the son of Geoffrey I.

1. RRH Nos. 339, 366, 465, 467, 468, 504, 614, 624, 625, 653, 683, 684, 690, 693, 696, 697, 702.

#### 41. Gerard de Area

Gerard de Area, Are or Areae appears as witness to RRH Nos. 112, 113, and 147 (1126-33) issued by \*Hugh II of Jaffa whose vassal he seems to have been.

#### 42. Gerard of Asnières

Gerardus de Asneriis known only from his appearance on RRH No. 113 (1126) issued by \*Hugh II of Jaffa. Modern place-names corresponding to Latin Asneriae are too common to allow an accurate identification of his origins; however if we assume he was a vassal of Hugh two possible places of origin are Asnières-sur-Oise (F, Val d'Oise, arr. Montmerency) and Asnières-sur-Seine (F, Hauts-de-Seine, arr. Nanterre).

#### 43. Gerard of Avesnes

Gerard de genere Hainaucorum de praesidio Avesnes or de castello Avennis came from Avesnes-sur-Helpe (F, Nord, arr. Avesnes) in southern Hainault.<sup>1</sup> Therefore although a Lotharingian he was not originally connected with the Ardennes-Verdun family, whose suzerainty of Hainault lapsed on the death of Godfrey III.<sup>2</sup> Gerard must have left Europe in the retinue of Baldwin II of Mons, Count of Hainault. However after Baldwin was killed in an ambush near Nicaea in 1098 he seems to have entered the service of Godfrey of Bouillon. In late 1099 he was



installed in the post of Arsuf as overseer, presumably to receive tribute, and also to act as a hostage; at any rate he was imprisoned and presumed killed when the town refused to admit Godfrey's troops in December.<sup>3</sup> However, in March 1100 he was released, and was granted fiefs at St Abraham (Hebron) as compensation for his sufferings:

'in remunerationem sui grandis laboris maxima terrae beneficia centum marcarum, cum castello quod dicitur ad sanctum Abraham, in praesentia omnium fidelium qui aderant largitus est.'<sup>4</sup>

To judge from this description the grant was made at a meeting of the High Court. These circumstances and the extent of the fiefs give no reason to suppose that the grant merely consisted of the village of Thecua, as claimed by Riley-Smith.<sup>5</sup> Gerard was killed at the Second Battle of Ramla, in May 1102.<sup>6</sup>

1. AA pp. 507, 499.
2. Hansay, pp. 45-58.
3. AA p. 507.
4. AA p. 516.
5. Riley-Smith, 'The motives', p. 726; H. E. Mayer, 'Die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron', *ZDPV* 101 (1985), 66 n. 13.
6. AA p. 593.

#### 44. Gerard the Chamberlain

Girardus camerarius or cubicularius appears on documents from 1108 to 1115 (RRH Nos. 52, 59, 68a, 76b, 80). He was probably the Gerhardus quidam eques de domo regis Baldewini who received part of the revenues of Jaffa as a money-fief (qui partem redditus civitatis Japhet pro militari obsequio obtinebat) in 1107 (AA p. 636). He is certainly the only Gerard attested for this period, while Albert's description probably refers to his position as a household officer.

#### 45. Gerard of Fauquembergues

Gerard was brother of \*Hugh of Fauquembergues (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Saint-Omer) in the diocese of Thérouanne. He is known only from one mention in the history of Albert of Aachen (pp. 635-36) relating his death eight days after that of his brother.

#### 46. Gerard de Helbecourt

Known only from RRH No. 120 (1127) issued by \*Balian of Ibelin.

#### 47. Gerbod of Scheldewindeke

Gerbodo de castello Winthinc can be identified as Gerbod III, Lord of Scheldewindeke (B, Oost-Vlaanderen, arr. Gent), younger son of Gerbod II, Lord of Oosterzele and Advocate of St Bertin's Abbey.<sup>1</sup> The family, which was known as de Wentica, held lands in Flanders and England, Gerbod II having held the earldom of Chester in 1070.<sup>2</sup> According to Warlop Gerbod first appears around 1067, thereafter disappearing from sight; however his first appearance in fact seems to be on a document for St Bertin from 1063 describing a donation made by Gerbod and Gerbod the younger iunior et aetate et consilio.<sup>3</sup> In 1096 he, his brother Arnulf III of Oosterzele and Arnulf's wife Adelaide sold the allod of Roquetoire (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Saint-Omer) to St Bertin for fourteen silver marks. This transaction was probably a fund-raising venture for the crusade and was witnessed by Eustace III of Boulogne.<sup>4</sup> Gerbod was killed at the Second Battle of Ramla, in May 1102. His striking resemblance to Baldwin I caused a temporary panic among the Franks when his severed head was displayed by the Egyptians to the garrison of Jaffa.<sup>5</sup>

1. AA pp. 591, 593; Warlop, p. 1024.

2. Douglas, p. 267.

3. Monumenta S. Bavonis Gandavensis minora, MGH SS XV, 598-99; Haigheré, I, No. 80. B. Guérard, Cartulaire de Saint-Bertin, p. 201 gives the date wrongly as 1084.

4. Haigheré, I, No. 96.

5. AA p. 593.

#### 48. Gervase of Bazoches

The 'miles egregius ... isdem Gervasius vocabatur apud castrum Basilicas pagi Suessonici nobiliter oriundus' was given the fief of Galilee (Tiberias) in succession to \*Hugh of Fauquembergues in 1106. Before that date he seems to have been one of Baldwin I's household officers; he is undoubtedly the Gervasius dapifer who witnessed RRH No. 43 (1104). Gervase was advocate of the church of Mont-Nôtre-Dame and brother of Hugh, Lord of Bazoches-sur-Vesle (F, Aisne, arr. Soissons) and was also related to the lords of Milly in the Beauvaisis.<sup>2</sup>

His tenure of Galilee was brief; in May 1108 he and some of his knights were captured by Tughtagin, atabeg of Damascus, and executed after Baldwin I refused to pay the ransom demanded.<sup>3</sup> On the strength of



a remark of Ibn al-Athir that the lord of Tiberias was son to King Baldwin's sister Pirie-Gordon concluded that 'either Gerberga or Ida of Bouillon must have married Miles' (i.e. Gervase's father), although he does not identify either lady and gives no documentation.<sup>4</sup> No Gerberga is known in the Ardennes-Verdun dynasty; a Gerberga of Boulogne, daughter of Eustace I is known only to have married Frederick of Luxembourg, Duke of Lower Lotharingia, whom she predeceased. Ida of Bouillon, mother of Baldwin I, was married only to Eustace II of Boulogne and had no daughters.<sup>5</sup> Neither Albert of Aachen nor Ibn al-Qalanisi, who correctly identifies Gervase by name and the year as AH 501 (22 August 1107-10 August 1108), mention this supposed relationship. Ibn al-Athir gives the wrong year (AH 502) and does not actually name Gervase. It is possible that Ibn al-Athir, writing over a century later, confused Gervase with \*Godfrey, the illegitimate nephew of Baldwin I killed in battle against Tughtagin in 1113. Thus while Gervase undoubtedly had a high status<sup>6</sup> it cannot be explained in terms of a relationship with the royal house.

1. Guibert of Nogent, p. 260.
2. Bur, pp. 247, 251.
3. AA pp. 656-58; Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 86-87; Ibn al-Athir, pp. 269-69.
4. 'The Reigning Princes of Galilee', pp. 447-48.
5. Renn, Luxemburger Grafenhaus, pp. 121-23.
6. AA p. 635: 'vir illuster et nobilissimus, de regno occidentalis Franciae ortus', p. 656: 'vir nominatissimus et nobilissimus de regno Franciae'.

#### 49. Giselbert of Couvin

Giselbert de castello quod dicitur Cuvin, vir illustris, killed in battle at Sidon in 1108, derived his surname from Couvin (B, Namur, arr. Philippeville), an allodial possession of the counts of Hainault which Baldwin II of Mons<sup>7</sup> sold to Bishop Otbert of Liège in 1095 before departing on crusade. After Baldwin's death at Nicaea in 1098 Giselbert must have entered the service of the Ardennes-Boulogne brothers (AA p. 655; Bormans and Schoolmeesters, I, No. 29).

#### 50. Godfrey of Bures

Godfrey de Burs et de terra civitatis Parisius' came from Bures-sur-Yvette (F, Essonne, arr. Palaiseau), part of the lordship of Gometz-la-Châtel south of Paris. He was thus originally a vassal of Guy I of Montlhéry, who had married Hodierna, heiress of Gometz, or of their son Guy the Red, Count of Rochefort. This family were cousins of King Baldwin II (son of Hodierna's daughter Melisende) and of Joscelin of Courtenay (son of Hodierna's daughter Isabelle). Although our explicit knowledge of Godfrey is limited to one passage in Albert of Aachen, he is significantly associated with these two cousins of his lord in France. He first appears in Palestine as vassal of Joscelin, then prince of Galilee. After his death in battle he was greatly lamented by Baldwin, who 'paid for many masses for his soul' and later bestowed Galilee on his brother \*William of Bures.<sup>2</sup> William apparently had no surviving sons of his own, but RRH Nos 115, 131 and 142 reveal the existence of four nephews, Elias, William, Ralph of Yssy and Simon. It is thus likely that some or all of these four were in fact Godfrey's sons. In the engagement in which he died, Joscelin commanded the right wing of the Galilean army with 50 knights, William the left, also with 50, and Godfrey the centre with 60 knights and all of the footsoldiers. This prominence may indicate that Godfrey was in fact the elder of the two brothers.

1. AA pp. 710-12.

2. J. Lair, 'Histoire de la seigneurie de Bures', Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France 2 (1876), 187-97.

#### 51. Godfrey, Nephew of Baldwin I

Describing the casualties sustained in the defeat of the Franks of Jerusalem by Tughtagin of Damascus and Mawdud of Mosul in 1113, William of Malmesbury comments 'ceciderunt ibi plures quos ego quoque noram; inter quos Godefridus abnepos ejus nothus, jam inde a pueritia umbram virtutis vultu colorans, veritatem animo spirans'. William's editor, Stubbs, identifies this Godfrey as a nephew of Godfrey of Bouillon; however in this passage William is discussing Baldwin I the whole time.<sup>1</sup> William's information would seem rather dubious if it were not confirmed by the evidence of a royal charter, issued the previous year (12 June



1112), which lists among its witnesses one Gotafredus nepos regis (RRH No. 68a). Thus we are dealing with a nephew of Baldwin I, an illegitimate son (nothus) of either Godfrey of Bouillon or Eustace III of Boulogne.

A Geoffrey, 'son of Count Eustace' and son-in-law of Geoffrey of Mandeville is listed in Domesday Book as holding land in Wallingford Hundred in Surrey. However apart from the difference in names it is clear he was in fact a son of Eustace II. He appears on an English document 1076/84 and is wrongly identified by the editor with Eustace's legitimate son Godfrey.<sup>2</sup> No source gives any indication of any children, legitimate or otherwise, of Godfrey of Bouillon. On the other hand the formulation used by the English writer William indicates that this second Godfrey was known to him personally, suggesting that he was a bastard son of Eustace III, who like Eustace II held extensive lands in England.

1. De gestis regum Anglorum, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series XC (London, 1887-79), II, 451.

2. J. Morris, Domesday Book. A Survey of the Counties of England III (Chichester, 1975), p. 25; H. W. Davis, Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum I (Oxford, 1913), No. 202.

#### 52. Gotmann of Brussels

Gutmannus de Brussella is first mentioned at the Second Battle of Ramla in 1102 (AA pp. 591, 594). He was undoubtedly a Lotharingian from Brussels (B, Brabant, arr. Bruxelles) although he can hardly have been connected with Godfrey of Bouillon; the counts of Louvain, in whose territory Brussels lay, were long-standing enemies and rivals of the Ardennes-Verdun family. Gotmann is attested in Palestine up to 1115 (AA, pp. 621; RRH Nos. 43, 52, 56a, 57, 76a, 76b, 80). It is therefore doubtful whether he can be identical with the \*John Gotmann who appears from 1126 to 1161, and who is more likely to have been his son.

#### 53. Guibert de Peiz

Known only from his appearance as witness on RRH No. 102a (1123) issued by \*Hugh II of Jaffa.

54. Guibert de Salinas

Known only from his donation of one villein to the Hospital before 1110 (RRH No. 57).

55. Gunfrid of the Tower of David

This surname derives from the office of castellan of the Tower of David; Albert of Aachen names him as Gunfridus custos ac praepositus arcis et turris Iherusalem.<sup>1</sup> He is known to have held lands in the territory of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> He gave the tithes of Taret and Tarphin, between Nablus and Jerusalem, to Josaphat, and with his wife Ida sold casalia in the vallis suech to the Hospital.<sup>3</sup> He may be the same person as the Gumfridus de Cavis who gave the tithes of Mezerech and Dalfim to Josaphat.<sup>4</sup>

Gunfrid witnessed a royal charter in 1104, and was at the Third Battle of Ramla in 1105. He was the commander of the garrison of Chastel Hernaut when it was attacked by the Egyptians in 1107; he was captured and taken to Ascalon.<sup>5</sup>

Two Jacobite monks, Michael of Marash and Romanus of Malatya, writing in 1138, tell of a Frank whose name Martin transliterates as Gounefar, who came with the first crusade. He afterwards took possession of the casalia Beith-'Arif and 'Adecieh, properties of the Jacobite church in Jerusalem, 'seeing that they had no master, and since he was a relative of the king at the time'. However, after some time he was captured by the Arabs and taken to Egypt. The patriarch Mar Athanasius and the metropolitan Mar Cyril came to Jerusalem, and producing testimony of ownership, were restored the villages by the king. Approximately thirty-three years later, in the reign of Fulk, Gounefar was still alive. An Armenian bishop, who had been promised a village by Gounefar's wife and relatives, interceded with the authorities and obtained his release, dated by Michael to 1137-38. Fulk restored Gounefar's property, which led to a dispute with the Jacobites. In February 1138 a compromise was reached by which Gounefar gave up the villages and accepted 200 dinars compensation.<sup>6</sup> The two casalia in question were probably Hadessa (Kh. 'Adasa) north-east of Jerusalem, and Bet'Arif north-east of Lydda (Atlas of Israel 3/11 ref. 156/144E).<sup>7</sup>



In the past this Gounefar has been identified with the crusader Godefridus de Ascha, who was known to be a kinsman of Godfrey of Bouillon, although Belgian and Luxembourg historians have been unable to agree on his origin.<sup>8</sup> However there were numerous kinsmen of Godfrey and Baldwin I in the Lotharingian army and we have no evidence that Godfrey of Esch remained in Palestine. All other indications are in favour of the identification with Gunfrid, whose name is phonetically closer to Gounefar. Michael's dating would place his capture at around 1105. Gunfrid was taken to Ascalon, which was held by the Egyptians, and he may well have been sent on to Egypt for security. Michael relates that while he languished there several kings unsuccessfully tried to procure his release; as a field commander and castellan of the Tower of David Gunfrid was clearly a high-ranking personage. Lastly, we have independent evidence that Gunfrid had a wife with him in Palestine, and held possessions around Jerusalem.

1. AA p. 637.
2. RRH No. 81a: Gunfridus de Turri.
3. RRH No. 129a: Gaufridus de Turri; No. 245: Gumfredus de Turre David.
4. RRH No. 67.
5. RRH No. 43: Gaufridus de Turre David; AA pp. 621, 637-38.
6. Michael of Marash, 'Note to the Syriac Breviary', ed. and trans. Abbé Martin, Journal Asiatique, 8th series, 13 (1888), 39-79.
7. Hadessa is mentioned in a document of 1161 (Rozière No. 118) as being disputed between the Holy Sepulchre and the Jacobite monks of St Mary Magdalen in Jerusalem.
8. M. F. Nau, 'Le croisé lorrain Godefroy de Ascha d'après deux documents syriaques du XIIe siècle', Journal Asiatique, 9th series, 14 (1899), 421-31; 'Les croisés Henry et Godefroy du château de Ascha', L'Ancien Pays de Looz, 4-5 (1900), 21-25; Baron de Chestret de Haneffe, 'Les premiers seigneurs d'Esch sur la Sûre à propos des croisés Henri et Godefroid du château d'Ascha', L'Ancien Pays de Looz, 8-9 (1900), 3-9. Godfrey of Esch is last heard of at the siege of Antioch (AA p. 360).

#### 56. Gunter

Gunter was a member of the domus Godefridi in 1100 (AA p. 526); his name indicates a Germanic origin. It was undoubtedly he who was the Guntram commemorated along with his compatriot \*Wicher for their part in the capture of Jerusalem by the Franconian John of Würzburg ('Descriptio terrae sanctae', in T. Tobler, Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex Saeculo VII. IX. XII et XII (Leipzig, 1874), p. 155).

57. Guy Brisebarre

Guy first appears in January 1126 as a witness to two charters, immediately after his brother \*Walter Brisebarre, Lord of Beirut; both are described as nobilissimi viri.<sup>1</sup> He was sent, along with \*William of Bures, to France to find a husband for Baldwin II's daughter Melisende.<sup>2</sup> Thus although nothing is known of any holdings of Guy in this period he was evidently an important man; it is conceivable that he held a rear-fief from his brother. He appears to have succeeded Walter some time after the latter's last appearance in 1134 as he appears on 3 February 1138 as lord of Beirut.<sup>3</sup>

1. C. Hosp. I, Nos. 74, 77 (RRH Nos. 112, 113).
2. WT pp. 593, 608.
3. RRH Nos. 174, 198.

58. Guy de Cava

Guido de Cava is known only from his appearance as a witness on RRH No. 131 (1129) issued by \*William of Bures.

59. Guy of Dampierre

Wido de Domnapetra appears in 1127 as witness to a charter of \*Balian, Constable of Jaffa, for the abbey of Josaphat (RRH No. 120). He can be identified as Guy, son of Theobald of Dampierre-en-Yvelines (F, Les Yvelines, arr. Rambouillet) and Isabella, daughter of Milo I, Lord of Montlhéry and Bray. He appears on a charter issued by Milo's second son Milo II around the year 1110 as Guido nepos eius de Domna Petra and was still in France in 1116-17 (Cartulaire de Longpont, Nos. 46, 84). He would appear to have arrived in Palestine after the accession of Baldwin II (son of Milo I's sister Melisende). In the light of his family connections it is worth noting that Guy appeared in second place on the witness list of RRH No. 120 immediately after his cousin \*Guy of Le Puiset; the charter was confirmed by Balian's lord \*Hugh II of Jaffa, Guy of Dampierre's second cousin once removed.

60. Guy of Méréville

Guy, Lord of Méréville (F, Essonne, arr. Etampes) was a son of Hugh I, Lord of le Puiset (F, Eure-et-Loir, arr. Chartres), and Alice,



daughter of Guy I of Montlhéry, Chevreuse and Châteaufort. Originally a canon in the cathedral of Chartres, Guy later married the daughter of Mark, Viscount of Etampes, whom he succeeded. He acted as guardian to his nephew \*Hugh III of Le Puiset from 1106 to 1109.<sup>1</sup>

Guy was still in France throughout the reign of Baldwin I of Jerusalem; his last appearance there can only be dated roughly to 1118/27.<sup>2</sup> He may therefore have left Europe around the same time as Hugh III, who announced his decision to go to Jerusalem about 1128. Guy certainly seems to have been in Palestine in 1127 when he witnessed a charter of \*Balian, vassal of his nephew \*Hugh II of Jaffa as Wido de Puteolo.<sup>3</sup>

1. C. Dunois, No. 144; A. de Dion, 'Le Puiset', 22-23.
2. Luchaire, Nos. 58, 102, 107, 161, 168, 402.
3. Dion, pp. 28-29; RRH No. 15.

#### 61. Guy of Milly

Guido de Miliaco, documented from 1108 up to 1126, probably came from Milly-sur-Therain (F, Oise, arr. Beauvais) in the Beauvaisis.<sup>1</sup> Sesgalon, lord of Milly (c. 1032-80), a kinsman of \*Gervase of Bazoches, had been seneschal to Odo II and Theobald of Champagne; it is thus possible that Guy had come on crusade with Stephen of Blois and joined Godfrey after the desertion of Stephen at Antioch.<sup>2</sup>

Guy's frequent appearances on royal charters can be explained by his status as an important baron of the royal domain with substantial property around Nablus.<sup>3</sup> By his wife Stephanie, presumably the 'Estefenie qui fut de Flandre' of the Lignages (p. 462) Guy had three sons: Guy Francigena, who must have been born in France; Philip of Nablus, later Grand Master of the Templars; and Henry Bubalus (the Buffalo).<sup>4</sup>

1. M. L. Bulst-Thiele, Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri (Göttingen, 1974), p. 75; RRH Nos. 52, 57, 76a, 80, 90, 91, 102a, 105, 112, 113.
2. Bur, pp. 248, 251-52.
3. RRH Nos. 80, 101, 130, 134, 596.
4. RRH Nos. 308, 332. As Stephanie must have been married to Guy before 1108 and married Baldwin of Ramla after his death problems are caused by the Elisabeth who is referred to as Guy's wife on RRH No. 80 (1115). For discussion see Mayer, 'Carving Up Crusaders', pp. 101-18.

62. Henry of Alençon

Henricus de Alentione, a Norman from Alençon (F, Orne, arr. Alençon) is known only from a charter issued by him which reveals that he held the casale of Borcha (RRH No. 104a). This was Burqa, situated to the south-east of Magna Mahomeria in the royal domain.

63. Henry de Brena

Known only from RRH No. 87 (1119) issued by \*Joscelin of Courtenay as prince of Galilee.

64. Herbert of Corbeil

Herbertus de Corbulio appears on RRH No. 92 (1121) and was a vassal of \*William of Bures, Prince of Galilee. He probably came from Corbeil-Essonnes (F, Essonne, arr. Evry); Alice, sister and heiress of Count Odo of Corbeil had married Everard III of Le Puiset, cousin of \*Joscelin of Courtenay, William's predecessor in Galilee (Luchaire, Nos. 61, 63, 128).

65. Herbert de Insula

Known only from his appearance as a witness for Baldwin II on RRH No. 115 (1126).

66. Hubert of Pacy

Hubertus de Paci appears only once as witness, to RRH No. 52 (1108) although he is also known to have held the casal of Akhzhiv near Ascalon (RRH Nos. 101, 134, 281). He may have come from Pacy-sur-Eure (F, Eure, arr. Evreux) in Normandy, although this placename is common.

67. Hugh Botuns

Hugo Botuns or de Botuns is known only from his participation at the Second Battle of Ramla (1102) at which he was killed (AA pp. 591-93).

68. Hugh of Bourcq

Hugo de Burg, mentioned as fighting at the Second Battle of Ramla (AA p. 593) was probably originally a follower of Baldwin of Bourcq (F, Ardennes, arr. Vouziers), later second king of Jerusalem.



69. Hugh de Brulis

Hugh was one of the handful of knights who broke out of Egyptian encirclement with Baldwin I in the first engagement in the Second Battle of Ramla (AA p. 593). He is otherwise unknown.

70. Hugh of Cassel

Hugo de Cassel, egregius miles of Baldwin I, was killed at Hebron in 1107 (AA p. 647). He probably came from Cassel (F, Nord, arr. Dunkerque) in Flanders.

71. Hugh of Fauquembergues

Hugo de Falchenberch or Falkenberg derived his surname from the Flemish village of Fauquembergues (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Saint-Omer) in the diocese of Thérouanne. He first appears in July 1100 when Baldwin I came from Edessa as successor to his brother Godfrey in Jerusalem; along with Robert, Bishop of Ramla, he was sent in advance of the main army to secure the Tower of David. Soon after Baldwin's coronation in 1101 Tancred left the kingdom to assume the regency in Antioch. His vast fief of Galilee was given to Hugh, with the exception of the port of Haifa, which was restored to \*Waldemar Carpinel.<sup>1</sup> The responsibility placed in Hugh, as well as his rapid rise suggest that he was already one of Baldwin's most trusted followers when the latter was still count of Edessa. Although Hugh must have come east with Robert II of Flanders he probably joined Baldwin's company in the autumn or winter of 1097-98.

Hugh witnessed RRH No. 43 as Ugo de Tabaria. In 1106, during fighting in the Hauran against Tughtagin of Damascus, Hugh was killed by an arrow, while his brother \*Gerard, his only known heir, died eight days later.<sup>2</sup> There are no definite indications of any other relatives. On the authority of the Lignages, which call him castellan of Saint-Omer, Du Cange and Rey identify him with Hugh, Lord of Fauquembergues, the son of William II, Castellan of Saint-Omer, and Melisende of Picquigny, and therefore brother of the Walter of Saint-Omer who appears as Prince of Galilee between 1159 and 1170.<sup>3</sup> However, apart from the impossible difference in ages between the two supposed brothers, we know that the latter Hugh of Fauquembergues was alive in 1146 and died around 1175. Neither can he be identified with Hugh, nephew of William I of

Saint-Omer, who was still living in 1121/23.<sup>4</sup> Thus we have no evidence of how, if at all, Hugh of Galilee was related to the family of the castellans. William of Tyre admittedly calls him Hugh de Sancto Aldemaro but the contemporary Albert of Aachen only used the name Fauquembergues.<sup>5</sup>

1. AA pp. 531, 538, 591; Versus de viris illustribus dioecesis Tarvanensis, p. 190: 'Falkemberga suum dedit Hugonem dominum, qui obtinuit totam regionem Tyberiadis'.

2. AA pp. 635-66; WT pp. 459-60; FC p. 509 n. 1.

3. Lignages, pp. 450-51; Du Cange, pp. 443-44.

4. A. Giry, 'Les châtelains de Saint-Omer 1042-1386', Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes 35 (1874), 325-55; Warlop, pp. 1106-9.

5. WT pp. 414, 459-60.

#### 72. Hugh I of Jaffa

Hugh, also known as Hugotin, was a son of Hugh I Blavons, Lord of Le Puiset (F, Eure-et-Loir, arr. Chartres), and Alice, daughter of Guy I of Montlhéry. He acted as guardian to his nephew \*Hugh III from 1097 to 1106, but then came to the East with his wife Mabel of Roucy, appearing on RRH No. 57 (1110) as Hugo de Puzath. According to William of Tyre he was made count of Jaffa by his cousin Baldwin II shortly after the latter's accession but died soon after.'

1. Dion, 'Le Puiset', 20-21; La Monte, 'Lords of Le Puiset', p. 3; WT pp. 627-28.

#### 73. Hugh II of Jaffa

Son of the foregoing and Mabel of Roucy, Hugh first appears on RRH No. 90 (1120) as Hugo de Joppe filius Hugonis de Puteolo nondum miles. He succeeded to the county of Jaffa, previously held by his father and by Mabel's second husband \*Albert of Namur, and by 1123 had made an advantageous marriage to Emma, widow of \*Eustace I Granarius.' After his revolt against King Fulk Hugh was exiled from the kingdom and died in Apulia.<sup>2</sup>

1. WT pp. 627-28; RRH Nos. 102a, 104, 105, 112, 113, 120, 121, 130, 134, 137a, 147; La Monte, 'Lords of Le Puiset', p. 4.

2. WT pp. 628-33; For the dating of this revolt, see above, pp. 151-52.



74. Hugh III of Le Puiset

Hugh was the son of Everard III, Lord of Le Puiset and Alice (or Elisabeth), daughter of Bouchard II of Corbeil. After coming of age in 1109 he continually waged war on Louis VI of France but after his final defeat by the king left Europe for Palestine around 1128, although his presence there is not attested in any Jerusalem documents (Dion, 'Le Puiset', pp. 23-29; La Monte, 'Lords of Le Puiset', p. 2).

75. Hugh de Nellis

Known only from his appearance as witness on RRH No. 82 (1116), a donation of \*Eustace I Granarius.

76. Hugh of Ramla

Hugo Ramatensis appears in January 1126 (RRH Nos. 112, 113) and again in 1129 as Hugo de Ramis (RRH No. 130). He may be identical with the Hugo Ludensis dominus of 2 May 1125 (RRH No. 105). This immediately raises problems as it suggests Hugh may have become lord of Ramla in succession to \*Baldwin who seems to be documented until 1138, although this span appears suspiciously long. A tenure of Hugh would seem convincing if there were in fact two Baldwins, or if Hugh had been installed by the king in a situation comparable to that in Oultrejourdain about the same time when \*Roman of Le Puy was dispossessed in favour of \*Pagan the Butler (See above, pp. 139-40).

77. Hugh of Rebecques

Hugh first appears in Palestine on a document of 1104 (RRH No. 43) and is mentioned once by Albert of Aachen (p. 621), referring to the year 1106. He may be the dominus de S. Abraham listed in the bull of Gregory IX for the church of Bethlehem (RRH No. 983). He is identified as a Fleming by the Versus de viris illustribus dioecesis Tarvanensis (p. 192):

'Et castrum quoddam, quod Sancti dicitur Abraham,  
Hugo Rebeccensis tenuit, miles generosus'

Hugh's surname derives from Rebecques (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Saint-Omer) just outside Théroutanne. He is probably the same Hugo de Resbeca who witnessed an undated charter of Gerard, Bishop of Théroutanne,

sometime before the crusade (Th. Duchet and A. Giry, Cartulaire de l'église de Terouane (Saint-Omer, 1881), No. 5).

78. Humphrey of Toron

Umfredus de Torum, eponymous ancestor of a famous Frankish dynasty, derived his surname from the castle of Toron in Galilee. He first appears as a vassal of \*Joscelin of Courtenay in 1115, although as Toron was constructed in 1105 he may have held the fief from around that time (RRH Nos. 79, 90a, 105, 121; WT pp. 459-60).

79. Isaac of Bruges

Ysaac frater Rainaldi de Bruge witnessed RRH No. 104 (1124), issued by members of the Granarius family. Assuming he had the same origins as his brother Isaac was probably from Bruges (B, West-Vlaanderen, arr. Brugge).

80. John Allobrox

Johannes Allobrox witnessed RRH No. 131 (1130) for \*William of Bures. As the Allobroges were a Gaulish tribe settled between the Rhône, the Isère and the Alps John's surname indicates this region as a place of origin.

81. John of Beaurain

Johannes de Belram witnessed a charter of Emma, widow of \*Eustace I Granarius in 1124 (RRH No. 104) and appears again as Johannes de Bellorano in 1131 on a charter of Eustace's son \*Walter of Caesarea (RRH No. 139). He was thus clearly a vassal of the Granarius family. Considering their known origins in the diocese of Thérouanne John's surname probably derives from Beaurain-Château (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Montreuil-sur-Mer) or the nearby Beaurainville.

82. John of Bethsan

Johannes de Bethsan, his brother Hugh, and \*Geoffrey de Flavi were evidently joint owners of the casale of Calansue/Qalansuwa which they donated to the Hospital before 1129 (RRH No. 130). A John, Lord of Bethsan appears on a charter recording the sale of the casale Assera/ez-



Zarran before 1149 (RRH No. 256). However as this was witnessed by Hugh, avunculo dicti Johannis this John was probably son of the first.

#### 83. John the Chamberlain

Johannes camerarius (regis) is attested from 1119 up to 1128. (RRH Nos. 87, 90a, 91, 121. No. 137a cannot be dated with certainty).

#### 84. John Gotmann

The long period of John's appearances, 1126 to 1161, make it impossible that he can be identical with \*Gotmann of Brussels.<sup>1</sup> It is more likely that John's surname was a patronymic and that he was Gotmann's son. John seems to have been a nobleman of the second rank, holding various lands in the royal domain. His rear-fief in Oultrejourdain is mentioned in the royal charter of 1161 granting Oultrejourdain to \*Philip of Nablus.<sup>2</sup> That same year John sold five casalia to the Holy Sepulchre for 1400 bezants in order to pay his ransom: Bethaatap, Derhassan, Culi and Vastina Leonis, all west of Bethlehem, and the unidentified Derxerip.<sup>3</sup> He had been captured in 1157 during the attempt to relieve Banyas from Nur-ad-Din.<sup>4</sup> This block of holdings must have been larger; his wife, named as Amandela in RRH No. 368, was listed as la feme Johan Gomain in the book of John of Ibelin, owing the service of four knights in the territory of Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> They had a son, Anscherius, married to a certain Stephanie, and a daughter Isabella who married Hugh of Caesarea, the son of Walter Granarius.<sup>6</sup>

1. RRH Nos. 115, 164, 299, 326, 366, 368, 369; WT p. 843 (nobilis).

2. RRH No. 366.

3. RRH Nos. 368, 369.

4. WT pp. 842-43.

5. John of Ibelin, p. 368.

6. RRH Nos. 361, 368.

#### 85. Josbert of Tournai

Josbertus de Turnai appears as a witness for \*William of Bures on RRH No. 115 (1126) and must have come from Tournai/Doornik (B, Hainault, arr. Tournai) which at the time of the First Crusade was part of the county of Flanders.

86. Joscelin of Courtenay

Joscelinus videlicet de Cortenay, vir nobilis de Francia, de regione quae dicitur Gastineis came from Courtenay (F, Loiret, arr. Montargis) in the Gâtinais. He was the second son of Joscelin, son of Atho, Castellan of Châteaurenard; and Isabella or Elisabeth, daughter of Guy I of Montlhéry and Hodierna of Gometz. Joscelin was thus not only related to Guy's male descendants, the lords of Montlhéry-Bray and Rochefort-Crecy. He was also first cousin of King Baldwin II, son of Guy's daughter Melisende and Count Hugh of Rethel; and of Everard III of Le Puiset and his brothers, sons of Guy's daughter Alice and Hugh I Blavons.<sup>1</sup>

The Courtenay family fiefs were inherited by the eldest son Milo while Joscelin went to Syria around 1101, as did a third brother, \*Geoffrey Charpalu, at a later date. Although he had 'neither lands nor wealth on his arrival' Joscelin clearly profited from his family connections; Baldwin, then count of Edessa, granted him the fief of Turbessel, although after a dispute in 1113 Joscelin was deprived of the fief and went to Jerusalem where he was granted the principality of Galilee. However the importance of this quarrel should not be exaggerated; on the death of Baldwin I Joscelin headed the party which supported the candidature of his cousin, and as a quid pro quo received the county of Edessa in 1119. He died before 1 October 1131.<sup>2</sup>

Joscelin was thus a member of the Jerusalem nobility for a period of seven years at the most. Nevertheless his origins and family connections help to explain the presence of men from Francia as vassals in Galilee.<sup>3</sup>

1. WT pp. 437-38; Ex continuatione historii Aimonii monachi Floriacensis, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France XI (Paris, 1876), 276; Fliche, pp. 320-22; R. L. Nicholson, Joscelyn I. Prince of Edessa (Urbana, 1954), pp. 1-3.

2. WT pp. 437, 489-92, 516-17, 645; AA pp. 615, 648-49, 710.

3. RRH Nos. 79, 80, 87. See for example App. Nos. 26, 50, 64 and 145.

87. Lithard of Cambrai

Lithardus vero Cameracensis or de Cameraco civitate Galliae came from the episcopal territory of Cambrai (F, Nord, arr. Cambrai) in the extreme west of Lower Lotharingia. He was at the Second Battle of Ramla and commanded the garrison of Jaffa in 1105 (AA, pp. 593, 621-22). He is



therefore probably identical with the Lethardus vicecomes of RRH No. 134 who gave land in the casali Huberti de Paci. Siph vocato (Akhzhiv) to the abbey of Josaphat, and the Litardus tertius vicecomes Joppitarum described by Bartolf of Nangis (p. 534).

#### 88. Manasses of Haifa

Documented between 1115 and 1120 (RRH Nos. 80, 90, 91), Manasses appears to have held the fief of Haifa between the tenures of \*Pagan I and Vivian.

#### 89. Manasses of Hierges

Manasses was son of Hodierna of Rethel, sister of Baldwin II, and Heribrand of Hierges (F, Ardennes, arr. Charleville-Mézières). The connection between the two families was clearly marked in his name, Manasses being the Leitname of the counts of Omont and Rethel. He was one of the four castellans of Bouillon under the prince-bishops of Liège who had purchased the rights of Godfrey of Bouillon in 1096.<sup>1</sup> A charter of Bishop Albert of 25 February 1140 refers to Manassem nobilem virum de Hirge who had sold to the abbey of Brogne the allods of Mielen-sur-Aelst and Muyzen-lez-Saint-Trond, and donated that of Nivelée, because he intended to leave for Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> On his arrival in Palestine profited from his status as consobrinus of Queen Melisende, marrying Helvis of Ramla, the widow of \*Balian of Ibelin, and becoming constable of the kingdom.<sup>3</sup> However as in the case of Hugh II of Jaffa the preferment of a newcomer aroused considerable hostility. In 1151 he was besieged in Mirabel, 'castellum eius' by Baldwin III, and forced to leave the kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

1. WT p. 511; Bormans and Schoolmeesters, I, No. 35.

2. Bormans and Schoolmeesters, I, No. 39.

3. WT pp. 511, 710; 759, 780.

4. WT p. 782.

#### 90. Martin of Nazareth

Martinus vicecomes of RRH No. 81a (1115) was probably identical with the Martinus de Nazareth of RRH No. 137 (1130).

91. Matthew the Seneschal

Known only from his inclusion in the group which summoned Baldwin I from Edessa on the death of Godfrey (AA p. 522).

92. Milo of Clermont

Milo de Claro Monte, a knight of Godfrey's household in 1100 (AA pp. 522, 526), was probably originally connected with Giselbert, Count of Clermont-sur-Meuse (B, Liège, arr. Huy), who went on crusade with Godfrey and is last mentioned as a member of the comitatus Baldewini in Cilicia in 1097 (AA p. 350).

93. Otto Altaspata

Otto cognomine Altaspata was a Lombard, nephew of Count Albert of Biandrate (I, Piemonte, prov. Novara). Altaspata is clearly a nickname rather than a place-name, as implied by Riley-Smith ('The motives', p. 736). He came to Palestine on the crusade of 1101 in the Lombard army led by Anselm, Archbishop of Milan, and remained there. He was killed in September 1104 as a member of the garrison defending Jaffa from an attack by the Muslims of Ascalon (AA pp. 559, 568, 591, 603, 608).

94. Pagan the Butler

According to William of Tyre (p. 692) a 'quidam nobilis homo Paganus nomine qui prius fuerat regis pincerna' became lord of Oultrejourdain after the dispossession of \*Roman and Ralph of Le Puy for their part in the revolt of \*Hugh II of Jaffa. He appears as Paganus pincerna on RRH nos. 91, 121 and 164 (1120-36); the charter evidence also suggests his tenure of Oultrejourdain dated from well before Hugh's revolt as he appears as Paganus Montis Regalis on RRH No. 115 (1126) and Paganus de Monte Regali on RRH No. 142 (1132).

95. Pagan I of Haifa

Pagan was sent as an envoy to Tripoli by Baldwin I in 1109. Otherwise he is known only from a donation made to the Hospital before 1110. It is possible that he was related to Vivian of Haifa (AA pp. 666-



67; RRH No. 57), who is known to have had a son called Pagan who first appears in 1161 (RRH Nos. 366, 418).

96. Pagan de Mineriis

Known only from his appearance as witness on RRH No. 109 (1125).

97. Pagan de Osca

Documented from 1123 to 1133, Pagan seems to have been a vassal of \*Hugh II of Jaffa (RRH Nos. 102a, 104, 114, 147).

98. Peter of Crémisay

Petrus de Crimesio appears as a witness to RRH No. 92 (1121) and on No. 131 (1129) as Petrus de Crehel. Both charters were issued by \*William of Bures, Prince of Galilee, whose vassal Peter seems to have been. He may be a relative of the Albericus de Cremisi who also appears on RRH No. 131. In view of the rarity of this toponym and Peter's relationship with William it is probable that he came from Crémisay in the Ile-de France (F, Eure-et-Loir, arr. Châteaudun) which appears in the form Cremise before 1201 (L. Merlet and L. Jarry, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Madeleine (Châteaudun, 1896), p. 51).

99. Peter of Lens

Known only from his donation to the Hospital, of the casal of Dirberham on the eastern shore of Lake Tiberias, sometime before 1110 (RRH Nos. 57, 293). Richard (Royaume latin, p. 82) suggests that he was a follower of the Artesian \*Gervase of Bazoches, Prince of Galilee from 1106 to 1108, but it is more probable that he was originally a vassal of the counts of Boulogne, who had held Lens (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Lens) from 1054 onwards.

100. Philip of Bouillon

Phillipus de Bulon was in the Frankish army at the Second Battle of Ramla (AA p. 593). His surname suggests he was originally a Lotharingian knight from the territory of Bouillon (B, Luxembourg, arr. Neufchâteau).

101. Pisellus

Documented between 1104 and 1109, Pisellus held the office of viscount of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> He may well be identical with the Pisellus de Tuorna who fought at the Third Battle of Ramla in 1105, and may also have been in some way connected with Pisellus, a nephew of Udelrard of Wissant (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Boulogne-sur-Mer) who died during the crusade.<sup>2</sup> Pisellus the viscount, his wife Gisela and an unnamed brother held at least five casalia, mostly around Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

1. RRH Nos. 43, 52, 56a, 59, 79, 80, 87.
2. AA pp. 621, 358, 446.
3. RRH Nos. 76a, 134, 983.

102. Rainald de Pontibus

Rainaldus de Ponte, Ponto, Ponzo or Pontibus appears between 1120 and 1135. One wonders whether he could be the Rainald brother of Isaac of Bruges of RRH No. 104 (Pontes = Brugae?). He seems to have been associated with \*Geoffrey Acus and \*Geoffrey of Parenty (RRH Nos. 91, 104a, 111, 130, 141, 158).

103. Rainer I Brus

Reinerus de Brus or Brus, miles imperterritus was killed in battle against Tughtagin of Damascus during the latter's great invasion across the Jordan in 1113 (AA p. 696). He probably belonged to a collateral branch of the famous Anglo-Norman family which originally came from Brix (F, Manche, arr. Cherbourg) in Lower Normandy (E. Dupont, 'Le château de Brix en Normandie', Scottish Historical Review 2 (1905), 424-28).

104. Rainer II Brus

Rainerius de Brus or Rainerius cognomine Brus, first documented in May 1125, was probably son of the foregoing. He became lord of Banyas after its capture by the Franks in 1129; however his fief was retaken by the Damascenes during his absence fighting for King Fulk against \*Hugh II of Jaffa. After the death of his first wife, whom he had repudiated, he married Agnes, niece of \*William of Bures (RRH Nos. 105, 174, 181; WT pp. 631-34).



#### 105. Ralph of Aalst

Rodulfus de castello Alos, quod est in Flandria<sup>1</sup> was the second son of Ralph, Advocate of St Peter's Abbey at Ghent, and Gisela of Luxembourg, sister-in-law of Count Baldwin IV of Flanders. His elder brother was Baldwin I, also Advocate of St Peter's and lord of Aalst (B, Oost-Vlaanderen, arr. Aalst), Waas and Drongen.<sup>2</sup>

Ralph belonged to the foremost rank of the Flemish nobility: he was procer, optimas, princeps, and was chamberlain of Flanders.<sup>3</sup> His last appearance in Flanders was in September or October 1096. Warlop questions his participation on the crusade; however his early appearance in Palestine makes it likely that he accompanied Robert II of Flanders along with his nephews Gilbert, who subsequently returned home, and Baldwin II of Aalst, who was killed at Nicaea on 13 June 1097.<sup>4</sup> Ralph himself was killed at the Second Battle of Ramla in May 1102.<sup>5</sup>

1. AA p. 591.

2. Warlop, pp. 587-91.

3. Vercauteren, Nos. 12, 23; Chronicon monasterii Watinensis, MGH SS XIV, 168-69.

4. Vercauteren, No. 20, Warlop, *ibid.*; Gilbert's death reported by Stephen of Blois, HEp No. 4, p. 139.

5. AA p. 593.

#### 106. Ralph de Alesnes

Radulfus Aliensis is known from the donation of a third of a tithe made before 1112 and that of land near Montjoie with property in Jerusalem made before 1115, both to the abbey of Josaphat (RRH Nos. 67, 80). He was evidently the father of Willelmus de Alesnes filius Radulfi de Alesnes of RRH No. 169 (1136). Although there are too many placenames corresponding to this form it allows us to discount the possibility that Ralph was identical with \*Ralph of Aalst.

#### 107. Ralph of Issy

Ralph de Ysiaco appears in 1129 as witness to a charter of \*William of Bures for the Abbey of Josaphat. In 1132 Ralph de Ysis, described as William's nephew, gave his consent to a donation to the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>1</sup> In view of this blood relationship with the Bures family his surname must derive from Issy-les-Moulineaux (F, Hauts de Seine, arr, Boulogne-Billancourt), now part of greater Paris, about 17 km north-east of

Bures-sur-Yvette.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that Ralph and Simon, also mentioned as a nephew in RRH No. 142, were sons of William's brother \*Godfrey of Bures.

1. RRH Nos. 131, 142.

2. Appears in the form de Issiaco in 1084: A. Dauzat and Ch. Rostaing, Dictionnaire etymologique de noms de lieux en France (Paris, 1978), p. 368.

#### 108. Ralph of La Fontanelle

Ralph is first mentioned in the company of Everard III of Le Puiset at the siege of Antioch, when he temporarily deserted from the crusading army.<sup>1</sup> The contemporary descriptions Radulfus de Fontanellis et alii Andegavorum and de Fontenella Radulphus et is Turonensis point to a place-name derived from a diminutive of Latin fontanum situated in Touraine or Anjou.<sup>2</sup> This suggests as a place of origin La Fontanelle (F, Loir-et-Cher, arr. Vendôme) situated between Blois and Tours, Tours being held by the Angevins from the counts of Blois. Ralph probably came to Palestine in the army of Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, the suzerain of the Le Puiset family.

A bull of Gregory IX for the church of Bethlehem mentions the donation of the casal of Bechfassa, probably Beit Fajjar south of Bethlehem, ex feudo Radulfi de Fontaneto.<sup>3</sup> The possession of a substantial fief in the royal domain explains the frequency with which he witnesses royal and patriarchal charters.<sup>4</sup> However from 1133 up to his last appearance in 1145 he is known only from documents issued in the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli. At the beginning of this period King Fulk went to Antioch to act as rector ac bajulus principatus Antiocheni, yet Ralph does not appear on either of the charters issued by Fulk in his capacity as regent.<sup>5</sup> In January 1133 he witnessed a charter of Princess Alice of Antioch at Laodicea, and that same month a charter of Walter of Sourdeval which was confirmed by Alice, who was a focus of opposition to the rule of Fulk.<sup>6</sup> In 1134 Ralph was again at Laodicea with Alice and \*Hugh II of Jaffa, now in exile as a result of his revolt against Fulk in the kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>7</sup> Clearly Ralph was not in Antioch on any royal business, but rather was associated with those who were opposed to the king. These connections go back beyond 1133. Ralph came from the same area in France as the Le



Puisset family, and later witnessed a charter of Hugh's constable \*Balian in 1127.<sup>2</sup> His son-in-law \*Geoffrey of Parenty was also associated with Hugh, and like Ralph disappears from Jerusalem documents around 1131/34. Taken together this evidence suggests that both Ralph and Geoffrey were dispossessed or exiled for supporting Hugh.<sup>3</sup>

1. AA p. 410; RC p. 662.
2. BD p. 65; RC ibid.
3. RRH No. 982.
4. RRH Nos. 52, 59, 76b, 80, 87, 105.
5. RRH Nos. 149, 157.
6. RRH Nos. 148, 150.
7. RRH No. 151a.
8. RRH No. 120.

9. Richard, Comté de Tripoli, p. 78 claims Ralph was a Tripolitan noble. This is clearly not the case, although his presence on RRH Nos. 212 (1142) and 236 (1145) suggests that Ralph was unable to return to Jerusalem and was obliged to spend the latter part of his exile in Tripoli.

#### 109. Ralph of Le Puy

Ralph was the son of \*Roman of Le Puy (F, Haute-Loire, arr. Le Puy) and presumably of his wife Richoldis who is mentioned in RRH No. 57. Ralph did not succeed to his father's lordship of Oultrejourdain as both were dispossessed for their part in a revolt against Baldwin II (WT p. 692).

#### 110. Ralph the Lotharingian

Radulfus Loherenus, who as his name suggests originated from Lotharingia, is known only from his appearance as a witness on RRH No. 102a (1123). It is therefore unlikely he is identical with \*Arnulf the Lotharingian (attested 1109-10) as claimed by Röhricht, although there is a slight possibility that he might have been identical with \*Ralph of Mousson.

#### 111. Ralph of Montpinçon

Rodulfus de Montpinzon is described by Albert of Aachen (p. 531) as one of the milites de domo ducis Godefridi. He belonged to the Norman family of Montpinçon (F, Calvados, arr. Lisieux), several members of which bore the name Ralph. One of these was the steward to William I of England and benefactor of the abbey of Saint-Evroul who died around

1103. According to Orderic Vitalis (III, 164-67) he had two sons: Hugh, and Ralph the younger, qui in via Ierusalem peregrinus obierat. However this does not necessarily mean that he died on the way to Jerusalem, as Chibnall translates the phrase; it could also mean that he died in the Holy Land, before he could return to Normandy. If so he is probably the knight mentioned by Albert; it would also explain why he is known in Palestine only from this one reference.

#### 112. Ralph of Mousson

Rodulfus de Monzon or Mozon was a member of Godfrey's household and belonged to the group which invited Baldwin I to Jerusalem in July 1100.<sup>1</sup> Riley-Smith gives his place of origin as Menonville, which he does not identify and which is hardly justified by the forms of the name; it is far more likely that Ralph was a follower of the crusader Ludowicus comes de Montione or Ludowicus de Monzunz filius comitis Tirrici de Muntbiliart who can be identified as Louis of Mousson (F, Meurthe-et-Moselle, arr. Nancy), a son of Theoderich I, Count of Bar and Montbéliard (d. 1105) and Ermentrude of Burgundy.<sup>2</sup>

1. AA pp. 526, 531.

2. Riley-Smith, 'The motives', p. 725; Alberic of Troisfontaines, p. 804; AA p. 317; M. Grosdidier de Matons, Catalogue des actes des comtes de Bar 1022-1239 (Paris, 1922), Nos. 35, 36.

#### 113. Ralph of Sept-Meules

Radulfus de Septem Molis is known only from a document of 1139, by which time he was no longer alive (RRH No. 190). The possession of the deserted casal of Cephrie was disputed by his son Ralph, wife Agnes, brother Hugh, sister Mazelina and her husband Arnulf de Aria. Ralph was undoubtedly a Norman from Sept-Meules (F, Seine Maritime, arr. Dieppe) on the River Yères south of Eu.

#### 114. Reinard of Verdun

Albert of Aachen describes the losses among King Baldwin's forces at the Third Battle of Ramla in 1105 as 'de cujus comitatu tantummodo centum perierunt cum milite egregio Reinardo Virdunense' (p. 623). This Reinard of Verdun (F, Meuse, arr. Verdun) would thus seem to have been the most prominent casualty in this engagement.



Godfrey of Bouillon had been count of Verdun before the crusade; however considering his fairly tenuous hold over the county it is likely that Reinard was not originally in Godfrey's retinue but in that of Peter of Dampierre or his brother Frederick of Toul who were both barons of the bishop of Verdun.

115. Richard de Sinclero

Known only from RRH No. 113 (1126) issued by \*Hugh II of Jaffa.

116. Roardus de Abbatia

Known only from RRH No. 102a (1123) issued by \*Hugh II of Jaffa.

117. Robert of Anzi

Robert de Apulia, as he is named by Albert of Aachen, was a Norman who had settled in Anzi (I, Basilicata, prov. Potenza).<sup>1</sup> He seems to have been on crusade with Bohemund, for whom he witnessed a charter on 14 July 1098.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter he must have taken service with Godfrey; along with \*Warner of Grez he commanded a force of 140 knights which ambushed the garrison of Arsuf in March 1100. After the town offered submission Godfrey assigned him its revenues as a money-fief. He must have been the Robertus miles involved in the coup on Godfrey's death.<sup>2</sup>

1. AA p. 514; Jamison, 'Some Notes', pp. 202-3.

2. HEp No. 13; AA pp. 514-15, 526; GF pp. 7, 20.

118. Robert de Aquila

Known only from his appearance on RRH No. 81a.

119. Robert the Englishman

According to William of Malmesbury (pp. 309-10) Edgar the Atheling made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem cum Roberto filio Godewini. He remained in Palestine and was evidently the same Robertus Anglus who fought at the Second Battle of Ramla in 1102, where he was killed at the side of Baldwin I while attempting to break out of Egyptian encirclement (ibid, p. 449). He was probably the same Robert son of Godwin who had gone to Scotland with Edgar and who had held land in Lothian in 1099 (R. L. G. Ritchie, The Normans in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1954), p. 95).

#### 120. Robert FitzGerard

Robertus filius Gerardi was a Norman from Southern Italy, the second son of Gerard, Count of Buonalbergo (I, Campania, prov. Benevento) who was a nephew of Bohemund's mother Alberada. Gerard was the foremost man in Benevento until his death in 1086.<sup>1</sup> Robert went on crusade with his cousin Bohemund, whom he served as banner-bearer and constable, distinguishing himself at the great battle of Antioch in February 1098.<sup>2</sup> However at some point he transferred his allegiance to Godfrey, possibly having come to Jerusalem in Tancred's company, and was in the group which summoned Baldwin I to Jerusalem in July 1100. It is uncertain how long he remained in Palestine; he was back in Italy by 1112, when he received land from Count Jordan, the son and heir of his brother Herbert.<sup>3</sup>

1. Jamison, 'Some Notes', pp. 201-2.

2. BD p. 47; AA p. 316; PT p. 44; Guibert of Nogent, p. 178; GF p. 36.

3. AA p. 526; Jamison, *ibid.*

#### 121. Robert de Francoloco

Robertus de Francoloco or Frاندolia appears on eleven documents issued between 1129 and 1153. By his wife Agnes he had sons Amalric, Geoffrey, Alberic and Guy and daughters Maxenda and Isabella.<sup>1</sup> He may have come from Franleu (F, Somme, arr. Abbéville) in Picardy, as suggested by Richard. However as this surname continued to be used by Amalric as well as a Laurence and a Gerard at the end of the twelfth century there is a possibility that it was derived from a Palestinian placename.<sup>2</sup>

Although described as Ramatensis in RRH No. 201 Robert's family held lands mainly in the royal domain. Before 1179 Amalric sold thirteen casalia and gastinae, most of them situated in a bloc around Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

1. RRH Nos. 134, 174, 201, 204, 205, 237, 244, 245, 257, 262, 284.

2. Richard, Latin Kingdom, I, 160; RRH Nos. 579, 717, 722, 746; John of Ibelin, p. 23.

3. RRH No. 576.

#### 122. Robert Giffard

Robertus Giffarz, known only from RRH No. 79 (1115) was probably a member of the Norman family of Giffard which originally came from



Longueville-la-Gifart, now Longueville-sur-Scie (F, Seine-Maritime, arr. Dieppe). A Robert Giffard is known to have been in England in the late 1070s, but evidently went to Apulia with William of Grandmesnil and fought at Durazzo in 1081. As William himself later went on crusade it is likely that Robert accompanied him and stayed in the East.'

1. L. C. Loyd, The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families (Leeds, 1951), pp. 129-47; H. W. Davis, Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum (Oxford, 1913-69), I, Nos. 114, 192; Ord. IV, 16.

#### 123. Robert de Meri

Known only from his appearance on RRH No. 100a (1112).

#### 124. Roger of Rozoy

Rotger de castello Roiset or Roseit, in the vernacular Rogiers del Rosoi, came from Rozoy-sur-Serre (F, Aisne, arr. Laon).<sup>1</sup> Roger was a favourite name among the lords of Rozoy; a Roger and his son, also named Roger, were included among the vassals of Champagne around 1170, while another Roger of Rozoy was lord of the neighbouring Chaumont-Porcien in the early thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

A dominus Roger de Rosoit was present at the foundation of the Priory of St Peter at Bouillon by Godfrey II of Lower Lotharingia in 1069. It was probably he or his son who was the crusader first mentioned at Artah in 1097.<sup>3</sup> This Roger was in command of the Frankish forces in Jaffa, probably as castellan, when it was attacked by the Egyptians in 1106. He witnessed a charter of Baldwin I in 1108, and gave a villa in Monte Betherico to the Abbey of Josaphat before 1115.<sup>4</sup>

1. AA pp. 636, 358, 591, 593, Ant. lines 1179, 2680, 2680, 8996.

2. 'Feoda Campaniae', in A. Longnon, Documents relatifs au comté de Champagne et de Brie 1172-1361 (Paris, 1901-14), I, 22, 140, 168.

3. G. Despy, 'Un fragment d'une cronica monasterii Sancti Huberti in Ardenna', ECRH 121 (1956), 171-73; AA p. 358.

4. AA pp. 636-37; RRH Nos. 52, 80.

#### 125. Rohard of Jerusalem

Roardus or Rohard, also known as Rohard of Nablus, first appears in 1120. He was viscount of Jerusalem, castellan of the Tower of David and held a fief at Emmaus in the royal domain. As the name is documented up to 1177 (RRH No. 552) the later references may be to his son unless he

he was very long-lived. He may have been related to the Ruthardus whom AA (p. 481) describes as poculi provisor to Godfrey. As this Ruthardus had been in Godfrey's service before the crusade he was probably a Lotharingian (RRH Nos. 91, 112, 113, 115, 121, 133, 134, 160, 164, 174, 181, 201, 204, 210, 226, 227, 244, 245, 259, 262, 268, 276, 278 et alii).

#### 126. Roman of Le Puy

Romanus de Podio was in Palestine before 1110 and last appears in 1133.<sup>1</sup> It is more than likely he was originally a follower of Adhemar, Bishop of Le Puy (F, Haute-Loire, arr. Le Puy) and his brothers William-Hugh and Francis-Lambert of Monteil who were with the Provençal army of Raymond of Saint-Gilles.<sup>2</sup> Roman was lord of Oultrejourdain but according to William of Tyre (p. 692) was dispossessed for his part in the revolt of \*Hugh II of Jaffa; however the forfeiture must have been earlier as \*Pagan the Butler appears as lord of Oultrejourdain by 1126.

1. RRH Nos. 68a, 79, 91, 105, 121, 147.
2. Riley-Smith, 'The motives', p. 729.

#### 127. Rorgius of Haifa

Rorgius is known only to have been lord of Haifa by 1102. He died after an illness in 1107 and was buried in the Holy Sepulchre (AA pp. 593, 621, 639, 646).

#### 128. Sado the Marshal

Sado marescallus is attested for the period 1125 to 1154 (RRH Nos. 109, 113, 121, 164, 174, 179, 226, 227, 240, 291). He thus served as household officer to three kings: Baldwin II, Fulk and Baldwin III. Little else is known about him. The office of marshal had considerably less status than that of constable which was held by such important men as \*Eustace I Granarius and \*William of Bures.

#### 129. Simon the Constable

Simon is attested as constable between 1108 and 1115 (RRH Nos. 52, 79). He is also called Simon Dux or filius Ducis which appears to be a surname. (RRH Nos. 59, 68a)



### 130. Stabelo the Chamberlain

Stabelo camerarius ducis Godefridi was killed at the Second Battle of Ramla in May 1102 (AA p. 593). He first appears as a member of Godfrey's household during the march across Hungary (AA p. 300). As he is known to have been in the duke's service before the crusade he was probably a Lotharingian (AA pp. 481-82). His name seems to be the basis for the erroneous and non-existent 'Baldwin of Stabelo' mentioned by Andressohn (p. 53) and 'Baldwin of Stavelot' mentioned by Runciman (History of the Crusades, I, 147).

### 131. Tancred

Tancred was a Norman from southern Italy, son of Odo 'the good Marquis' (Odobonus) and Emma, daughter of Robert Guiscard. He came to the East in the army of his uncle Bohemund, later Prince of Antioch, and in Palestine established himself as prince of Galilee which he ruled until March 1101 when he assumed the regency of Antioch.<sup>1</sup> Galilee was restored to him by Baldwin I in 1109 as part of a general settlement also involving the succession to the county of Tripoli, although his presence in northern Syria is well attested from then up to his death in December 1112.<sup>2</sup> However since Galilee was not re-granted until after this, to \*Joscelin of Courtenay in 1113, Tancred seems to have been an absentee prince, possibly drawing revenues from his fiefs in the kingdom.

1. R. L. Nicholson, Tancred, pp. 1-4, 20-21, 103-121.
2. AA p. 668; FC pp. 537-43, 549-57, 562-63.

### 132. Thomas of Ramla

Thomas Ramathensis is known only from his appearance as witness on RRH no. 120 issued by \*Balian, later of Ibelin.

### 133. Ulric of Nablus

Ulric appears with the office of viscount of Nablus between 1115 and 1152. He is known to have had a brother Peter and a son Baldwin, who held extensive properties in this part of the royal domain (RRH Nos. 90,

121, 133, 134, 137, 137a; G. Beyer, 'Neapolis und sein Gebiet in der Kreuzfahrerzeit', ZDPV 63 (1940), 155-70).

#### 134. Waldemar Carpinel

Gaudemarus Carpinellus or Geldemarus cognomine Carpinel' was a Provençal. A Galdemarus Carpinellus witnessed an undated charter for the abbey of Conques (F, Aveyron, arr. Rodez). However the appearance on this document of Humbert, Archbishop of Lyon from 1119 to 1128, Gaucher, Bishop of Langres from 1113 to 1126, and Bernard, Bishop of Maçon from 1096 to 1121 would date it to 1119/21, long after the crusader's death.<sup>2</sup> Thus the two individuals cannot be identical although it is highly probable they were related. Waldemar was on crusade with Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and was known personally to Hugh, Archbishop of Lyon.<sup>3</sup> He was an important man, a nobilis who was accompanied by his gens or following.

At some point he entered the service of Godfrey, who promised him the port of Haifa when it should be captured. However he and his retinue were soon expelled from the city by Tancred, and Waldemar evidently received St Abraham as compensation. He regained Haifa by March 1101, and was killed at the First Battle of Ramla (September) where he commanded the second division of the Frankish army.<sup>4</sup>

1. AA pp. 507, 521-26, 531, 537-38, 549.

2. G. Desjardins, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques en Rouergue (Paris, 1879), No. 506.

3. PT p. 103; WT p. 356; Raymond, pp. 307-8.

4. AA pp. 521-23, 549; Raymond, p. 307; RRH Nos. 57, 293.

#### 135. Walter Bigot

Galterius Bigotus, known only from RRH No. 52, was probably a member of the Norman Family of Bigot or Bigod. 'Le fief Bigot' was situated at Courvaudon (F, Calvados, arr. Caen). Roger Bigot (died 1107) married Alice, daughter of Robert of Belvoir in Leicestershire, a cadet of the Tosny family who were relatives by marriage of Baldwin I. An Ilger Bigot was on crusade with Tancred and became Bohemund's Magister militum (Loyd, pp. 14-15; Musset, 'Les Tosny', pp. 65-66; Ord. V, 168-70).



136. Walter de Bosco

Gualterius de Bosco is known only from his appearance as witness on RRH No. 115 (1126) issued by \*William of Bures. Place-names corresponding to this surname are far too numerous to permit an identification of origin.

137. Walter of Bouillon

In 1148 \*Balian of Ibelin gave to the order of St Lazarus ten carrucates of land in territorio casalis quod Galteri de Bulion nuncupatur.<sup>1</sup> The Walter who gave his name to the village is otherwise unknown in Palestine, although he must have belonged to the family of the castellans of Bouillon (B, Luxembourg, arr. Neufchâteau) among whom this name is found.<sup>2</sup> A Walter of Bouillon was present at the sale of allods to the abbey of St Gertrude at Nivelles by Godfrey and Baldwin in 1096 and may have come on crusade with the castellan Heribrand, who was in Godfrey's army and also at Nivelles.<sup>3</sup> Walter may have returned to Lotharingia; a Walter of Bouillon witnessed a document of the chapter of St Lambert of Liège in 1116, although he could equally well be a relative of the crusader.<sup>4</sup>

1. C. St Lazare, No. 5 (RRH No. 252).
2. E. Poncelet, 'Bouillon', pp. 127-258.
3. MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 459; AA, pp. 317, 440.
4. Bormans and Schoolmeesters, I, No. 32.

138. Walter Brisebarre

Gualterius Brisebarre Beritti dominus first appears on 2 May 1125 (RRH No. 105). The fact that a man previously unknown in the kingdom should suddenly appear as holder of one of the most important lordships indicates either a recent arrival from Europe or a rapid rise from obscurity. Nothing direct is known of his origins. A Johannes Brisebarra appears as a witness in 1163/64 on a charter of the count of Nevers for the abbey of Molesmes (F, Yonne, arr. Auxerre). There may therefore be a relationship as Walter's family were still using the surname Brisebarre in Palestine in the 1160s.<sup>1</sup> He is documented up to January 1134, after which his brother \*Guy succeeded to his lordship of Beirut.<sup>2</sup>

1. M. Quantin, Cartulaire générale de l'Yonne (Auxerre, Paris, 1854-73), II, 150; Nickerson, pp. 141-85.

2. RRH Nos. 109, 112, 113, 150.

139. Walter Granarius

Walter was the son of \*Eustace I Granarius, from whom he inherited the lordship of Caesarea.<sup>1</sup> He first appears on 8 April 1124 with his twin brother \*Eustace II, their mother Emma, and Emma's second husband \*Hugh II of Jaffa.<sup>2</sup> In the constitutional crisis leading up to the revolt of Hugh in 1133-34 Walter was a leading member of the party which supported King Fulk. He accused his stepfather of treason in the High Court, challenging him to a judicial duel.<sup>3</sup> However his support of the monarchy seems to have brought few benefits; two sales to the Hospital of property in his lordship of Caesarea testify to recurring financial difficulties. In 1138 he sold the casale of Betherias for 180 bezants; in 1146 he sold lands at Caco for 800 bezants to pay his own debts and to free his vassals who had been frequently detained at Acre as his securities.<sup>4</sup> Walter last appears in 1149 with his son Eustace, who later entered the Order of St Lazarus. He must have died between then and 1154, when his second son Hugh appears as lord of Caesarea.<sup>5</sup>

1. WT p. 628; RRH Nos. 121, 159, 237.
2. RRH No. 104.
3. WT pp. 629-33.
4. RRH Nos. 163b, 234.
5. RRH Nos. 256, 361, 293.

140. Walter Mahomet

Galterius Mahomet first appears on a royal charter of 1104 and is attested until 1115.<sup>1</sup> He is known to have held the casalia of Gemerosa and Sesia, and in 1107/8 became lord of St Abraham.<sup>2</sup> His dual name suggests Walter was a converted Muslim. It was usual for converts to assume the Christian name of their baptismal sponsor. Thus in 1141 Roger II of Sicily confirmed a donation of the convert Roger Achmet, while in Palestine we know of an ex-Muslim in the service of Baldwin I, 'in domini regis comitatu, eius familiaris et quasi cubicularius, quidam Balduinus' who had taken the king's name at baptism.<sup>3</sup> A fragmentary anonymous account of the crusade (RHC IV, 261-63) relates that when Baldwin I led an expedition into Arabia in 1112 the city of Jerusalem was left in charge of a certain Machomus aliquando a Christianis captus



adolescens baptismumque adeptus, whose knowledge of Arabic enabled him to discover a Saracen plot to capture the city. It is tempting to identify Machomus with Walter, whose status as lord of St Abraham would warrant such responsibility.

1. RRH Nos. 43, 52, 57, 76b, 80.
2. RRH Nos. 57, 134; AA pp. 646, 682-83.
3. Chalandon, Domination normande, II, 107; WT pp. 477-78.

#### 141. Walter of Merle

Gualterius de Merula appears on RRH No. 139 (1131) issued by \*Walter Granarius, Lord of Caesarea. His surname must derive from Merle/H. Dor north of Caesaerea.

#### 142. Warmund of Quierzy

Warmundus de Cerisi was the son of \*Ado of Quierzy (F, Aisne, arr. Laon) and like him appears to have been a vassal of \*Joscelin of Courtenay, Prince of Galilee (RRH Nos. 80 (1115), 87).

#### 143. Warner of Grez

From Grez-Doiceau/Graven (B, Brabant, arr. Nivelles), Warner sold the allod of Vaux (B, Liège, arr. Huy) quod in divisione patrimonii cum fratre suo Henrico in partem suscepit to the church of Fosses in late 1095 to raise funds to go to Jerusalem with Duke Godfrey.<sup>1</sup> He appears immediately after Rainer, the Advocate of Liège, among the laici nobiles who witnessed the purchase of the castle of Couvin by Bishop Otbert on 14 June 1096. Warner was probably a vassal of the church of Liège. The small county of Grez, threatened by nearby Louvain, may well have recognised the suzerainty of the bishop, or possibly Warner's share of the inheritance, or part of it, lay within the territorial principality, as was the case with Vaux, his hereditatis portio in the county of Huy. He and his brother Henry witnessed the sale of Baisy and Genappes by Godfrey. Henry, who is also described as count of Crez, remained in Lotharingia.<sup>2</sup>

In Palestine Warner apparently held lands near Nablus; he was the comes Guarnerius who gave the casale of Aschar to the abbey of Josaphat.<sup>3</sup> Along with \*Robert of Anzi he was made commander of a force

sent to attack Arsuf, which led to the tribute from the city being bestowed on Robert. Nevertheless Warner clearly had the higher status of the two. He was cognatus ipsius Ducis and vir nobilissimus et propinquus of Godfrey. He also acted as Godfrey's deputy during the monarch's last illness and commanded the army sent to besiege Haifa. This status, his ties of kinship with the duke and his comital status, unique at the time, probably explain why he was accorded leadership of the household knights who mounted the coup in favour of Baldwin of Edessa after Godfrey's death. However soon after seizing the Tower of David Warner himself died on 23 July 1100, leaving no known issue.<sup>4</sup>

1. 'Documents extraits du cartulaire du chapitre de Fosses', Analectes pour Servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique de la Belgique 4 (1867), No. 1, pp. 396-98. There is thus no justification for Runciman's identification, 'the Burgundian count, Warner of Gray' (History of the Crusades, I, 313).

2. Bormans and Schoolmeesters, I, No. 29; MGH DD Heinrich IV, No. 459; MF I, 670-71.

3. RRH Nos. 80, 134, 291.

4. AA pp. 229, 301, 514, 520-24.

#### 144. Wicher

Wicherius Alemannus was in Godfrey's army during the march to Jerusalem and belonged to the group which seized the Tower of David in July 1110.<sup>1</sup> Du Cange and Rey (p. 503) claim him as a member of a Provençal family which is most unlikely. His deeds were later celebrated above all by German authors. He is for example one of only three Franks named in the account of the First Crusade in the anonymous Kaiserchronik. Since even the Rhinelander Albert uses the surname Alemannus this is probably meant in the ethnic sense of 'Swabian' rather than 'German'.<sup>2</sup> He may have therefore been on one of the earlier German expeditions, joining Godfrey between Nicaea and Jerusalem. He died of fever at Jaffa in August 1101.<sup>3</sup>

1. AA pp. 507, 522, 526, 531; Robert the Monk, p. 867; Alberic of Troisfontaines, p. 811.

2. John of Würzburg, pp. 154-55; Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen, MGH Deutsche Chroniken, I, 382; AA *ibid*.

3. AA p. 531.



145. William of Bures

Willelmus de Buris was in the kingdom of Jerusalem before 1115 and must have died sometime after his last documented appearance on 1 February 1147.<sup>1</sup> Pirie-Gordon claimed William was a Norman although he gave no evidence for this assertion, which can be easily dismissed since Albert of Aachen gives his place of origin as Burs et de terra civitatis Parisius, now Bures-sur-Yvette (F, Essonne, arr. Palaiseau) south-west of Paris. Bures formed part of the lordship of Gometz-la-Châtel. Towards the end of the eleventh century Hodierna, daughter and heiress of William of Gometz, married Guy I of Montlhéry, and the lordship passed to their son Guy the Red of Rochefort, Seneschal of France.<sup>2</sup> These connections explain the appearance of William and his brother \*Godfrey of Bures as vassals in Galilee of \*Joscelin of Courtenay, son of Hodierna's daughter Isabella.

Although strictly speaking nobles of the second rank the two brothers were important enough to command divisions of Joscelin's army during the great raid across the Jordan in 1119, while William certainly had vassals of his own.<sup>3</sup> When Joscelin succeeded Baldwin II as count of Edessa Galilee was granted to William. This rise to the tenure of the kingdom's greatest fief seems to be yet another reflex of the vast Montlhéry-Courtenay-Le Puiset-Rethel family network, as Baldwin was another grandson of Guy and Hodierna. William became constable and regent for the captive king in 1123 in succession to \*Eustace I Granarius.<sup>4</sup> In 1128-29 he was entrusted with the mission to select a husband in France for Baldwin's daughter and heiress Melisende.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Lignages (p. 455) William married Eschiva, allegedly daughter of \*Hugh of Fauquembergues, by whom he had four sons. This claim raises several difficulties: The only documented wife of William is the Agnes nobilis of RRH No. 79 (Delaborde, No. 5); it is also strange that none of the charters issued by William mention any sons.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand his nephews Elias and William, described as heirs to his fief, gave their consent to RRH No. 115 (1126). On RRH No. 131 the principal witness was now \*Ralph of Issy, since the younger William was by this time a monk at Josaphat. RRH No. 142 (1132) finally reveals that Ralph and a hitherto unknown Simon were also nephews.

The Lignages know nothing of any of these four nephews, nor of William's brother Godfrey; neither do they know of the existence of Walter of Saint-Omer, Prince of Galilee between 1159 and 1170.<sup>7</sup> However Walter is known to have had a wife Eschiva and a son Hugh.<sup>8</sup> The implications of this information are that William and Agnes had no surviving sons, that some if not all of the four nephews were in fact sons of Godfrey, and that both William and Godfrey were confused and conflated with Walter of Saint-Omer by the compiler of the Lignages.<sup>9</sup>

1. RRH Nos. 79, 244.
2. Pirie-Gordon, 'The Reigning Princes of Galilee', pp. 450-51; AA p. 710; Lair, pp. 187-97.
3. AA pp. 710-12; RRH Nos. 79, 80, 87.
4. RRH Nos. 89, 90, 92, 102; FC pp. 674-75.
5. WT pp. 593-94; C. Temple, I, Nos. 8, 12.
6. RRH Nos. 92, 93, 115, 131, 137c, 142.
7. RRH Nos. 336, 479.
8. RRH Nos. 414, 417, 447, 448, 488a, 522.
9. Pirie-Gordon (p. 451) claims a son by Agnes, namely Geoffrey, 'who stayed behind in Normandy' as well as an unknown sister who allegedly married an elder Ralph de Ysis, but characteristically gives no references for the existence of any of these three individuals.

#### 146. William of Normandy

In August 1108 Wilhelmus filius comitis Normannorum led a major raid into Damascene territory.<sup>1</sup> That same year he witnessed RRH No. 52 as Willelmus filius comitis. Runciman mistakenly identifies him with William Clito, son of Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, and Sibylla of Conversano. However at this time Clito, who was still a boy, was at the court of his kinsman Baldwin VII of Flanders where he had been sent after the capture of his father by Henry I of England in 1106. On the death of Count Charles the Good Clito himself became a claimant to the county of Flanders and was killed, still a young man, at the siege of Aalst in 1128. William was actually an illegitimate son of Robert born during his exile in France. He and his brother Richard were acknowledged by Curthose after their mother, formerly a priest's concubine, underwent a judicial ordeal to prove paternity. After the defeat of his father in 1106 William left for Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that he was given the fief of Galilee after the death of \*Gervase of Bazoches as a William, Prince of Tiberias appears on RRH No. 52 of 1109. Röhricht's identification of this prince as William of Bures is unacceptable as the



latter's tenure of Galilee dates from 1119 at the earliest.<sup>3</sup> Certainly the size of William of Normandy's army on the Damascene raid, 200 cavalry and 500 foot-soldiers, accords with the status of a major vassal of the kingdom. Nevertheless his tenure of Galilee was short. He appears in 1111 as lord of the city of Tortosa in the county of Tripoli; this move seems to have been part of an agreement reached at the siege of Tripoli in 1109 by which Galilee was restored to \*Tancred.<sup>4</sup>

1. AA p. 653

2. History of the Crusades, II, 97; Hermann of Tournai, De restauratione Sancti Martini Tornacensis, MGH SS XIV, 284; Ord. V, 282.

3. Delaborde, No. 9 (RRH No. 97); AA pp. 712ff.

4. AA pp. 668, 682.

#### 147. William of Saint-Bertin

William appears on three Jerusalem documents issued between 1122 and 1131 (RRH Nos. 100a, 109, 139). He may be the same Willelmus de Sancto Bertino who witnesses a charter of Lambert, Abbot of Saint-Bertin (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Saint-Omer) in 1096 (Haigneré, I, No. 95). It is likely that he came to Palestine with \*Gerbod of Scheldewindeke, whose father and brother were advocates of St Bertin, and later entered the service of \*Eustace I Granarius, for whose son \*Walter of Caesarea he witnessed RRH No. 139.

#### 148. William of Tincques

Guillelmus de Tenches, known only from a donation to the Hospital (RRH No. 57), probably came from Tincques (F, Pas-de-Calais, arr. Arras) in Flanders which appeared in the forms Tenches, Tenkes and Tenques before 1226 (Gysseling, Woordenboek, p. 969).

#### William de Wanges

Willelmus de Wanges, miles gloriosus et nobilis was killed at the siege of Tyre in 1111 (AA p. 691).

150. Winrich the Butler

Winricus pincerna ducis, who belonged to Godfrey's household in July 1100, is described as Flandriense by Albert of Aachen (pp. 522, 526). It is thus likely that he was originally in the army of Robert II of Flanders and only entered Godfrey's service in the course of the crusade.



## GENEALOGICAL TABLES

### SOURCES

#### 1. The House of Ardennes-Verdun

- a) Vita Beatae Idae, pp. 437-52.
- b) Fundatio ecclesiae S. Albani Namucensis, MGH SS XV, 962.
- c) Genealogia ex stirpe S. Arnulfi, MGH SS XXV, 384.
- d) Bernold of St Blasien, Chronicon, MGH SS V, 457.
- e) K. F. Werner, 'Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen bis um das Jahr 1000', in Karl der Große: Das Nachleben, ed. W. Braunfels and P. E. Schramm (Düsseldorf, 1967), pp. 403-79.

#### 2. The House of Boulogne

- a) Genealogia comitum Buloniensium, MGH SS IX, 300-1.
- b) Vanderkindere, I, 333-34.
- c) Musset, 'Les Tosny'.
- d) Héliot, Histoire de Boulogne, pp. 68ff.

#### 3. The Houses of Rethel, Hauteville and Namur

- a) Saige and Lacaille, I, Nos. 1-6.
- b) Genealogiae Fusniacenses, MGH SS XIII, 253-54.
- c) Rousseau, xcvi-cxii.
- d) WT pp. 513ff.
- e) RRH No. 114c.
- f) Bur, pp. 133-34, 412-14, 452.

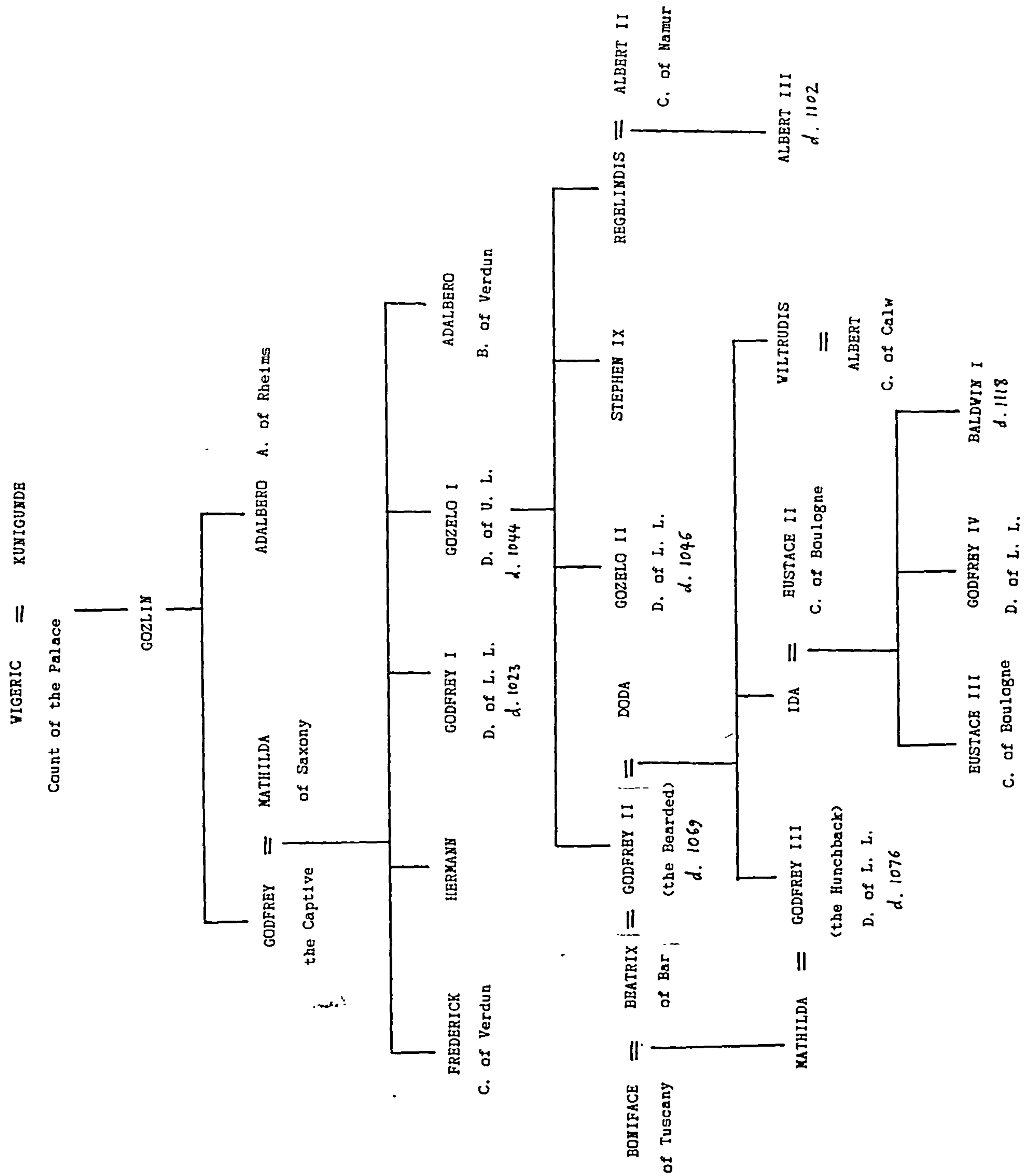
#### 4. The House of Rethel and the Nobility of Francia

- a) Cartulaire de Longpont, Nos. 5, 11, 41-44, 46, 48, 84, 196 and pp. 9-25.
- b) Ex continuatione historii Aimonii monachi Floriacensis, pp. 274-76.
- c) WT pp. 437-38, 610.
- d) Dion, 'Le Puiset'.
- e) La Monte, 'Lords of Le Puiset', pp. 100-18.

### ABBREVIATIONS

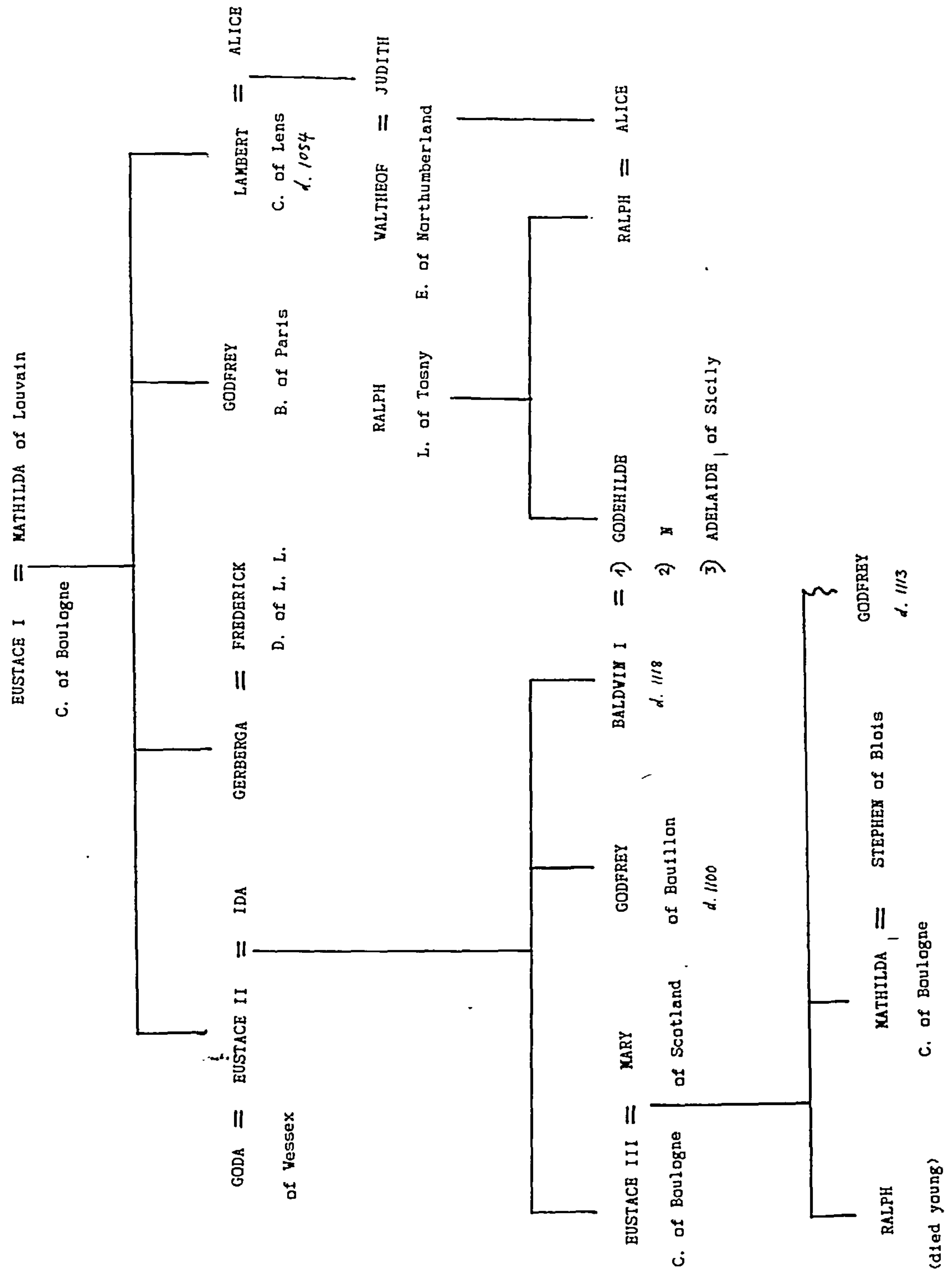
A. Archbishop	L. Lord
Ab. Abbot	L.L. Lower Lotharingia
B. Bishop	N. anonymous
C. Count	U.L. Upper Lotharingia
d. died	P. Prince
D. Duke	V. Viscount
K. King	= married

1. The House of Ardennes-Verdun

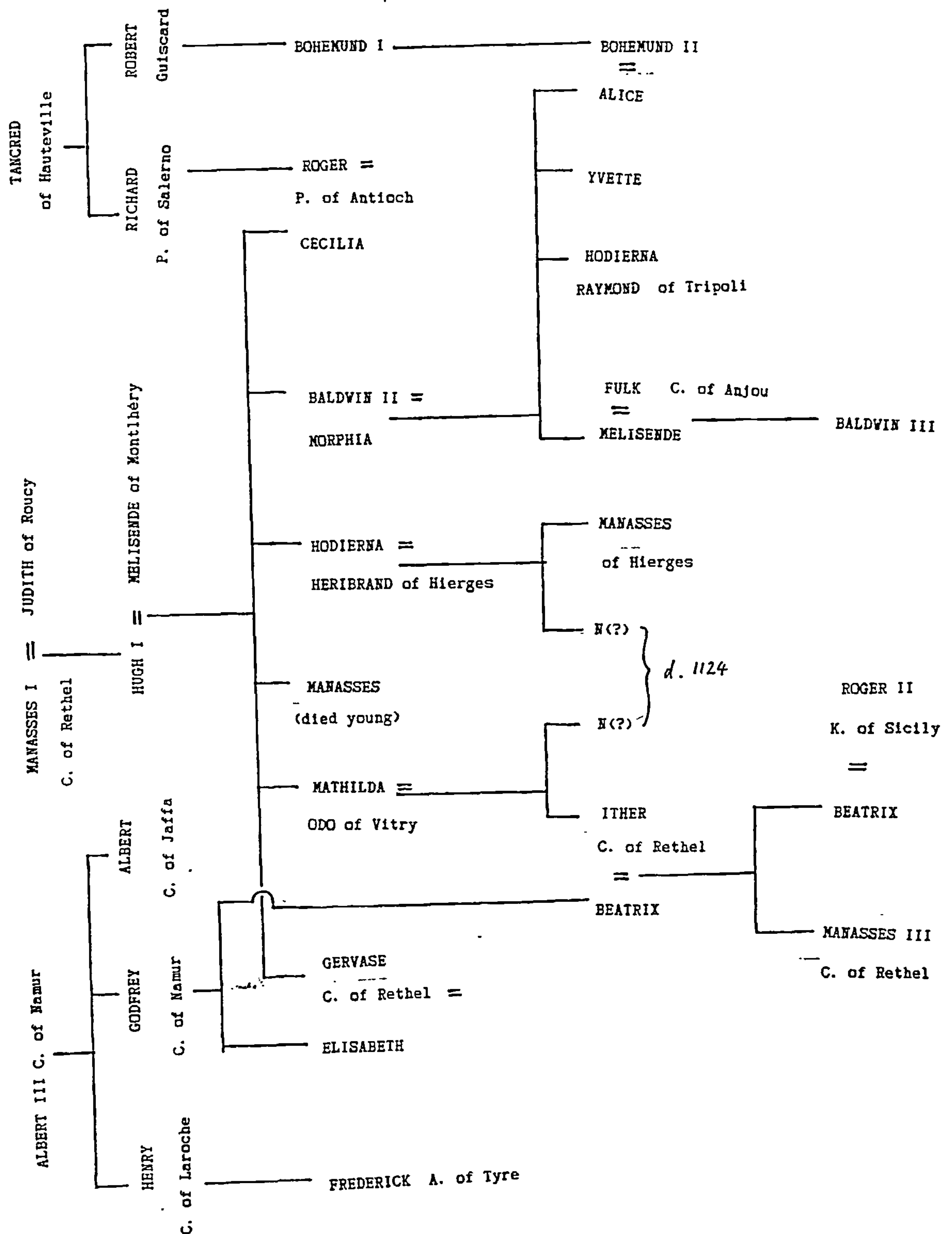




## 2. The House of Boulogne

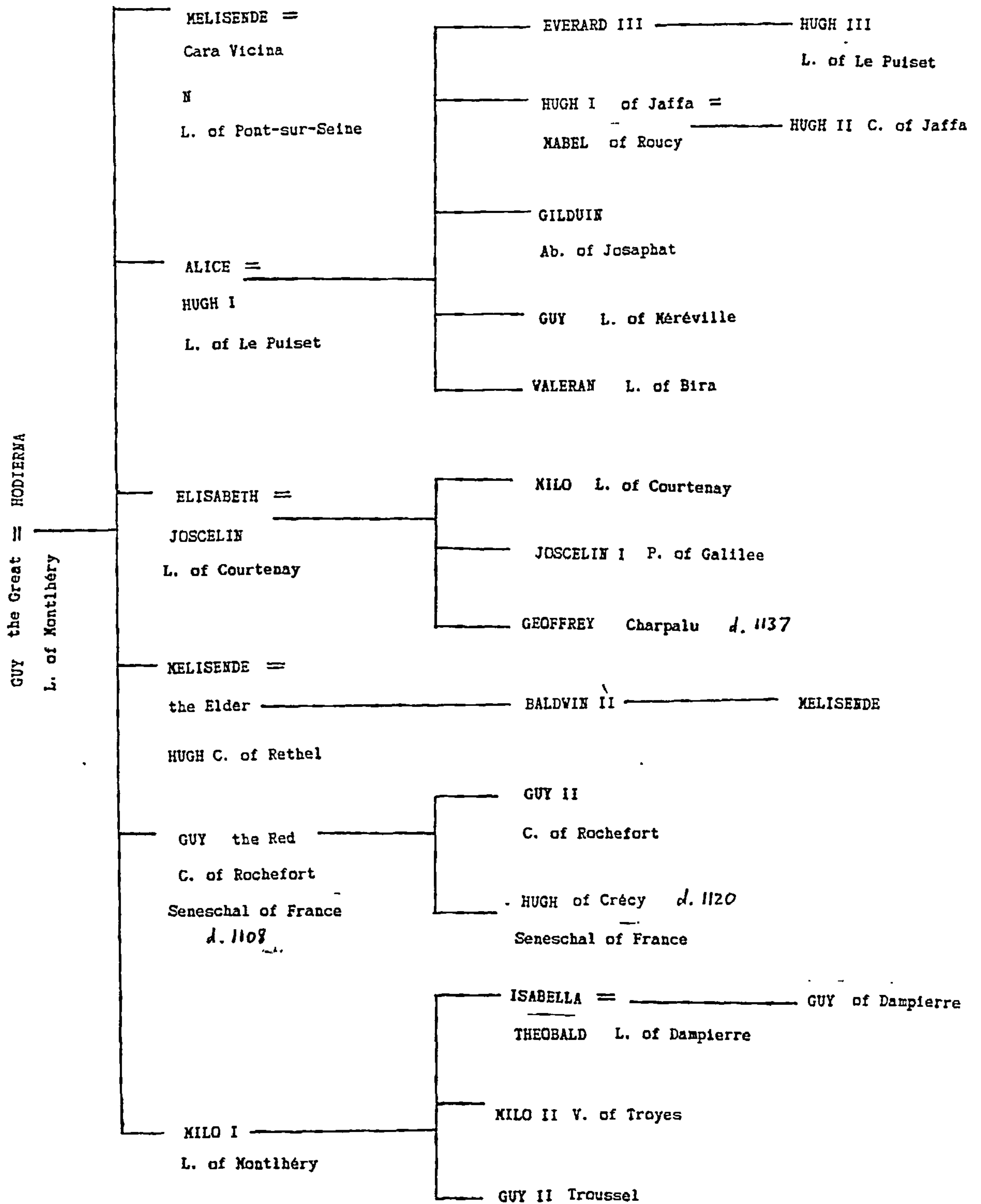


3. The Houses of Rethel, Hauteville and Namur

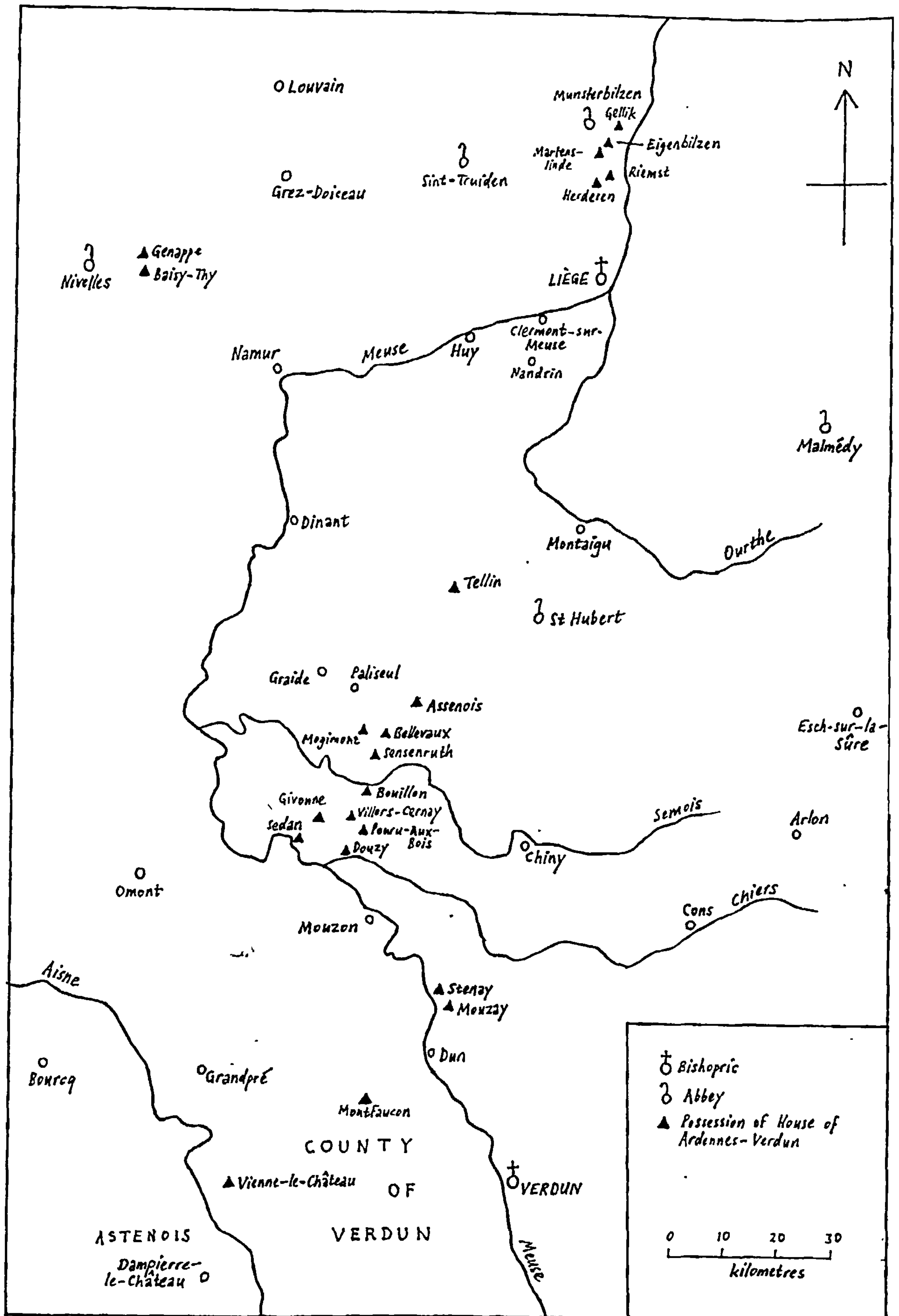




4. The House of Rethel and the Nobility of Francia



Central Lotharingia Before the First Crusade





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